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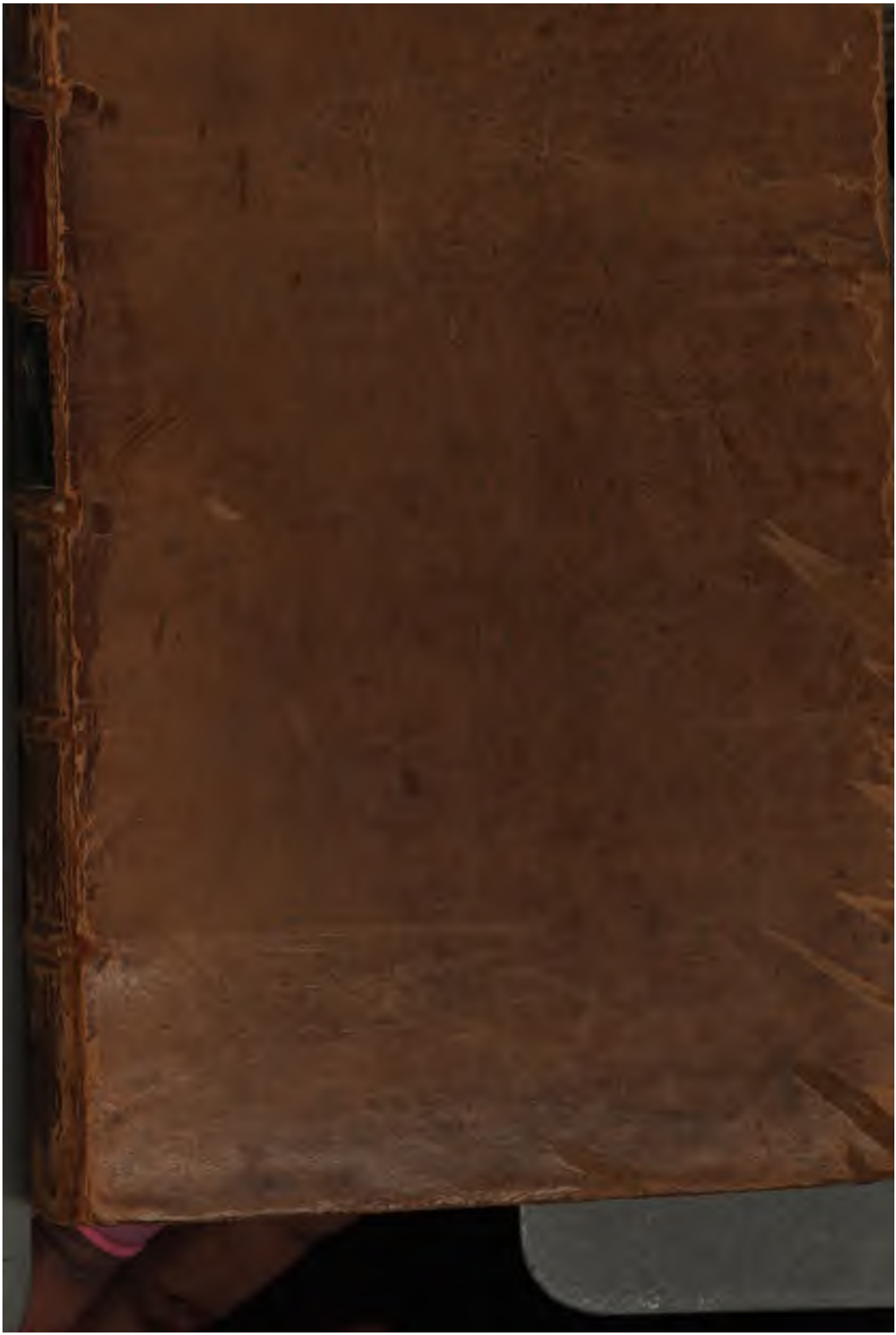

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OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time.

VOL. XXXII.

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdom of DENMARK:

SECT. I.

Containing the Geography of Denmark; *the Laws, Religion, Manners, and other Particulars, which characterize the preſent State of that Kingdom.*

IT is agreed upon all hands, that the kingdom of *Denmark* is one of the moſt antient monarchies in *Europe*, as a ſeries of kings, either fabulous or true, may be traced in the *Daniſh* hiſtorians from the year one thouſand and thirty-eight before the birth of our Saviour; that is, for the ſpace of two thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine years.

How this part of *Scandinavia*, formerly called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, acquired the name of *Denmark*, is a point greatly diſputed among antiquarians, and ſtill as doubtful as the etymology of moſt other names. Some believe the *Danes* to be the progeny of the antient *Danai*; and many of their kings have boaſted of their having ſprung in a direct line from *Antenor*. Others affirm, that they are the deſcendants of the *Name of* Denmark.

antient *Dabi*, a people of *Scythia*, who, by an eaſy corruption, came in progreſs of time to be called *Dani*, and the country *Dani-mark*, or the *land* of the *Dani*; *Marc*, or *Mark*, ſignifying a country in ſeveral of the dialects of the *Teutonic*. But the moſt probable opinion is that of *Saxo Grammaticus*, the moſt antient and beſt *Daniſh* hiſtorian. According to him the *Danes* are ſo called from *Dan*, the ſon of *Humble*, the firſt founder of the *Daniſh* monarchy; and *Denmark*, compounded of *Dan* and *Marc*, that is, the country of *Dan* [a]; which etymology we ſhall retain, without entering upon an ocean of criticiſm and conjecture, in which, perchance, we might overwhelm ourſelves and our readers (A).

Geographical deſcription of Denmark *and* Norway.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of *Denmark*, we ſhall firſt give a deſcription of the country; the genius and character of the people; the nature of the ſoil, and produce of the countries under the dominion of the king of *Denmark*; the forces and revenues of the kingdom; the laws, government, religion, and manners of the country, with every other particular that relates to the preſent ſtate of the people. If we conſider only the extent of dominion, the king of *Denmark* may juſtly be reputed one of the greateſt princes of *Europe*, his title being that of king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, duke of *Sleſwick*, *Holſtein*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarſh*, earl of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorſt*; all which countries he actually poſſeſſes, except a moiety of the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, belonging to the duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*. *Denmark*, including *Holſtein*, in which the king has an undivided moiety, is bounded by the ſea called *Categate*, towards the North; by the *Baltic* on the Eaſt; by the river *Elbe*, which ſeparates it from *Bremen*, on the South; and by the dutchy of *Saxe-Lawenburg* towards the South-Eaſt; extending from 54 degrees 40 minutes, to 58 degrees 20 minutes North latitude.

BESIDES which, the kingdom of *Norway*, ſeparated from *Denmark* by the *Categate*, includes a ſpace of about 11 degrees in length; that is, from 59 to near 71 degrees North latitude, being bounded by the ocean towards the North and Weſt; by the kingdom of *Sweden* and *Swediſh Lapland* on the

[a] SAXO GRAM. Hiſt. Dan. p. 1. VELL. apud Pontan. p. 637. POLYDOR VIRG. ibid. PONTAN. p. 939. cum multis aliis. Jo. SUANING. Ripen. Prolegom. p. 10.

(A) Such of our readers, however, as have a taſte for this ſpecies of critical knowledge, may thoroughly indulge their appetite by conſulting the learned *John Iſaac Pontanus* in his *Chorographica Daniæ Deſcriptio*, page 639.

Eaſt;

Eaſt; and by the *Gategate* ſea to the South. It is a long narrow country, encloſed on the one ſide by the ocean, and on the other by the high barren mountains called *Dofrine*, which divide it from *Sweden*; moſt geographers reckoning it about eight hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth [b].

PREVIOUS to the war with *Sweden*, which ended in the year 1660, the provinces of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, belonged to the crown of *Denmark*. They were wreſted from it by the famous *Charles Guſtavus*, and could never ſince, notwithſtanding frequent attempts, be recovered, though the richeſt provinces belonging to his *Daniſh* majeſty. Thus *Denmark*, at preſent, is on every ſide circumſcribed by the ſea, except a neck of land about three *Daniſh* miles over, by which it joins to *Holſtein*.

The general diviſion of Denmark *into provinces.*

THE dominions of the king of *Denmark* are generally divided into ſix grand diſtricts or provinces, *viz.* *Denmark*, properly ſo called, comprehending under it the iſlands of *Zealand*, *Funen*, *Langland*, *Laaland*, *Falſtria*, *Mona*, *Samſoe*, *Arroe*, *Bornholm*, *Anhout*, *Leſſaw*, and that part of the continent called *North Jutland*. 2dly, The dutchy of *Sleſwick*, or *South Jutland*. 3dly, The dutchy of *Holſtein*. 4thly, The earldoms of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorſt*. 5thly, The kingdom of *Norway*: and, 6thly, *Iceland*, with the iſlands lying in the northern ſeas. Of this large tract, *Jutland*, in extent and fertility, is the moſt conſiderable diviſion, though the iſlands have the advantage in point of ſituation, and eſpecially *Zealand*, in which ſtands *Copenhagen*, the capital of the *Daniſh* dominions, and the reſidence of the princes.

Iſland of Zealand.

THIS iſland is nearly of a circular form, meaſuring about ſixty leagues in circumference. The channel called the *Sound*, divides it from *Schonen*; the ſtrait called the *Great Belt*, from the iſland of *Funen*; and from the iſlands *Mona*, *Falſtria*, and *Laaland*, it is ſeparated by a narrow channel to the ſouthward. Its fertility is not extraordinary, though it produces a ſufficient quantity of rye for the conſumption of the inhabitants, but no other ſort of grain. The face of the country is prettily diverſified with little hills, woods, and lakes; but in all *Zealand* there is not one river, and only a very few brooks ſufficient to turn a mill. With hardly any meadows, it produces great abundance of hay; all the graſs ſpringing up on the borders of corn fields, and banks of lakes and brooks, ſhort, but ſweet and nouriſhing. The lakes are well ſtocked with fiſh; the cattle numerous, ſmall, and gene-

[b] Is. PONTAN. Chorogr. p. 648. GORDON'S Geog. Gram. MOLESWORTH'S Account of Denmark, p. 3.

rally lean, owing to the neceſſity of keeping them within door for at leaſt eight months in the year. In general the climate is but indifferent, eſpecially near the capital, where from the low ſituation, the air is rendered unwholeſome by thick fogs; however, a gentleman who long reſided at *Copenhagen*, in quality of envoy from his *Britannic* majeſty, obſerves, that he ſeldom ſaw any of the natives afflicted with colds of the lungs, owing, as he imagines, to the atmoſphere being purified by the great conſumption of beech wood in firing the only ſort of timber found in any quantity in *Zealand*. Here, as well as in almoſt all the other parts of *Denmark*, are only two ſeaſons of the year, winter and ſummer; for from the extremity of cold, the air immediately changes to an almoſt inſupportable heat, and ſuffocating groſs warm atmoſphere, by which myriads of flies and vermin are generated [c].

Copenhagen, *the capital.*

COPENHAGEN, the capital of *Denmark*, is ſituated in the latitude of 56 degrees two minutes North latitude, and 12 degrees 53 minutes longitude, reckoning from the meridian of *London*. This city is neither very large nor antient, though the preciſe date of its foundation is diſputed (A). In extent it approaches the neareſt to *Briſtol*, ſays *Moleſworth*, of any of our *Engliſh* cities. The walls incloſe a great deal more ground than is occupied by houſes; however, as they were daily encreaſing in his time, and that *Denmark* has not been ſince exhauſted by any conſiderable wars, it is probable the city has received great improvements and additions. Its advantageous ſituation for trade, and the excellency of its harbour, are not to be ſurpaſſed; and were *Copenhagen* a free port, there is no doubt but it would ſoon become the emporium of the commerce into the *Baltic*. The harbour is ſurrounded by the fortifications of the town, and the entrance ſo narrow, that only one ſhip can enter at a time; beſides which, it is ſhut up in the night by a ſtrong boom laid acroſs, defended on the one ſide by the cannon of the citadel, and on the other by a ſtrong blockhouſe, well mounted with heavy artillery. The whole

[c] Is. Pontan. Chorogr. Dan. p 723, 724. Pompon. Mel. c. vi. Crantzii Deſcrip. Man. Balt. p. 124. Vid. Pontan. ſub hoc An. Moleſworth ubi ſupra.

(A) A caſtle was firſt built on this ſpot in the year 1168, by arch-biſhop *Wide*, as a protection againſt the pirates, which at that time ſwarmed in the *Baltic*. The conveniency of the ſituation, and the ſecurity which the caſtle afforded, induced a number of the inhabitants of the iſland to reſort thither, by which means it in time became a fine city and the capital.

haven, containing five hundred ſail of large ſhips, is encloſed by a wooden gallery, cloſe to which every ſhip has her appointed ſtation; a circumſtance that adds greatly to the beauty and conveniency of the ſcene, than which nothing can more be rich and regular, when a number of ſhipping happen to lie in port. The city is ſtrong, both by nature and art; the ſituation being marſhy, deep canals cut all round, and the fortifications executed agreeable to the beſt modern improvements; yet the works are chiefly compoſed of turf and earth. Experience has ſhewn its ſtrength, it having ſuſtained two remarkable ſieges againſt a fine *Swediſh* army, fluſhed with victory, and headed by the moſt magnanimous princes of their age. It is probable indeed, from this inſtance, that an enemy may carry on their approaches more eaſily in the winter than in the ſummer, the dykes being then covered over with ice, upon which the *Swediſh* army marched. Its ſecurity, however, in this particular, conſiſts in the impoſſibility of an army's keeping the field long, amidſt the rigorous winters of all northern countries. As to the buildings of the town, they are in general mean and deſpicable; even the king's palace is ſurpaſſed by the houſes of private gentlemen in other countries. There are, notwithſtanding, a few good public buildings, ſuch as the change, arſenal, and obſervatory, erected by order of that excellent prince *Chriſtian* IV. to whom almoſt all the decorations of *Copenhagen* are owing. To compenſate, in ſome meaſure, the meanneſs of the royal palace, the king has at the other end of the town, a handſome pleaſure-houſe, fine ſtables, and a beautiful garden, to which, in the ſummer he frequently retires. What adds greatly to the conveniency of the city, is the contiguity of the little iſland of *Finack*, or rather *Amack*, joined to it by a bridge: hence, the markets of *Copenhagen* are plentifully ſupplied with fowl, beef, mutton, veniſon, corn, and culinary vegetables, all of which *Amack* produces in the utmoſt abundance [d].

THE other towns and fortreſſes of *Zealand*, or as others call it, *Sea-land*, are *Elſinore*, or *Helſingor*, about fifteen miles to the northward of the capital, ſtanding on the narroweſt part of the *Sound*.

CRONENBURG, a very ſtrong caſtle, ſituated about a quarter of mile from the former.

FREDERICSBURG, twelve miles Weſt of *Elſinore*, a caſtle and royal palace, much admired by the *Danes*, it being built in the middle of a fine lake.

[d] PONTAN. ibid. MOLESWORTH ubi ſupra.

ROSCHILD, antiently the metropolis of *Denmark*, ſituated at the bottom of a gulph, twenty miles to the weſtward of *Copenhagen*. Here is a fine, large, and very antient cathedral, filled with the tombs of the *Daniſh* monarchs, ſome of which are very magnificent. As to the town, it has declined in proportion as *Copenhagen* increaſed, and is now reduced to an inconſiderable and ruinous monument of its former grandeur.

HOLBECK ſtands at the bottom of a bay, eighteen miles Weſt of *Roſchild*.

PRESTOE, a port, and town of ſome trade, on the *Zealand* coaſt, oppoſite to the iſland *Mona*.

KALLENBURG, ſaid alſo to have ſome trade, ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, fifty miles weſtward of *Copenhagen*.

KOGE, a ſmall town on the *Zealand* ſide of the *Sound*, about twenty miles South of *Copenhagen*.

KERSOR, ſtanding on a promontory oppoſite to *Funen*, which forms a good harbour on the north ſide of it, which, with the towns of *Skelſor* and *Warienburg*, make in all about eleven cities, towns, and fortreſſes; beſides which, *Zealand* is computed to contain about three hundred villages.

Iſland of Funen.

NEXT in conſideration and ſituation ſtands *Funen*, an iſland bounded by *Samſoe* on the North, the *Baltic* on the South, the *Great Belt*, a ſtrait of about twenty miles over, that ſeparates it from *Zealand* on the Eaſt, and on the Weſt by a ſtrait, which divides it from *Jutland*. This iſland, formerly called *Fionia*, is about fifty miles in length, forty in breadth, abounds in lakes, woods, corn fields, hogs, and horſes; the laſt being the only commodity the inhabitants export. Its capital is called *Odenſee*, and was formerly a flouriſhing town, but now on the decline: beſides which, *Funen* has three other towns, and no leſs than two hundred and fifty villages (A).

Laaland.

LAALAND, or *Laland*, is a ſmall but plentiful iſland, having *Zealand* on the North, *Falſtria* on the Eaſt, the *Baltic* on the South, and *Langland* on the Weſt, meaſuring about thirty miles in length, and twenty in breadth. Grain and wheat in particular, is the chief production of the ſoil; and with this the inhabitants ſupply the markets of *Copenhagen*, and other towns of *Zealand*, and the reſt of *Denmark*. The *Dutch* uſed likewiſe to buy up a conſiderable quantity of corn here; but whether that trade be ſtill continued, is what we cannot affirm. *Moleſworth* calls this likewiſe a *ſtifts-ampt*, which has ſeveral of the neighbouring leſſer iſlands under its juriſdiction.

(A) The iſland of *Funen* is a principal government called *Stifts-ampt*; a term we ſhall explain when we come to treat of the nature of the government.

LANGLAND borrows its name from the figure of the iſland; its length being upwards of thirty miles, and the breadth ſcarce eight. Here is a pretty market-town called *Rudkoping*, and about ſixteen large villages. Langland.

FALSTRIA is ſeparated from *Zealand* by a narrow ſtrait on the North. It is about twenty miles long, and ſixteen broad, and has two conſiderable towns, *Nykopping* and *Sydkopping*. Falſtria.

NEXT ſtands *Mona*, a ſmall iſland, not exceeding fifteen miles in length, and five in breadth, ſeparated on the South-Weſt from *Falſtria* by a narrow ſtrait (B). Mona.

ARROE and *Alſen* are two ſmall iſlands at no great diſtance from the former, which produce large crops of aniſeeds, a carminative much uſed in ſeaſoning the food, and mixing with the bread, over all the *Daniſh* dominions. Arroe *and* Alſen.

BORNHOLM is an iſland of more conſideration, both on account of its extent, and the frequent contentions it has occaſioned between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. The length of *Bornholm* is twenty-one miles, and the breadth above thirteen. It has three conſiderable towns, *Rottum*, *Sendwick*, and *Nexia*, a great number of villages, ſeveral extraordinary privileges, and is fertile and populous. To theſe iſlands may be added the ſmall iſlands of *Leſſaw*, *Samſoe*, *Anhout*, with a variety of others of leſs conſideration, with which this part of the northern ſea abounds[e]. But we ſhall leave theſe petty diviſions of the potent kingdom of *Denmark*, to give a deſcription of *North Jutland*, one of the moſt valuable and antient provinces of the *Daniſh* monarchy. Bornholm

JUTLAND, the country of the antient *Jutes*, called *Cimbri* by the *Romans*; and their country, including *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*, *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, is bounded by the *German* ocean on the Weſt and North, by the *Baltic* on the Eaſt, and by the dutchy of *Sleſwick* on the South. This large country is divided into the provinces of *Aalburg*, *Wiburg*, *Arhuſen*, and *Ripen*; the firſt of which is ſometimes called *Burglaw*[f]. *Aalburg* is ſituated in the moſt northern part of *Jutland*, and comprehends a ſpace from the North-Eaſt to the South-Weſt of about one hundred and fifty miles; ſome writers ſay one Jutland. *Province of* Aalburg.

[e] Vid. PONTAN. Chorogr. ubi ſupra. MOLESWORTH ibid. PUFFENDORFF Hiſt. Univerſ. t. iv.

[f] Vid. PONTANUS Chorogr. p. 359.

(B) *Moleſworth* calls this iſland *Mune*, though we conſtantly find it in all *Latin* writers ſpecified by the appellation of *Mona*, which we have therefore retained.

hundred and thirty, and forty miles in breadth. It contains thirteen bailiwics, one hundred and ſixty pariſhes, and five very conſiderable towns, called *Aalburg*, *Nykopping*, *Tyſted*, *Seeby*, and *Schagen*.

Wiburg. THE province of *Wiburg*, bounded on the North by *Aalburg*, is of a circular form, about forty miles in diameter. It is divided into ſixteen bailiwics, and two hundred pariſhes, containing the towns of *Wiburg*, *Nybye*, *Harkier*, and ſome others of leſs note. The country is beautifully watered by three lakes, among which one is called *Otho*, from the emperor of that name, who threw his javelin into it when he made an incurſion into this country.

NEXT in order comes the province of *Arhuſen*, bounded on the North by the former, about ſixty miles in length, and Arhuſen. thirty in breadth. *Arhuſen* contains above three hundred villages, two capital cities, called *Aarhus* and *Rander*, beſides ſeveral market-towns of leſs conſideration.

LASTLY comes *Ripen*, the fourth province of *Jutland*. Within this diſtrict ſtand the cities and towns of *Ripen*, *Kolding*, *Fredericſodde*, *Weil*, *Warde*, and *Ringkopping*. *Ripen* is ſituated on the river *Nipſick*, which, ſeparating into three branches, runs through the city, and divides it into as many parts. This is a place of ſome trade, was formerly a biſhop's ſee, had an univerſity, has ſtill a fine magnificent cathedral, a great number of good private buildings, and a large aſſembly of the nobility and gentry of the province.

Dutchy of Sleſwick. THE dutchy of *Sleſwick*, or *South Jutland*, is the joint-property of the king of *Denmark* and duke of *Holſtein*. It is above ſixty miles in length, forty-five in breadth, and contains the towns of *Sleſwick*, *Gottorp*, *Ekrenford*, or *Ekelford*, *Fredericſtadt*, *Tonningen*, *Huſum*, *Flenſburg*, *Gluckſburg*, *Haderſleben*, *Tonderen*, *Lhom-Cloſter*, *Sunderburg*, and *Nordburg*, whence the duke of *Holſtein-Nordburg* takes his title. In moſt towns and bailiages, both princes have a ſeparate and diſtinct authority and juriſdiction, particularly in the bailiages of *Hader*, *Sleben*, *Ripen*, *Flenſburg*, the territory of *Chriſtianpris*, the iſlands of *Roam* and *Mandoa*, and the weſt ſide of the iſland of *Foer*, all which are ſubject, without participation, to the king of *Denmark*; whereas the bailiages of *Gottorp*, *Huſum*, *Tonderen*, &c. belong excluſively to the duke of *Holſtein*.

Palace of Gottorp. In *Gottorp* ſtands the noble palace of the duke of *Holſtein*, ſituated in the middle of a lake to the weſtward of the city of *Sleſwick*. This is eſteemed by all good judges, one of the fineſt buildings of the North, and has the advantage of a large well laid-out garden, adorned with fountains, caſcades, and every thing that can render the abode delightful. The duke

has

has likewiſe here a fine library, and valuable collection of books and curioſities, both natural and artificial, particularly a copper globe, ten feet and an half diameter, with a ſphere, ſhewing the ſun's courſe in the ecliptic, and the motion of all the celeſtial bodies, by means of wheels turned by a ſtream that falls from a neighbouring mountain (A).

Dutchy of Holſtein.

As to the dutchy of *Holſtein*, it is divided in the ſame manner as *Sleſwick*, between the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Holſtein*. It is a fief of the empire, and the king of *Denmark* is, for that reaſon, claſſed among the *German* princes; whereas, *Sleſwick* is abſolutely a fief of the crown of *Denmark*. This dutchy extends about an hundred miles in length from Eaſt to Weſt, and nearly half as much from North to South, including *Ditbmarſh* within theſe limits, and even *Wagerland* and *Stormar*, though the country, properly called *Holſtein*, conſiſts chiefly of the inland parts, lying between *Jutland* and *Stormar*. The chief towns included within this diſtrict are, 1ſt, *Kiel Chilonum*, a place of conſiderable trade, a good harbour, and ſtrong citadel, rich, and populous for this country. An univerſity was founded here in 1669; and here alſo is held the annual aſſembly of the ſtates of *Holſtein*. 2dly, *Rensburg*, or *Reinolsburg*, eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the whole dutchy, being almoſt wholly encloſed by the river *Eyder*. 3dly, *Wilſter*, a neat well-built town. 4thly, *Itzehoa*, ſituated on the river *Stoor*; and 5thly, *Newmunſter*, at the mouth of the ſame river. Some years ſince there aroſe a diſpute between the king of *Great Britain*, as elector of *Hanover*, and the king of *Denmark*, as likewiſe a prince of the empire, about the lordſhip of *Steinhorſt*. The former inſiſted, that it belonged to his dutchy of *Lawenburg*; and the latter, that it formed a part of the *Daniſh Holſtein*. Without entering upon the merits of this altercation, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the difference was amicably compromiſed, his *Daniſh* majeſty relinquiſhing all right to the ſaid lordſhip, on receiving from the king of *Great Britain* the ſum of ſeventy thouſand crowns, as an equivalent. There were alſo ſome other points, chiefly regarding precedency, adjuſted in this treaty.

(A) The palace of *Gottorp* ſuffered greatly in the year 1688, from the barbarity of the *Danes*, who, without any right, or even plauſible pretence, ſeized upon it, together with the duke's perſon, and all his other dominions; which, however, our nation and ſome other powers that intereſted themſelves in the duke's quarrel, obliged them to reſtore in the year 1689. *Vid. Moleſworth's Account of Denmark, ibid.*

THE

Dithmarſh *province.*

THE province of *Dithmarſh* lies between *Holſtein Proper* and the *German* ocean. It has two conſiderable towns, *viz. Meldorp* and *Lunden*, both carrying on ſome trade.

Stormar *province.*

As for the province of *Stormar*, or *Stormaſh*, it is very conſiderable on account of its trade, and the great care with which the country is cultivated, which greatly reſembles *Holland*, being like it, low in the ſituation, and protected againſt the ſea by ſtrong dykes and banks. The vicinity of the *Elbe*, and of *Hamburg*, gives it great advantages in commerce, inſomuch that *Altena* once became the rival of that opulent hanstown; a circumſtance which, ſome think, brought on its ruin, it being burnt to the ground by the *Swedes*, at the inſtigation of thoſe jealous merchants. No hiſtorian has, however, ſtated this fact in a clear light; and *Voltaire*, with all his profeſſed candour, has left it in as great obſcurity as he found it. Since then it has been rebuilt, and appears with more ſplendor than ever, but with leſs ſolid wealth and power. Beſides *Altena*, the province of *Stormar* has three other conſiderable cities, *viz. Krempe*, or *Crempen*, *Pennyburg*, and *Gluckſtat*: the laſt is a ſmall city, placed on the *Elbe*, about thirty miles from *Hamburg*, and ſaid to be ſtrongly fortified. The king of *Denmark* had once formed a project of obliging all ſhips, going or returning from *Hamburg*, to pay a toll here; but the execution was found impracticable, as ſo many powers, and particularly the two great maritime powers, were ſo particularly intereſted, in oppoſing a ſcheme which would lay their commerce under reſtrictions, and ſubject it to the caprice of the *Danes*.

THE laſt provinces which we ſhall deſcribe for the preſent, are *Wageren*, *Oldenburg*, and *Delmenhorſt*. The firſt of theſe, bounded by *Holſtein Proper* on the Weſt, is about fifty miles in length from North to South, and thirty in breadth. The country had its name from the *Wagrii*, a people of *Sclavonia*, by whom it was ſubdued. The chief towns are *Sageburg*, *Oldefloch*, *Ploen*, and *Oldenburg*, formerly a town of great trade, though now on the decline. We ſhall defer the deſcription of *Norway*, *Iceland*, and the other dominions of the king of *Denmark*, as we propoſe aſſigning to each of theſe a ſeparate ſection, on account of their extent, and their having once been diſtinct kingdoms.

Produce of Denmark.

IN dominions ſo far extended and divided by ſeas, as thoſe of *Denmark*, the nature of the ſoil muſt be various. At leaſt a fourth part of the iſland of *Zealand* is laid out in royal foreſts, filled with ſtags, wild boars, and other game, reſerved intirely for the king's uſe, it being criminal in a peaſant to kill one, tho' he finds them in large flocks devouring his corn.

THE

THE iſland of *Funen* produces corn and wood ſufficient for the purpoſes of the natives; however, the only article for exportation it affords, conſiſts of a few horſes. On the contrary, *Laaland* is a fine grain country, plentiful eſpecially in wheat, with which it ſupplies moſt part of the *Daniſh* dominions in ſmall quantities; for this is a kind of bread but little uſed by the *Danes*.

THE iſlands of *Falſtria*, *Langland*, and *Mona*, all afford corn ſufficient for the conſumption of the natives. *Jutland* abounds in cattle, and is not deficient in corn. The horſes and hogs of the country are excellent, and ſo nouriſhing the paſture, that it is incredible how ſheep and black cattle fatten upon the bareſt ſpots of ground, though it is indeed a general practice, to tranſport lean cattle from thence to *Holland*, a ſort of trade in which the *Dutch* find their account. The dutchy of *Sleſwick* is ſo abundant in corn, cattle, and horſes, that the inhabitants diſpoſe of a conſiderable quantity of horſes to their neighbours. *Holſtein* likewiſe, is a pleaſant fruitful country, which has been compared to *England* in its variety of woods, hills, rivers, meadows, and corn fields. *Oldenburg* abounds in a breed of horſes, much eſteemed for their beautiful cream colour. In a word, the dominions of his *Daniſh* majeſty afford the inhabitants moſt of the conveniencies of life, though they furniſh but few articles of luxury or commerce.

Perſons and dreſs of the Danes.

As to the perſons of the *Danes*, they are in general tall, robuſt, and well made; their features and complexion good, and their hair of a flaxen, yellow, or red colour, in curling and adorning which they take infinite pains. Another writer, however, aſſures us, that the *Danes* are for the moſt part groſs, like the *Dutch*, in their ſhape, and their mien rather forbidding. This remark is, in particular, applicable to the women, who cannot be ſurpaſſed by their ſex in clumſineſs of ſhape, and aukwardneſs of addreſs. Both men and women, however, affect to imitate the *French* dreſs in the ſummer, tho' in winter, like the other northern nations, they wrap themſelves up in furs and wool, keeping themſelves always neat in their linen, ſhifting often, and affecting a genteel appearance.

Manner of living.

THE vulgar live chiefly on rye bread, lean ſalt-fiſh, ſtock-fiſh, roots, and bad cheeſe; but the tables of perſons of condition are plentifully covered with a variety of diſhes. Gluttony and drunkenneſs are, indeed, the vices to which a *Dane* is moſt addicted. The coldneſs of the climate firſt introduced the drinking of ſtrong ſpirits, and cuſtom has carried it into exceſs. The men, ſays Mr. *Moleſworth*, are fond of ſtrong liquors, and the women do not refuſe them. A friend,

whether

whether male or female, no ſooner enters a houſe than brandy is preſented, and the ſame cordial goes liberally round at table. The women, indeed, retire ſoon after dinner; but the men generally ſit till they have conferred the compliment of depriving each other of all ſenſe and motion.

IT is a general obſervation, that *Denmark* has produced but few great geniuſes, either in the arts or ſciences; that they neither excel in imitation or invention; are neither good mechanics, or deeply ſkilled in ſpeculative learning: yet there have prodigies in every ſpecies of knowledge appeared in *Denmark*. It has produced one remarkable aſtronomer, more than one profound critic, and ſeveral very valuable hiſtorians, however low the taſte for polite learning may have ſunk at preſent. Philoſophers have endeavoured to explain the reaſons, why ſhining talents are ſeldom conſpicuous in northern cold climates; and to the phyſical cauſes we may probably add ſome political ones, which would ſeem to have a great influence over *Daniſh* genius. Their exceſſes in eating and drinking muſt neceſſarily blunt the faculties of the mind. Fancy, judgment, and memory, are all weakened or deſtroyed; and theſe cauſes, greatly corroborated by the deſpotiſm of the preſent government, and the little encouragement given to literary merit. It is true, the vulgar in general read and write; the clergy uſually talk impure *Latin*, and the gentry cannot be called illiterate; but this mediocrity is the ſummit of their ambition, a glorious contention and rivalry for excellence being utterly unknown in *Denmark*[a].

Learning and genius of the Danes.

Character. THE character of the people exactly tallies with their erudition; they are no more emulous of excelling in virtue than in knowledge. *Moleſworth* obſerves, that the common people are a poor mean-ſpirited daſtardly race, totally degenerated from the warlike diſpoſition of their anceſtors; equally addicted to fraud themſelves, and ſuſpicious of it in others. *Puffendorf* ſays of the nobility and gentry, "that they have "loſt much of their antient glory; at preſent they ſeek rather to enjoy their revenues in eaſe and luxury, than to toil "for military fame[b];" and it is even the intereſt of the court, that the nobility ſhould neglect the exerciſe of arms, which once rendered them ſo formidable to their kings, and the nation ſo reſpected by all her neighbours. If once their military ſpirit was rouſed, it would probably be attended with efforts for the recovery of their liberties.

[a] MOLESWORTH, c. vii. [b] PUFFENDORFF Hiſt. Univ. t. iv. p. 180.

BEFORE

BEFORE the government was made hereditary, and abſolute in the preſent royal family, by that fatal meaſure in the year 1660, the nobility or gentry lived in great ſplendor and affluence. Their country ſeats were magnificent, and their hoſpitality unbounded, becauſe the means of ſupporting it was adequate: they ſpent moſt of their time about their eſtates, and of their revenues among their neighbours and tenants, by whom they were conſidered as ſo many princes. When the ſtates were annually convened, they met their ſovereign with retinues as numerous and brilliant as his own; they frequently eat at the ſame table with him; their ſuffrages were of the greateſt weight in all public debates; for the commons were generally directed by them, becauſe upon them was their dependance. Now they are fallen from that height of inſolence and power, their condition is low, and they diminiſh daily in number and credit. *Moleſworth* affirms, "that their eſtates ſcarce pay "the taxes impoſed on them, which obliges them to grind "the faces of their poor tenants, to get an overplus for their "own ſubſiſtence. I have been aſſured, (ſays the noble wri-"ter) by ſome gentlemen of good repute, who formerly "were maſters of great eſtates, that they have offered to "make an abſolute ſurrender to the king of large poſſeſſions "in the iſland of *Zealand*, rather than pay the taxes; which "offer, though preſſed with earneſtneſs, would by no means "be accepted. Upon my enquiry into the reaſon of it, I have "been informed, that eſtates belonging to thoſe gentlemen, "lying in other places which had the good fortune to be tax-"ed leſs than the full value of their income, were liable to pay "the taxes of any other eſtate appertaining to the ſame gen-"tleman, in caſe that other eſtate were not able; ſo that "ſome have been ſeen, with a great deal of joy, declaring, "that the king had been ſo gracious as to accept of their eſ-"tates." What a picture this of the moſt abject and deplorable ſlavery! and how ſtriking a contraſt to their once happy condition, when their eſtates were rated for the public ſupport, juſt as inclination and public ſpirit directed the poſſeſſors![a] *Condition of the nobility.*

THESE, and ſeveral other cauſes equally oppreſſive, have effected the fall of the antient *Daniſh* families, and the ruin of thoſe noble ſeats, reſembling palaces, where they lived with the magnificence of princes. Now they retreat into ſome obſcure corner, as if to conceal the diſgrace they have brought upon themſelves, by the want of firmneſs in the defence of their privileges. They are all ambitious of pro-

[a] Lord MOLESWORTH's Account of Denmark, c. viii.

curing

curing employments, civil or military, at court; this indeed being neceſſary to ſecure to their families a competent ſubſiſtence, and skreen their eſtates from the exorbitant exactions of the public collectors. Few of them, however, can expect to be provided for in this manner, as civil employments are neither numerous nor valuable, and as ſtrangers are generally choſen into public offices in preference to the natives; the court imagining itſelf, that they can be more aſſured of the fidelity of foreigners, on whom they beſtow fortunes, than on the poſterity of thoſe whoſe fortunes and liberties they have ruined. To this we may perhaps add another collateral reaſon for the unnatural conduct of the court, which poſſibly finds the courage and ſpirit of the nobility dwindled away with their freedom and property. It is farther remarkable, that in the diſpoſal of poſts and offices, ſuch as are of ordinary birth and fortunes are always preferred to the more antient and wealthy nobility. Here the moſt lucrative and honourable poſts, are filled by men of the loweſt ſtation and education; not that they have aſcended to them by dint of merit, but that they are found the beſt executors of the will of abſolute power and deſpotiſm. Another advantage which the court finds in the promotion of ſuch perſons, is, that if they have grown wealthy by extortion, and clamours are raiſed loud againſt them, they can eaſily be reduced to their primitive condition, and the revenue encreaſed by it, without creating diſcontents among the nobility, on account of kindred, alliance, or friendſhip. Thus, in ſome reſpects, the policy of the court of *Denmark* reſembles the arbitrary meaſures of the *Porte*; they both permit their officers to oppreſs the people, in order to fatten on the ſpoils of the nation, without incurring the odium of being the immediate inſtruments of the public miſery [b].

The policy of the court in the diſpoſal of offices.

Our ſenſible author is of opinion, that the difficulty of providing a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and the little ſecurity there is of property, when attained by toil and induſtry, is the occaſion of that prodigality obſervable among all degrees of people in *Denmark*. Expences in equipages, retinues, and fine cloaths, amount no where to ſuch a pitch of extravagance, in proportion to the income, as in *Copenhagen* [c]. Nothing can be more true, than that parſimony is not only the cauſe but the effect of riches; for, in general, the more wealth a man has, the more does he labour to acquire. But in *Denmark* the courtier never thinks of realizing his money;

[b] Puffendorff, t. iv. ibid. Molesworth. ibid. [c] Id. ibid.

inſtead

inſtead of buying eſtates, he remits his caſh to the banks of *Amſterdam* and *Hamburg*. The gentleman ſpends in his pleaſures the fortune which might become dangerous, by gaining him the reputation of riches. The merchant and burgher live upon credit, there being few of either worth one hundred thouſand rixdollars (A). As to the peaſant, he no ſooner finds himſelf in poſſeſſion of a rixdollar, than he ſquanders it upon brandy, to prevent his landlord's ſeizing upon it. In a word, oppreſſion and arbitrary ſway, beget diſtruſt and doubts about the ſecurity of property: doubts beget profuſion, men chuſing to ſquander on their pleaſures, what they apprehend may excite the rapaciouſneſs of their ſuperiors; and this profuſion is the legitimate parent of that univerſal indolence, poverty, and deſpondence, which ſo ſtrongly characterize the miſerable inhabitants of *Denmark*. We ſpeak of what the country was in the beginning of the laſt reign, in conſequence of the nature of their government; for though the excellent diſpoſition, and mild adminiſtration of *Chriſtiern* VI. and *Frederic* V. alleviated the miſeries of the people, they by no means altered the fundamental principles of the preſent conſtitution. Before their time, the trading towns and villages, *Copenhagen* excepted, were falling into ruin and decay; boroughs, which had lent their king conſiderable ſums of money upon emergencies, were, in lord *Moleſworth's* days, unable to raiſe an hundred rixdollars (B).

To ſet this affecting picture, which is the beſt leſſon to a people as yet bleſſed with their liberties, in the ſtrongeſt point of view, we ſhall beg leave to ſet before the reader a

(A) This is the account of lord *Moleſworth*, who ſeems to have made very accurate obſervations on the then ſtate of *Denmark*; but we have reaſon to believe that the wiſe and politic conduct of his preſent *Daniſh* majeſty, and his royal father *Chriſtiern* VI. has effected a change greatly to the advantage of the country. The latter in particular, was the great promoter of the *Daniſh* commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*, which, on his acceſſion to the throne, was ſunk to a very languid condition. Every branch of trade and induſtry revived under his auſpices, which enabled him to ſupport the government, after he had aboliſhed ſome of the moſt oppreſſive taxes.

(B) This nobleman relates, that when he reſided in *Denmark*, the collectors of the poll-tax were forced to accept of old feather-beds, braſs and pewter pans, and houſhold furniture, inſtead of money, from the once wealthy inhabitants of *Kiog*, though this little town ſupplied *Chriſtiern* IV. with the ſum of two hundred thouſand rixdollars, upon a notice ſo ſhort as twenty-four hours. *Vid. c.* viii.

few

The peaſants ſold with the lands, and transferable like ſtock.

few more obſervations from the ſame author. In *Zealand*, he informs us, the peaſants are as abſolute ſlaves as the negroes of our colonies in the *Weſt-Indies*, with this difference, that they are worſe fed. They and their poſterity are unalterably fixed to the land in which they were born; the landholders eſtimating their wealth by their ſtock of boors. If an eſtate be ſold, the peaſants are likewiſe transferred with it, like wood, houſes, and cattle. Yeomanry, the bulwark of happy *England*, is a ſtate unheard of in *Denmark*; inſtead of which the pitiable drudges, after labouring hard to raiſe the king's taxes, muſt pay the overplus of the profits of lands, and their own toil, to the greedy and neceſſitous landlord. Should any of them prove of a more diligent and inventive turn than his companions, ſo as to live better, repair his farm-houſe, and put forth the appearance of a degree of happineſs and eaſe, ſuperior to the others, it is probable he may be removed from a neat, pleaſant, and commodious houſe, to a naked and uncomfortable habitation, that the landlord may increaſe his rent, by letting the improved farm to another.

The hardſhips they undergo from having the troops quartered upon them

THE quartering and paying the king's troops, is another grievance no leſs oppreſſive than the former, to which the miſerable peaſant is ſubject. The late experience of our own innkeepers, and their complaints to parliament in the year 1758, may give us an idea of the condition of the *Daniſh* peaſants, oppreſſed with the load of thoſe inſolent inmates, who lord it wherever they are privileged by the conſtitution. Another grievance to which they are liable, is the obligation they are under of furniſhing the king, the royal family, their attendants, baggage, and furniture, with horſes and travelling waggons, whenever they undertake a progreſs to *Jutland*, or *Holſtein*, or even through *Zealand*, to any of the royal country houſes. On ſuch occaſions, all the peaſants lying on the road, are ſummoned to attend with their horſes and waggons, at their own expence, no regard being had to the harveſt, which is the uſual ſeaſon for the royal family, to travel. The inſolences committed by the petulant and worthleſs lacqueys, and other ſervants of the court, our author ſays, have excited his compaſſion for the unhappy boors, whom he had ſeen beaten and treated upon a footing with their cattle. However, this uſage would be tolerable, were they ſubjected to it only when the king makes a progreſs; but born to be ſlaves, the peaſants are forced to attend, in the ſame manner, every creature of the court, who has obtained his majeſty's order, a favour ſeldom denied to any man of the leaſt weight and influence.

from ſupplying the king and court with horſes and waggons in their progreſſes.

FROM

FROM all these circumstances it is observable, that altho' *Denmark* has a tendency to be exceeding populous, as appears from the swarms of northern nations, which, in former ages, over-ran all *Europe*; yet poverty, oppression, and poor diet, greatly obstruct procreation, and prevent the encrease of the people. Before the fatal revolution in 1660, there was hardly a family in *Denmark* that was not in possession of a piece of plate, besides silver spoons, gold rings, and other conveniencies and ornaments, of which they are still fond: at present there is nothing of value to be seen in the house of a peasant, all being sold to pay the king's taxes, and gratify the rapacious avarice of the collectors. *The great change in the condition of the peasants.*

ANOTHER consequence which our author deduces from their poverty, is the frequency of apoplexies and epileptic disorders, among the common people. "One, says he, shall "hardly pass through a street in *Copenhagen*, without seeing "one or two of those poor creatures groveling on the ground "in a fit, and foaming at the mouth with a circle of gazers "and assistants about them." Whether these disorders be the genuine result of the causes he ascribes, and the nature of their diet, which is composed of lean salt meats, stock-fish, &c. we cannot pretend to decide, without entering upon a disquisition foreign to our purpose; sufficient it is, that the reader has a view of the deplorable condition of the *Danish* peapeasant, who wanted nothing besides this dreadful disease to crown his misery. There is one disease they call *slacht*, which may be deemed endemial, on account of its universality here among all degrees of people. *Molesworth* says it is a kind of apoplexy, arising from discontent and trouble of mind; but how truly the reader is left to judge. *Diseases consequent to their situation.*

FORMERLY valour and wealth were the only titles to nobility, the nobles and gentry having no real distinction. No degrees of rank, or patents of honour, were dependent on the crown; of late years, however, to compensate the loss of solid privileges, the court confers a few imaginary honours, such as the dignities of *count* and *baron*, to the favourites of the king. These, instead of becoming more independent, are, in consequence of their empty titles, the real slaves and tools of the crown, and used accordingly as the instruments of legal oppression. One exclusive right indeed they enjoy; it is that of disposing of their estates contrary to the course of law, by will or testament, provided that such will be signed and approved by the king during the life of the testator. *Degrees of nobility in Denmark.*

THERE are besides two orders of knighthood in *Denmark*, that of the *Elephant* and *Dane-Broge*, of which the first is the most honourable, and conferred only on persons of the highest distinction and merit. This order was instituted by *Christiern* I.

at his ſon's wedding, the badge being an elephant with a caſtle on its back, ſet with diamonds, and hung on a watered ſky-coloured ribband. As to the *Dane-Broge*, it is the reward of inferior diſtinction; the badge being a white ribband with red edges, having a ſmall croſs of diamonds ſuſpended to it, and an embroidered ſtar on the breaſt of the coat, with this motto, *Pietate et Juſtitia.*

Form of government.

THE antient form of government in *Denmark* was ſimilar to that which the *Goths* and *Vandals*, eſtabliſhed in almoſt all countries where their arms were victorious. To theſe barbarians do we owe the model of a conſtitution far excelling all others, in a juſt mixture of liberty and ſubordination. Till the people reſigned their rights in the year 1660, the king of *Denmark* was elected by his ſubjects of all degrees, divided into different claſſes (A), called *States.* Theſe being convened, were to chuſe for their prince a man, whoſe perſon was unexceptionable, who was valiant, juſt, merciful, affable, prudent, a maintainer of the laws, a lover of the people, an encourager of merit, in a word, adorned with all the accompliſhments and virtues neceſſary for the execution of ſo important a truſt. Due regard for the royal line was always preſerved, and the people thought themſelves happy, if they found in the late king's family virtues and abilities adequate to the great and weighty duty of a monarch. When they happened to be miſtaken in their choice, and, inſtead of the patriot, the warrior, and the ſtateſman, they had promoted a cruel, vicious, and profligate tyrant, they always aſſumed the right of depoſing, baniſhing, and even putting to death their king; and this either by open trial before the ſtates, or, if he was thought too powerful to be brought to public juſtice, by ſecret conſpiracies. In his room they elected the next of kin, if he had merit, or the hero who had hazarded his life for the public, by undertaking the expulſion or the death of the tyrant.

FREQUENT conventions of the different ſtates of the kingdom was a fundamental article of the *Daniſh* conſtitution. Here all matters relative to government were tranſacted,

(A) This fact has the teſtimony of all hiſtorians, and is farther confirmed by that memorable anſwer made by *Waldemar* III. to the pope's nuncio, who aſſumed great authority in the kingdom. "Our "nature, ſays the monarch, "we have from God, our "kingdom from our ſubjects, "our wealth from our parents, "and our religion from the "church of *Rome*, which laſt "we are willing to renounce, "if you envy us the felicity it "brings (1).

(1) *Pontan. Hiſt. p.* 320.

wholeſome laws enacted, peace or war determined, marriages for the royal family projected, taxes impoſed, promotions to the great offices made; in a word, every thing that concerned the legiſlative power. It was a principle of government, that no conſtant tribute ſhould be paid, or any taxes levied on the people, but by the conſent of all the ſtates, and for the ſupport of a neceſſary and juſt war, or payment of a marriage-portion. The king's ordinary revenue aroſe from the crown-lands and demeſnes, his herds and cattle, foreſts and ſervitudes. Thus he lived, like a ſubject, on the produce of his own eſtate, and not as now by the ſweat of the peaſant's brow.

As the legiſlative power was veſted in the ſtates, ſo the king was poſſeſſed of the executive: he was to ſee a due and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; nay, often to preſide in perſon; ſedulouſly to watch for the welfare of his people; to command their armies; to cheriſh induſtry, religion, arts, and ſcience; to keep upon terms of friendſhip with the nobility, and to protect the commons from their inſolence and power.

In this ſituation, with no other alteration than the encreaſing power of the nobles, did the conſtitution remain until the revolution in 1660, which produced a change equally aſtoniſhing in itſelf, and fatal to the liberties of the people. As this new-modelling of the government was effected at a period very diſaſtrous to the nation; after the king had loſt a great part of his dominions in the war with *Sweden*; when the treaſury was exhauſted; the public ſpirit low; without bloodſhed; without force; and in the ſpace of two days, it may juſtly be deemed one of the moſt remarkable events in hiſtory: however, we ſhall only touch upon it in this place, that the reader may have a view of the preſent ſtate of the *Daniſh* government.

The crown rendered abſolute and hereditary.

Immediately after a peace was concluded with *Sweden*, a diet of the ſtates aſſembled to conſider of the means to re-eſtabliſh the public affairs, and enable the people, almoſt undone by the misfortunes attending a tedious and bloody war, to recover their loſſes. As the difficulties which would occur were obvious, the king foreſaw the diſputes which muſt neceſſarily ariſe. He therefore had it artfully inſinuated to the clergy, and the preſident of *Copenhagen*, ſpeaker of the commons, that the public tranquility might be eaſily reſtored, if all the members of the ſtate would bear their proportion of the expence. The commons, in conſequence, laid before the nobility the deplorable ſituation of the people, and the impoſſibility of raiſing money for the current ſervice, unleſs

they conſented to pay their ſhare, which was the more reaſonable as they were the greateſt gainers, and the only monied men in the kingdom. The nobility, who were numerous, inſolent, and powerful, not at all appriſed of the colluſion between the king and commons, dealt very roundly with the latter, telling them it was the higheſt preſumption to enquire into their privileges, and the groſſeſt ignorance in them to dictate to their maſters; for vaſſals they were, and ſhould remain. Fired with this haughty anſwer, the ſpeaker of the commons replied, that ſince they would not uſe the means to preſerve their privileges, they were unworthy of them; that their anſwer to the commons was equally inſolent and cruel; and that, though the commons could not make themſelves noble, yet they would ſhew them it was in their power to make the weight of ſubjection fall upon others as heavy, as till now it had lain upon themſelves. After this ſpirited reply, the ſpeaker retired, and was followed by the clergy and commons to a man, to a hall provided at ſome diſtance for that purpoſe. Here they came to the ſudden and fatal reſolution of devolving their own authority upon the king. Several private meſſages paſſed between them and the court in the evening, and next morning they attended his majeſty in a body, and were admitted to an audience. They ſet forth, that as the preſent conſtitution did not, in their opinion, anſwer the end of government, they were reſolved to put the adminiſtration wholly in his majeſty's hands, becauſe they were ſenſible of his prudence, virtue, and public ſpirit, as well as his great love for his people. His majeſty at firſt pretended to have ſome ſcruples about accepting an arbitrary power; but, on the commons inſiſting upon their requeſt, he told them how much he was obliged to them for their juſt ſentiments of his affection; but that the conſent of the nobility was neceſſary to render any public act, of the nature they propoſed, valid and of effect. At the ſame time he ordered the city gates to be ſhut, under the ſpecious pretext of ſecuring it againſt danger from the ferment ariſen in the diet; and having the army intirely in his power, it was impoſſible for any of the nobility to retire to their eſtates, without his leave, which brought his intrigues to a ſpeedy iſſue. Now the nobility diſcovered their error; but it was too late and irreparable: ſome part of their privileges they determined therefore to reſign, in order to ſecure the reſt. With this view they made his majeſty an offer to advance his prerogative conſiderably, and to ſettle the ſucceſſion in the male line of his iſſue; but they were given to underſtand, that this would neither anſwer his majeſty's purpoſe, nor ſatisfy the clergy and commons. At laſt

laſt they were forced to ſurrender all, and to render his majeſty arbitrary, and the crown hereditary in his iſſue, whether male or female. A few days after the king, queen, and royal family, appeared on a kind of theatre erected for the occaſion; and being ſeated in chairs of ſtate, under canopies of velvet, received the homage of the nobility, clergy, and people, in ſight of the army. Thus the ſtates of *Denmark*, without compulſion, almoſt without intrigue, diveſted themſelves by a certain fatality of thoſe privileges, which had coſt their anceſtors ſo much blood and treaſure. In this condition does the conſtitution now remain, the government being an abſolute and deſpotic monarchy, the rigour of which has, however, been ſoftened by the mild and juſt adminiſtration of the excellent princes who have ſince reigned.

ALTHOUGH the king of *Denmark* profeſſes to ſquare his conduct, by the antient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, yet theſe he takes the liberty of new-modelling, or repealing, as he ſees proper. He is the guardian of orphans, and aſſumes to himſelf the diſpoſal of heirs and heireſſes in marriage. As he is intitled to a third of the money ariſing upon the ſale of lands, no eſtates can be ſold without his permiſſion, except of thoſe who are raiſed to the dignity of counts or barons.

THE king, in his council, determines all public affairs; deliberates on war and peace, alliances and treaties; and of taxes, fortifications, trade, *&c.* without any other aſſiſtance than that of the ſecretaries of ſtate, who are eſteemed, notwithſtanding, rather as miniſterial officers than counſellors of ſtate. Of theſe great officers there are four, who direct buſineſs in their ſeparate departments. The firſt is ſecretary for the affairs of *Denmark*; the ſecond, for thoſe of *Norway*; the third, for foreign affairs; and the fourth, is ſecretary at war.

ONE felicity ſtill remains to *Denmark*; it is the brevity and perſpicuity of the laws, juſtice being no where obtained with leſs expence, or greater expedition. The whole body of *Daniſh* laws is contained in a moderately ſized quarto volume, written in the vernacular tougue, and ſo plainly, ſimply, and intelligibly, as ſcarce ever to require a comment. As they are grounded upon equity rendered familiar to the meaneſt underſtanding, every man capable of reading, may ſoon become acquainted with his own caſe, and even able to plead it, without the aſſiſtance of thoſe peſts of ſociety, attornies, ſolicitors, and the pettyfoggers of the law. Here is none of that chicane and myſtery of the law, which raiſes and deſtroys ſo many eſtates in other countries; a few advocates are

Laws in Denmark; *their brevity.*

ſufficient to conduct the pleadings of all the litigious perſons in the nation; and as their fees are ſmall, and all ſuits neceſſarily determined within a year and a month after their commencment, they are ſeldom burthenſome to the parties.

In *Denmark* are three courts of juſtice, each of which has power to give a definitive ſentence, and muſt acquit or condemn, though there lies an appeal from one to another, but without the formality and expence of again paſſing through the whole ceſs. The moſt circumſcribed court is the *Herredfougds*, ſimilar in nature to our leet-court. It is a tribunal appointed for the diſpatch of buſineſs in the country, to which the *Byfogds* court correſponds in towns and cities. From theſe there lies an appeal to the *Landſtag*, or general head court for the province; and from thence to the *Higt-Right* court at *Copenhagen*, compoſed of the firſt nobility, and often preſided by the king's majeſty in perſon, the whole charge not exceeding ten or twelve pounds ſterling. The *Byfogds* court of *Copenhagen* has this peculiar privilege; that its verdicts, inſtead of paſſing through the *Landſtag*, is reviſed by the burgomaſter and common-council of the city, proceeding immediately from them to the *Higt-Right* court. Should the matter in debate happen not to be poſitively ſpecified in the written law, which ſeldom happens, the verdict is then in the king's breaſt, or in that of his repreſentative, who may be called keeper of the royal conſcience. The ſentences paſſed in the inferior courts are ſeldom partial, the judges dreading the reviſal of the high court, where ſtrict juſtice is adminiſtered between one ſubject and another. The misfortune however is, that the firſt article of the law reſerves to the king the privilege of altering or explaining it at pleaſure; whence it is, that in all cauſes wherein his majeſty or his favourites are intereſted, the ſubject can expect but little juſtice, eſpecially if money be the point in litigation.

In the inferior courts, the reaſons upon which every verdict is founded are ſpecified; but in the ſupreme court, no reaſon is expreſſed for the ſentence; and the judges of the lower courts, are not only puniſhed for miſdemeanors committed in the execution of their office, but obliged alſo to render ſatisfaction to the party injured by an unjuſt ſentence.

In *Denmark* are no public ſocieties of lawyers, or inns of court. Every man takes up the profeſſion at pleaſure, as it requires but little learning to become acquainted with laws ſo conciſe and intelligible; and indeed, the profits are ſo ſmall, that few are induced to aſſume the long robe, who can apply themſelves to any other profeſſion. One excellent regulation

gulation we muſt not omit; it is, that all clerks and regiſters are obliged to bring the whole proceſs of trial within a limited number of ſheets, including the allegations, proofs, and ſentence. A certain price is affixed to each ſheet; and thus the parties have a certainty of the utmoſt expence of a proceeding. How happy would it be for this nation, which boaſts of the freedom of its conſtitution, could ſome check be given to the rapaciouſneſs of the interpreters of thoſe once ſimply but now embarraſſed laws!

THE ſalaries of the judges are paid out of the exchequer; and ſo trifling are they, that a judge of the lower court hath not above twenty-five pounds *per annum*, and others proportionably, which would be a ſtrong temptation to pervert juſtice, were they not awed by the ſupreme court. By the king's order, the magiſtrates of towns provide pleaders for the poor, and thoſe who are unable to defend their own cauſe; an inſtitution founded upon humanity, which we could wiſh to ſee followed in countries more applauded for liberty and generous ſentiments.

IN criminal caſes the ſeverity of the law is extraordinary; and to this many writers have attributed the good order and ſtrict diſcipline of the people. The crimes of murder, robbery, houſe-breaking, high-treaſon, or even ſeditious diſcourſes, are ſeldom heard of: ſo fixed is the government now on the baſis of deſpotiſm, that the moſt turbulent ſpirits are awed into implicit obedience. The moſt frequent crimes are manſlaughter and thieving, and the puniſhment is beheading, which is done by one ſtroke of a ſword (A).

IN *Copenhagen* there is a magiſtrate of police, who preſides over the morals of the people, quiets diſturbances, compoſes differences among the merchants, examines whether their goods be marketable, keeps every profeſſion within its proper bounds, cauſes the ſtreets, bridges, and cauſeways, to be kept *Regulations regarding fire, and good order.*

(A) The executioner or *headſman*, as he is called, though infamous by his profeſſion, compenſates the want of reputation by ſolid profits, ariſing from other employments annexed to his office. His buſineſs it is to keep the ſinks and offices in order, remove all rubbiſh and every thing offenſive out of the ſtreets, keep ſtables and out-houſes clean and ſweet, with ſeveral other neceſſary employments, in which no *Daniſh* ſervant will, upon any conſideration, engage (1). For this purpoſe he has under him a great number of ſervants called *Rackers*, and as he charges his own price, ſoon raiſes a fortune ſuperior to that of ſome of the chief nobility.

(1) *Moleſworth, chap.* XV.

in repair, ſees the markets properly ſupplied with bread at a reaſonable price, ſeizes prohibited goods, aſſiſts with a proper body of men to extinguiſh fires, with every thing elſe which regards the good order, the ſafety, and the conveniency of the city (B).

CHIMNEY ſweepers are bound to keep an exact regiſter, upon oath, of all the chimnies they ſweep, that, in caſe of accidents, thoſe by whoſe avarice or neglect they have happened, may repair the damage at their private expence. Torches aud flambeaux are prohibited in the ſtreets; inſtead of which, perſons of the firſt diſtinction uſe large cloſe lanthorns fixed upon a pole; a neceſſary precaution in a town where ſo many houſes are built of fir timber. The *polity-maſter*, as he is called, regulates likewiſe the price of travelling in open waggons, and ſeverely puniſhes all impoſitions on paſſengers. He impriſons all who travel on the king's particular road, without permiſſion; all poachers and ſportſmen, who appear with guns, dogs, or game: laſtly, he ſuppreſſes riots among the ſoldiers, who are prohibited to be ſeen in the ſtreets after the ſignal for retiring is made by beat of drum.

Regulations of apothecaries.

OF all the regulations in *Denmark*, perhaps that of the apothecaries is the moſt uſeful and ſalutary. No man is permitted to exerciſe that profeſſion, until he paſſes the examination of the college of phyſicians, and is allowed unanimouſly to be ſkilled in his function. In lord *Moleſworth*'s time only two apothecaries were permitted to open ſhops in *Copenhagen*, and one only, in each of the other towns. Their ſhops and medicines are carefully inſpected every quarter by the magiſtrates and phyſicians, and all the bad drugs thrown away. The price is affixed to every article, and the apothecaries are obliged to keep regiſters of all the medicines they ſell or make up, with the names of the patients, and the proper dates; ſo that they are never at a loſs upon whom to charge any unfortunate accident.

(B) One excellent cuſtom is ſtrictly obſerved in *Copenhagen*, and enforced by a law, of which the magiſtrate of police is judge. Here are ſelect companies of men paid by the public, whoſe ſole buſineſs it is to watch and extinguiſh fires, no others daring, on pain of death, to approach within a certain diſtance, leſt under pretence of helping the unfortunate, they ſhould ſeize the opportunity of plundering them: a law this which not only prevents loſſes and frauds, but greatly contributes to ſuppreſſing fires, by the order and regularity obſerved on theſe occaſions (1).

(1) *Moleſworth, ibid.*

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In the country the government is conducted by dividing it into certain districts, called *Stifts-Ampts*, of which there are seven; four in *Jutland*, and three in the islands. Every *stifts-ampt* is subdivided into a lesser jurisdiction, called *Ampt*. A person of quality is generally chosen *stifts-amptsman*, a post equivalent to lord-lieutenant in *England*, or intendant in *France*, to which last it approaches the nearest. *Amptsman*, or under-governor of an *ampt*, is generally a person of inferior rank, who resides in the principal town of his district, and is entrusted with all matters relating to the public; the quartering of soldiers, providing for their march, collecting the king's taxes, directing the peasants employed in public works, or when the king travels: these employments are for life, and given as rewards to those who have faithfully served the court. Persons who have resided at foreign courts in quality of ambassadors, are usually preferred to *stifts-ampts* on their return, if their conduct has received the approbation of his majesty. His salary is a thousand crowns, and that of the *amptsman* four hundred; but the chief advantages arising from their posts, are the interest they in consequence have at court, by which they shift off the most grievous taxes from their estates; and the great power and authority which it gives them within their jurisdiction, where they are considered as petty princes [a]. *Stifts-Ampts.*

The king's revenue arises either from the duties paid by his own subjects, from the customs paid by foreigners, or from the crown lands, fines, and confiscations. The taxes upon his own subjects are either fixed or variable; we mean, that the prince in some cases chuses to follow a rule, established by himself, which, however, he may alter if he finds it necessary. Of the first sort are the duties upon imports and exports, and formerly the excise upon the necessaries of life, now abolished. There are also duties upon marriage licences, upon stamp paper, on bargains, contracts, grants, and proceedings at law. That is, the duty is laid upon the paper, and all the proceedings necessarily written on stamp paper, the duty on which after amounts to several rixdollars each sheet. Formerly an excise was laid on brewing, malt, and corn that was grinded in mills; but we are told that this duty is either intirely abolished, or at least greatly lowered. Such were the fixed duties, which seldom received any alteration. The variable duties are, the land-tax, assessed not by the acre, but by the annual value of the farm or estate; the poll-tax, imposed upon every sub- *Revenues.*

[a] Vid. Molesworth's Account of Denmark, ubi supra.

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ject according to his wealth; money levied for repairing the old fortifications, or erecting new; an occaſional tax laid on the marriage of a princeſs for the payment of her portion; a tax laid upon tradeſmen, for the liberty of exerciſing their ſeveral occupations; the ground-rents in all cities and towns, taxed according to the value of the houſe, or the ability of the tenant. In *Holſtein* the lands are taxed by the plough, each plough paying a certain ſum of money monthly. About the year 1690, a valuation was made of all the houſes in the cities and towns within the king's dominions, and the lands in the country were meaſured, the more eaſily to aſſeſs them, and determine their real value. The ground-rent in towns and cities was fixed at four *per cent.* of the real value of the ground, ſuppoſing it were put up to ſale. As to the poll-tax, the moſt moderate aſſeſsment is in the following proportion. A citizen worth eight or ten thouſand rixdollars, pays four for himſelf, four for his wife, two for each child, one for each ſervant, and as much for every horſe. A publican pays one rixdollar for himſelf, another for his wife, twenty-four ſtivers for every child, and ſixteen for every ſervant. The tax levied for erecting and repairing the fortifications is uſually laid high. A merchant worth ſix or eight thouſand dollars, ſhall often pay ſixty-eight dollars; an ordinary citizen eight or ten, and others in proportion; but the reader is to obſerve, that we have no late accounts of the ſtate of the revenue, which is probably raiſed in a manner infinitely leſs oppreſſive than it was after a long and ruinous war.

In *Norway* the revenue ariſes from a certain proportion of the timber, tar, fiſh, and oil, that is exported, and alſo certain duties upon theſe. To this may be added a ſmall profit ariſing from mines; but the laſt and moſt conſiderable branch is drawn from the crown lands and confiſcations. However, the king frequently becomes the poorer for the addition to his demeſnes by confiſcations; for he no ſooner becomes the proprietor, than labour ceaſes, improvements are neglected, and the whole is often converted into foreſts for his diverſion; a moſt impolitic and deſtructive practice, happily aboliſhed in our own country.

Upon the whole, the king's revenue is very conſiderable; and lord *Molesworth* has computed them as follows: The toll of the *Sound* worth ſixty-five thouſand rixdollars, *per annum*; the reſt of the toll of *Denmark*, farming at one hundred and ſixty-five thouſand rixdollars; the exciſe of *Copenhagen* farmed at one hundred and forty thouſand rixdollars; the exciſe of the reſt of his majeſty's dominions at one hundred and forty thouſand rixdollars; the ſmaller taxes of the king-

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dom at one hundred thouſand rixdollars; the whole revenue of *Norway* at ſeven hundred thouſand rixdollars; the crown lands, confiſcations, *&c.* at two hundred thouſand rixdollars; the revenue of *Iceland*, farmed at twenty-ſeven thouſand rixdollars; *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorſt* at eight thouſand; and the toll upon the *Weſer*, at five thouſand: the whole amounting to two millions ſix hundred and twenty-two thouſand rixdollars, from which a deduction of four hundred thouſand rixdollars ought to be made, as the pole and fortification taxes were never levied in the ſame year. The ſenſible author of the Preſent State of *Europe*, eſtimates the revenue at nearly the ſame ſum, though we are apt to believe he has been led into this miſtake by lord *Moleſworth*, who wrote in the year 1690, without reflecting upon the great increaſe of induſtry and commerce, and the extraordinary addition to the revenue from theſe, as well as from foreign ſubſidies, which amount to above a million of rixdollars from *France* alone. Certain it is, that the exportation of beef, butter, tar, timber, *&c.* has greatly encreaſed of late years, and has proportionably enriched the exchequer, and the private trader, tho' it would be difficult to aſcertain the exact value of this increaſe (A).

It is allowed on all hands, that ſpecie is ſcarce in *Denmark*, few perſons having any ready caſh lying by them; and the traders through whoſe hands it paſſes, having ſmall

(A) That the reader may have a clearer idea of the above revenues, as well as of other particulars mentioned in the preceding pages, it may be neceſſary to give him a ſhort account of the *Daniſh* coins, weights, and meaſures. A roſe noble is eighteen ſhillings *ſterl.* a ducat nine ſhillings, a rixdollar four ſhillings and ſix-pence, a ſlet dollar three ſhillings, a rix-mark eleven-pence, a ſlet-mark nine-pence, a ſtiver one penny; beſides which, there is a variety of ſmaller copper coins. It would appear, however, that the rixdollar and ſtiver have no fixed valuation, as ſeveral writers reckon the former at four ſhillings and nine-pence half-penny, and the ſtiver at nearly a penny farthing. Their weights are the great and ſmall hundred, the firſt one hundred and twenty, and the latter one hundred and twelve pounds: they have alſo their liſpound, equivalent to our ſtone, and their ſhippand, which makes twenty liſpounds. An hundred weight *Engliſh* hardly amounts to ninety-two *Daniſh* pounds. A *Daniſh* ell is about one-third leſs than an *Engliſh*; but of their liquid meaſure we find no exact account, nor indeed any thing ſo accurate as we could wiſh concerning their weights or dry meaſure (1).

(1) *Vid. Arith. Comm. Bueſch, p.* 16.

capitals

capitals and large debts in *Holland* and *Hamburg*, no ſooner receive money than they pay it away again. Another circumſtance which greatly contributes to the draining *Denmark* of its ſpecie, is the payment of the troops, as at leaſt half the officers are foreigners, who place whatever they accumulate in foreign banks; a practice too frequent among the officers of ſtate likewiſe. Formerly the balance of trade againſt *Denmark* uſed to carry off large ſums; for it was eſtimated that foreign imports for the conſumption of the country, exceeded the exported produce by near a fifth [a]: but how they were for ſuch a number of years able to ſupport ſo loſing a trade, is what we are unable to comprehend. At preſent we believe the balance is in favour of the *Danes*, with reſpect to moſt countries where they trade, labour being incredibly cheap. The moſt plentiful coin, even now, is copper, whence if a man has a large ſum to receive, he is forced to employ wheel-barrows to carry it off; and we have heard merchants declare, that in their accounts they have charged a certain ſum for that purpoſe; a preſumption this of the ſcarcity of money, notwithſtanding we ſee the baſer coins prevail in rich countries, though for different reaſons.

Pay of the troops. To an *Engliſhman* unacquainted with the value of money in northern countries, it would be incredible what an army the king of *Denmark* ſupports at a leſs expence than this nation can maintain eight regiments of horſe and foot. It is computed, that *Denmark* and the *German* dominions maintain an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two thouſand dragoons, in profound peace; and *Norway* thirteen thouſand foot, and near three thouſand horſe and dragoons; together with three thouſand ſeamen, who are employed in the king's dock-yards, when they are not wanted for the equipment of a ſquadron [a]. From comparing this proportion of troops with the revenue, we may eaſily conclude how ſmall their ſoldiers pay muſt be; but the leſs the treaſury is drained by the payment of troops, the more does the poor peaſant ſuffer upon whom he is quartered. All the navy-officers are in conſtant pay in peace, as well as in war; whence it is, that the king of *Denmark* is able to equip a fleet of thirty ſail of men of war upon almoſt the ſhorteſt notice (B). Thus we ſee that an

[a] MOLESWORTH, ibid.

(B) It will not be diſagreeable to the more curious reader to ſee an account of the pay of the ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, which is as follows: a captain of foot is paid twenty rixdollars *per* month, a lieutenant eleven, and an enſign ten. A ſerjeant's pay

an army of between thirty and forty thouſand men, and three thouſand ſeamen, the charges of the civil liſt, the maintenance of the courts, king's children, public miniſters, officers of juſtice, *&c.* are ſupported upon a revenue not greater than the civil liſt of *Great Britain*; whence we may judge of the œconomy of the government, the ſcarcity of ſpecie, and the cheapneſs of proviſions in *Denmark*.

Religion, marriages, &c.

It is time we ſhould now come to treat of the religion, marriages, and funerals of *Denmark*, with which we ſhall cloſe this ſection, and our account of the preſent ſtate of the kingdom; adding only a few reflections upon the true political intereſt of that nation, with reſpect to the powers with whom ſhe is connected, either by commerce, treaties, or ſituation.

In *Denmark* the people were pagans till the year 826, when *St. Augarius*, biſhop of *Hamburg* and *Bremen*, firſt introduced Chriſtianity in the reign of *Harold Clackius*, the firſt Chriſtian *Daniſh* monarch [b]. About the year 1537, the doctrine of *Luther* was firſt propagated in this northern kingdom, by *Bugenhage*, a *Pomeranian* divine, who met with a ſtrong patron in *Frederic* I. Since Proteſtantiſm was eſtabliſhed, no other religion, and particularly that of the church of *Rome*, has ever been admitted into the kingdom, or, indeed, permitted worſhip in it, till of late years. Perhaps no Catholic country in *Europe* requires a ſtricter conformity than *Denmark*, people being prohibited to talk with freedom on the points in diſpute, or to abſent themſelves from the churches upon any pretence. The clergy are the tools of the government, their doctrine being a blind and implicit obedience to ſuperiors; in return for which they are protected by the court.

[b] Suaning. Chron. Dan. p. 63. Meursii Hiſt. & Pontan. ſub hoc regno.

pay amounts only to ſix rixdollars, a drummer's to three rixdollars and eight ſtivers, and a corporal's to about four rixdollars a month. A common ſoldier receives no more than ſeventeen ſtivers weekly, the reſt of his pay being applied for bread, cloathing, and other things. As to the pay of the ſuperior officers, we have no certain information: we are told, however, that a colonel's, including his pay as a captain, amounts to fifty rixdollars monthly, a lieutenant-colonel's thirty, and a major's twenty. Officers of horſe have in peace the ſame pay with the foot, his horſes being wholly maintained by the peaſants on whom he is quartered. In *Norway*, we are told, that little money is expended in the payment of the troops, the private ſoldiers being wholly ſubſiſted by the boors.

They

They are highly reſpected by the people, becauſe they ſee them regarded by the adminiſtration; and this makes their precepts be received with more weight. They intermeddle in no civil affairs, nor are they retained at court, or the houſes of the nobility, in quality of chaplains; this office being always performed by a lacquey.

In the pulpit the clergy aſſume the authority of the miniſters of *Chriſt*, and reprove with great freedom ſinners of quality, who have practiſed public vices; nor are any liberties conſiſtent with the duties of their function taken amiſs, provided they never intermeddle with politics. The common people adore them for the ſpirit with which they reprehend their ſuperiors; for nothing is ſo grateful to mankind, as to ſee thoſe raiſed by fortune above them brought down to their own level. Their benevolences to the clergy are in proportion to the degree of ſatisfaction they receive in this reſpect; whence it is, that a miniſter of courage can raiſe his ſtipend to double the value. Another circumſtance that greatly contributes to keep up the authority of the clergy, is their retaining confeſſion, without which, perſons of the higheſt quality are denied the ſacrament.

The *Danes* have conſtituted ſuperintendants in the room of biſhops and archbiſhops, who are deprived of the authority as well as the name of right worſhipful; however, they take it kindly to be addreſſed by thoſe titles, after which they have a hankering. Within the *Daniſh* dominions are ten of thoſe ſuperintendants, *viz.* one in *Zealand*, one in *Funen*, four in *Jutland*, and four in *Norway*. They have no temporalities, hold no eccleſiaſtical courts, have no cathedrals with deans and chapters, but are chiefly employed in animadverting on the doctrines and manners of the clergy and people. The ſuperintendant of *Copenhagen* has a kind of ſuperior authority, and a ſtipend proportionable, which is fixed at two thouſand rixdollars yearly. Each of the other *Daniſh* ſuperintendants have fifteen hundred, and thoſe of *Norway* one thouſand rixdollars each; hardly the value of a moderate *Engliſh* living. They preach without book, and uſe abundance of action. They obſerve holidays with the ſame rigid devotion as *Sunday*, the gates of *Copenhagen* being ſhut during divine ſervice, and the people very conſtant in their attendance; but the ſervice being ended, they relax their ſpirits with all kinds of paſtimes and diverſions. It is even common to ſit down with a clergyman at cards immediately after he has quitted the pulpit, where he has preached ſo feelingly as to drown his congregation in tears. The clerical habit is a plaited black gown, with

with ſhort wide ſleeves, a large ſtiff ruff, and a round flat cap, reſembling our univerſity matriculating-cap.

PENANCES impoſed by the confeſſor, are readily performed by the people; nor do they refrain coming to church, tho' they are condemned to ſtand like criminals at the door for whole months. To conclude, there is no country in the world where the minds of the clergy and people are more upon a level than in *Denmark*. If you meet with few of extraordinary talents and qualifications, as few are ſeen who merit the appellation of madmen, fools, or enthuſiaſts. A certain equality reigns among them, every one keeping the common beaten road of ſenſe, without addition or diminution.

As to the marriage ceremonies in *Denmark*, they differ but little from our own. What chiefly deſerves notice is, that the parties are often contracted for years before marriage is ſolemnized in church, and as intimate before as after the ceremony. It is ſufficient that it be performed before the woman brings forth her firſt child; this is no offence in the eye of the people, nor is it animadverted upon by the clergy. The eſpouſals, however, are extremely ſolemn before friends; and the parties are then, and not before, deprived of the liberty of marrying elſewhere: yet we are told by ſome writers, that the firſt contract is valid in law, the marriage ceremony being eſteemed only a public declaration of their engagements. *Marriages.*

The *Danes* bury their dead with the utmoſt funeral pomp; and it is not uncommon to keep a corpſe for years, in order to make preparations for the moſt magnificent interment. The poor indeed have their remains laid in the ground with leſs ceremony; though even among them it is uſual to have a band of hired mourners, employed by the pariſh to attend the body to the grave [a]. *Funerals.*

WITH reſpect to the intereſt of *Denmark*, it may be collected from what we have ſaid of its preſent ſtate. The rapid progreſs of the *Ruſſians*, to a civilized, warlike, and potent nation, renders it indiſpenſibly neceſſary, that the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden* live in ſtrict harmony, to ſecure the independence of both. As the maritime powers are, however, the ſtrongeſt barriers againſt the encroachments of that vaſt empire, it is above all things neceſſary, that *Denmark* cultivate their friendſhip; and this is equally important to the ſecurity of his majeſty's trade and dominions. How far the preſent diſturbances in *Germany* ought to induce his majeſty to break off his connections with *France*, and ſupport his *Pruſ-*

[a] MOLESWORTH, ibid. Preſent State of Europe, ibid.

ſian

ſian majeſty, and the Proteſtant intereſt, at the hazard of breaking with *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*, though with reſpect to the laſt he has little to fear, amidſt the civil commotions of the nation, it requires no great depth of ſagacity to penetrate. But we have already exceeded our limits, and muſt now enter upon the *Daniſh* hiſtory, where we find ſuch a long ſeries of kings, as will render it impoſſible for us to enter upon a minute recital of all the important events, without ſwelling our work to an enormous ſize. However, as we believe no complete hiſtory of this nation has ever appeared in any modern language, we doubt not but the bare annals of ſo antient and famous a people will be acceptable to the curious reader.

SECT. II.

Containing the Hiſtory of the ~~Swediſh~~ Daniſh Monarchs to the ſixteenth Year of the Chriſtian Æra.

D A N.

Dan, 1ſt *king of* Denmark. *Ante Chri.* 1038.

ALMOST all hiſtorians agree, that *Dan*, the ſon of *Humble*, a native of *Zealand*, was the founder and firſt king of the country called *Denmark*, from his name. His poſſeſſions and influence were very conſiderable, not only in *Zealand* but in the iſlands of *Langland* and *Mona*; it was his courage, however, and ſkill in the art of war, that raiſed him to the crown of *Denmark*, and induced the inhabitants to chuſe him for their king. He governed *Zealand* for his aged father, when the *Saxons* made an irruption into *Jutland*. The people, in deſpair, implored his aſſiſtance, promiſing him the ſovereignty of the country, if he drove out the enemy. *Dan*, fired with ambition, immediately raiſed an army, marched againſt the *Saxons*, obtained a complete victory, and reaped the promiſed reward. Soon after his father died, leaving him ſovereign of *Jutland*, *Zealand*, *Langland*, and *Mona*, about one thouſand and thirty-eight years before the birth of *Chriſt* [a] (A). To ſtrengthen his intereſt, and ſecure his poſ-

[a] SUANING. Ripen. Chron. Dan. p. 25. PONTAN. Hiſt. Dan. p. 12. SAXO GRAM. Hiſt. Dan. p. 5. MEURSII Hiſt. Dan. p. 1.

(A) Some writers deny that the kingdom of *Denmark* is ſo antient as *Grammaticus*, and the other authors we quote in the margin.

poſſeſſions, he determined upon a ſtrict alliance with the *Saxons*; and for this purpoſe married *Gritha*, a lady of great conſideration among them, by whom he had two ſons. After reigning forty years with the utmoſt juſtice and reputation, he died greatly lamented by his ſubjects.

HUMBLE.

THIS excellent prince was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Humble*, who was elected by the unanimous voice of the people (B). His reign was ſhort, according to ſome hiſtorians [b], and all agree that it was unfortunate; for he was depoſed by his brother, and reduced to a private ſtation, ſeven years after he had been raiſed to the throne. Humble, *2d king.* A. C. N. 998.

LOTHER.

LOTHER now uſurped the crown of his unfortunate brother, who ſupported his misfortunes with a conſtancy and magnanimity which declared him worthy of a better fate. The uſurper governed the *Danes* with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity; he baniſhed, or put to death, all the nobility whoſe power rendered them dangerous, or wealth excited his avarice. Suſpicion, luſt, and cruelty, made him at length intolerable to a people, whoſe ſpirit was not yet extinguiſhed by oppreſſion. They revolted, and *Lother* loſt his life, on account of thoſe very vices by which he obtained his crown [c]. Lother, *3d king.*

SKIOLDO.

BY the votes of the people, his ſon *Skioldo*, then a boy, was appointed to ſucceed *Lother*. The ſweetneſs of his diſ- Skioldo, *4th king.* A. C. N. 966.

[b] SUANING. p. 26. [c] SAXO GRAM. p. 1. PONTAN.

margin aſſert. *Gaſſar* in particular affirms, that *Dan* lived only four hundred and ninety years before *Chriſt*; but we muſt either ſuppoſe, that the reigns of the *Daniſh* princes were uncommonly ſhort, or that their hiſtorians have given lives of ſeveral kings who never exiſted; but *Gaſſar* does not take it upon him to aſſert the latter; and the abſurdity of the former ſuppoſition is too evident to require any refutation. Indeed, the regular and clear genealogy and chronology of thoſe princes, put it beyond all doubt, that *Denmark* is one of the moſt antient monarchies in *Europe*.

(B) We are told by *Saxo Grammaticus*, and the moſt antient *Daniſh* hiſtorians, that the electors ſtood upon long ſtones which they raiſed upon one end on the ground, and by their ſtability, prognoſticated the felicity of the future reign. *Gram. p.* 1.

poſition, his bodily ſtrength, and his courage, diſtinguiſhed even at that age, had determined the ſtates not to puniſh the ſon for the crimes of the father; and the virtues which *Skioldo* diſplayed in the courſe of a long and proſperous reign, amply rewarded the juſtice of their choice (C). An extraordinary inſtance of his ſtrength and intrepidity happened at the age of fifteen. Being on a party of hunting, he ſeized upon a wild boar, of a monſtrous ſize, and held the furious beaſt with his girdle until he was aſſiſted by his companions; a ſpecimen of his valour that rendered him more dear to his ſubjects, by whom he was already beloved. Soon after his reputation received additional luſtre, by his engaging in ſingle combat with the two moſt celebrated wreſtlers and boxers of thoſe times, whom he defeated. He married *Avilda*, a *Saxon* lady, who had been addreſſed by her king: this drew upon him a war with the *Saxons*, which terminated in the death of their prince, and the reduction of the country by *Skioldo*. However, his lenity was no leſs conſpicuous than his courage; he permitted the conquered *Saxons* to chuſe another king, contenting himſelf with a moderate tribute to reimburſe his people for the expences of the war. After this he applied his mind to the arts of peace; he rewarded virtue, puniſhed vice, and encouraged induſtry. It was his conſtant ſaying, 'That the true grandeur of a 'prince conſiſts rather in making his ſubjects happy, than 'in oppreſſing his neighbours, with a view to extend his ſo-'vereignty[d].' He was the patron of the poor, the protector of the injured, and the ſuccour of the diſtreſſed. In a word, his virtues were ſo extraordinary, and his people ſo ſenſible of the bleſſings they enjoyed during his long reign, that all good kings were, for a ſeries of ages, ſirnamed after him. Sinking at laſt under old age and infirmity, the nobles propoſed that he ſhould raiſe his ſon *Gram* to a partnerſhip with him in the throne, in order to eaſe him of the weight of government, and inſtruct the young prince in the art of reigning. This propoſition was vehemently oppoſed by *Ringo*, a nobleman of the firſt diſtinction in *Zealand*, who was ambitious of fixing the crown upon his own head. *Skioldo* immediately raiſed ſome troops, attacked the rebel, defeated and killed

[d] GRAM. p. 2.

(C) *Jo. Suaningius*, in his Chronology of the *Daniſh* kings, places *Boghio*, the ſon of *Humble*, before *Skioldo*; but we find his conjecture confirmed by the authority of no *Daniſh* hiſtorian. *Ibid p.* 26.

him,

him, and after firmly eſtabliſhing his ſon in the throne, expired, univerſally beloved and lamented. To this day the place where his palace ſtood is called *Skioldeneſſa* [e].

GRAM.

GRAM inherited the virtues as well as the crown of his father. His whole reign was a ſeries of victories and conqueſts, ariſing leſs from his ambition than the turbulence of his neighbours. *Sictrug*, king of *Sweden*, taking advantage of the youth of *Gram*, made an irruption into *Jutland* with a powerful army; but he was attacked and ſlain by the young monarch of *Denmark*, who ſoon after annexed *Sweden* to his own crown. *Gram* diſcovering that *Swarin*, viceroy of *Gothland*, was conſpiring againſt his life, in order to raiſe himſelf to the throne of *Sweden*, challenged him to ſingle combat, and ſlew him. Scarce had he finiſhed this gallant action, when honour called him to *Norway*, to revenge the diſgrace of his ſiſter, raviſhed by *Suibdager*, who had depoſed her husband, and uſurped the crown of *Norway*. After a courſe of victories gained over the *Norwegians*, at length he fell by the hand of *Suibdager*, and died with the reputation of a great prince, whoſe character was ſoiled with no other blemiſh than inconſtancy and infidelity to his wives. He left behind him two ſons, *Guthorm*, by *Groa*, his firſt wife; and *Hadding*, by *Signe*, his ſecond, after repudiating the former.

Gram, 5th king. A. C. N. 888.

SUIBDAGER.

SUIBDAGER, purſuing his victory, united the crown of *Denmark* and *Sweden* to that of *Norway*, to neither of which he had any natural right. Moved by the prayers of *Groa*, the divorced wife of *Gram*, he replaced *Guthorm* in the throne of his father, on condition that *Denmark* ſhould be tributary to him, gave *Sweden* to his own ſon *Aſmond*, reſerving only *Norway* to himſelf; after which he was defeated and ſlain by *Hadding*, the ſecond ſon of *Gram*, in a ſea-fight off the coaſt of *Sweden*.

Suibdager, 6th king. A. C. N. 856.

GUTHORM.

GUTHORM enjoyed the crown of *Denmark* but a ſhort time: he found himſelf deſpiſed by the nobility, and hated by the common people, for ſtooping to hold a tributary crown. His father's virtues roſe in their memory; they upbraided the ſon with them, which ſunk ſo deeply into his

Guthorm, 7th king.

[e] Pontan. Meurs. & Saxo Gramat. ubi ſupra.

mind, that he fell ſick and died of grief, being ſucceeded by the brave *Hadding*, the avenger of his father's death, and conqueror of the uſurper *Suibdager*.

HADDING.

Hadding, 8th king. A. C. N. 816.

NUMBERLESS are the exploits related of this hero, which favour ſo much of fiction, that we will not venture to give them a place in our hiſtory. During his exile he traverſed almoſt all the northern kingdoms, attended by *Harpinga*, a *Daniſh* lady, who ſupported all the fatigues and hardſhips they underwent, with a more than maſculine conſtancy and intrepidity. She ſhared all his misfortunes, conquered by his ſide, alleviated his diſtreſs, applied balſam to his wounds, and was at length the companion of his proſperity, after ſurmounting incredible difficulties. He was no ſooner placed on the throne of *Denmark*, than *Aſmond* king of *Sweden*, thirſting to revenge his father's death, attacked him with a numerous army; but he was ſo well ſupported by his faithful ſubjects, that he ſlew with his own hand in battle *Henry* prince of *Sweden*, and afterwards the king his father, whoſe body he pierced with his lance. In this engagement *Hadding* received a wound in his foot, of which he was lame all his life after. Returning from this war, he found the treaſury robbed in his abſence, and immediately ordered *Glamer*, to whom he had committed the charge of his money and jewels, to be hanged upon a gibbet; an example that ſtruck ſuch terror as induced his accomplices to replace their ſhare of the ſpoils.

WHILE *Hadding* was buſied in framing laws, and eſtabliſhing good order and tranquility in his kingdom, he was ſuddenly attacked by *Uffon*, the ſecond ſon of *Aſmond*, who, after his father's death had ſucceeded to the throne of *Sweden*. *Uffon*, aware of the valour and power of *Hadding*, would not venture upon an open war; but collecting a great fleet and army, he made a deſcent upon the coaſts of *Denmark*, ſet fire to the towns, carried off the inhabitants, and after laying a great part of the country waſte, retreated to his own kingdom, whither he was cloſely purſued by the *Dane*, after he had firſt ſecured his frontiers by ſtrong guards and garriſons. What he wanted in courage *Uffon* fully ſupplied in cunning; he declined battle, and ſo harraſſed *Hadding* with marches and countermarches, cutting off his proviſions, laying waſte the countries through which he muſt paſs, and attacking his out-parties, that, reduced to the laſt extremity, he determined to hazard all to come to an engagement. As the *Danes* were by this time worn out with fatigue, and weakened

weakened by famine, the *Swedes* found it no difficult matter to reſiſt their moſt ſtrenuous efforts; upon which *Hadding* retired with prodigious loſs, firſt to *Helſingia*, a northern province of *Sweden*, and from thence to *Norway*, where he applied to *Hacquin* the king for aſſiſtance. While the reinforcement was levying, he fell in love with *Hacquin*'s daughter, married to a deformed nobleman of *Norway*, whom he challenged to fight. After having ſlain the husband, he obtained the daughter in marriage, with the conſent of her father, herſelf making no ſcruple about eſpouſing a king, tho' the murderer of her husband. The auxiliaries being ready to march, *Hadding* a ſecond time led his army into *Sweden*, which ſo terrified *Uffon*, that he determined to effect by aſſaſſins, what he had not the courage to attempt by a fair and open war. Promiſing his daughter, a beautiful young lady with a large portion, to whoever would bring him the king of *Denmark*'s head, *Thumming*, a nobleman of *Sweden*, undertook the inglorious exploit; but finding all his attempts fruſtrated, he had recourſe to the *Biarmis*, a people at that time inhabiting the remoter parts of *Finland*. Still he was unſucceſsful; but that nothing might be wanting to gain ſo noble a prize as the king's daughter, he applied himſelf to magic: here likewiſe all his arts were foiled by an old magician in *Hadding*'s camp, who countermined all his plots and contrivances. At laſt, mad with deſpair, he made an aſſault upon the *Daniſh* camp, and was repulſed with great loſs. *Hadding* purſuing his victory, reſolved to put an end to the war, by beſieging *Uffon* in *Upſal*, then the capital of *Sweden*. *Uffon*, to ward off the impending blow, ſent ambaſſadors to the *Dane*, with terms of accommodation, and gave ſome of his nobility as hoſtages: upon which *Hadding*, who ſuſpected no treachery, entered *Upſal*, and was ſplendidly entertained. The houſe was filled with aſſaſſins, who were ready to execute their baſeneſs on a ſignal given, before which they were fortunately diſcovered by ſome of *Hadding*'s guard, and immediately put to death. To revenge the perfidy, *Hadding* purſued the war againſt *Uffon*, attacked, defeated, and killed him in the field; but with a generoſity becoming a conqueror, gave the kingdom to *Hunding*, *Uffon*'s brother, and buried the royal corpſe with funeral honours, which the villainous treachery of his life little merited. After numberleſs exploits performed in *Jutland*, *Courland*, *Saxony*, and *Britain*, he laid violent hands on himſelf, probably in diſguſt at the unnatural conduct of his favourite daughter *Uvilda*, who had made repeated attempts upon her father's life. Thus he fulfilled a prophecy well known among the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Saxons*,

'That *Hadding* would escape all the snares of his enemies, 'and the treachery of his own blood, only to lay violent 'hands on himself'[a] (A).

FROTHO I.

Frotho I. 9th king. A. C. N. 761.

HADDING left two children by *Ragnilda*, a daughter of *Hugh* king of *Russia*. *Frotho* the son succeeded to the crown of *Denmark*, and *Suanhuida*, the daughter, to the sovereignty of *Sweden*. *Frotho*, from his excellent qualities, was surnamed *Giffmild*, or *Generous*, inheriting all the virtues of his father, with his throne. On his accession he found the treasury so exhausted, that he was unable to advance the soldiers their arrears. To remedy this evil, without laying fresh taxes upon the people, he attacked a dragon, as tradition reports, or rather *Draco*, a famous pirate, who had laid up prodigious wealth in remote caves, which he defended by a strong body of desperate ruffians. *Draco* was slain, and all his treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was enabled thereby to enter upon the mighty designs which he had formed in his mind. In a word, he conquered *Britain*, *Scotland*, (for at that time the country south of the *Tweed* went by the name of *Britain*) *Sleswick*, *Russia*, *Pomerania*, *Holstein*, and other countries. He seized upon *London*, the capital of *Britain*, by an ingenious stratagem; for causing it to be rumoured that he died in the camp, leave was asked of the *British* governor, to bury the royal corpse in a certain temple in the city, and a treaty concluded for this purpose. The governor suspecting no treachery, admitted a corpse, attended by a numerous procession of supposed mourners, who had concealed arms under their cloaths. Others dropped in afterwards; and when *Frotho* thought his strength sufficient, the signal was made for his men to fall upon the *Britons*, which they obeyed with incredible fury, slaying all before them till they got possession of the city, in spite of the desperate defence of the inhabitants. Returning thence to *Denmark*, he entered upon a fresh war with the king of *Sweden*, who had married his sister, and pe-

[a] SAXO GRAMMAT. a p. 19 ad p. 20. PONTAN. Hist. p. 15. MEURS. Hist. p. 4, 5, 6. SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 29, 30.

(A) We find in some historians, that *Hadding*, after his return from *Britain*, hanged himself in presence of his whole court. It was reported that he died in that island, and *Hunding* king of *Sweden*, celebrating his funeral rites, was drowned in a caldron of wort. *Hadding's* death is attributed to his grief for this misfortune (1).

(1) *Suaning. p.* 30.

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riſhed in battle, not by the hands of the enemy, but oppreſſed and born down by the weight of his own armour, leaving behind him three ſons, *Haldan*, *Roe*, and *Scal*, and the reputation of a great warrior [b].

HALDAN.

HALDAN, the eldeſt, an ambitious, cruel, and unnatural prince, ſucceeded to his father's crown, which he endeavoured to render ſecure by the death of his two brothers, in a manner equally brutal and inſidious. It is indeed ſuppoſed by hiſtorians, that they both aſpired to the throne; the only circumſtance that can at all palliate the king's cruelty, who, not contented with polluting his hands with the blood of his brethren, ſteeped them in that of his moſt faithful ſubjects of all ranks; notwithſtanding which he lived to an old age, the dread and deteſtation of his people. He left behind him two ſons, *Roe* and *Helgo*, the ſucceſſors of his throne, but not of his vices. Haldan, 10*th king*. A. C. N. 685.

ROE and HELGO.

BY right of ſeniority, as well as by the voice of the people, *Roe* might have reigned alone; but he abſolutely refuſed the crown upon any other conditions than ſharing his power with *Helgo*: an uncommon inſtance of affection, founded upon kindred and affinity. *Roe* was of a ſtature contemptibly ſmall and mean; but this external defect he more than compenſated by the greatneſs of his ſoul, his courage, generoſity, and other manly virtues. He was a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, and the firſt prince who reduced the cuſtoms of the people, founded upon long tradition, to a written ſyſtem of laws. Before his time, hiſtorians relate, that cuſtom was the only rule of action. Murder, robbery, and theft, were puniſhed, not as infractions of the law, but of the natural rights of mankind; *Roe* was the firſt who ſpecified the puniſhments conſequent on certain crimes, and reduced the law imprinted by nature on the human mind, to a more fixed and definite meaning and ſyſtem. He was the founder of the city *Roſchild*, which exiſts to this day; and while he was buſied in civilizing his ſubjects, framing certain rules for government, and decorating the country with churches and buildings, his attention was diverted from the arts of peace, which he cultivated ſo diligently, to engage in a war with the king of *Sweden*. *Frotho* I. had given that kingdom in truſt to *Reigerer*, the late king, who Roe *and* Helgo.

[b] PONTAN. p. 16. l. i. MEURS. Hiſt. l. i. p. 8. SAXO GRAM. l. ii, p. 20. SUANING. Chron. Interval. l. iii. p. 32.

conſtantly paid the promiſed tribute; but he dying, and his ſon *Hotbrod* ſucceeding to the throne, the young monarch was ambitious of throwing off the yoke, and holding his crown independent of *Denmark*. With this view he refuſed to pay the uſual homage and tribute, which gave birth to the preſent war, that ended with the life of *Roe*, who fell in battle, bewailed by his ſubjects, but moſt by *Helgo*, his brother and ſucceſſor [a].

H E L G O.

Helgo, 12*th king*. A. C. N. 595.

HELGO was a prince more addicted to war than his excellent brother. While he ſhared the throne with *Roe*, he greatly enlarged the *Daniſh* dominions by the conqueſt of a number of northern ſtates; and now the firſt act of his prowеſs, ſince his reigning alone, was the engaging in ſingle combat with *Hunding* prince of *Saxony*. Him he ſlew in the field, and of conſequence annexed *Saxony* to his own dominions, as had been previouſly agreed. Returning thence to *Jutland*, he drove out a body of *Saxons* who had taken poſſeſſion in his abſence. After this he engaged the king of the *Vandals* by ſea, and coming off victorious, he ſtopped for refreſhment at a little iſland in the *Baltic*, where he became enamoured of a girl of mean ſtation, by whom he had a daughter, that afterwards became the mother of *Rolfo*, who ſucceeded his father in the throne; an abominable inceſt, which obſcures all the former glory of his reign.

SCARCE had *Helgo* finiſhed the *Vandal* war, when reſolving to avenge his brother's death, he marched againſt *Hotbrod* of *Sweden*, whom he ſlew in the field of battle, reducing the whole kingdom to obedience. The more fully to ſatiate his revenge, he eſtabliſhed a cruel law, by which a *Dane* might, on any provocation, put a *Swede* to death with impunity. Placing the crown on the head of *Atiſla*, ſon of *Hotbrod*, who had engaged to pay the tribute diſcontinued by his father, he returned to *Denmark*, and, either from a diſguſt to public affairs, or, as other writers more probably ſuggeſt, from recollecting the horrid impiety he committed in debauching his own daughter, he laid violent hands on himſelf, and died a martyr for his crimes. He was, indeed, a prince in whom the nobleſt virtues and groſſeſt crimes were blended: his military ability, and attachment to his brother, would have rendered his fame immortal, were not thoſe virtues more than ballanced by his unnatural luſt, and ſhocking cruelty [b].

[a] PONTANUS, l. i. p. 17. SAXO GRAMMAT. l. ii. p. 17.
[b] SUANING. Chron. p. 33.

ROLFO.

THE virtues of *Rolfo* ſoon obliterated the memory of his diſgraceful birth. The graces of his perſon equalled thoſe of his mind, and his ſtature and ſtrength were ſo extraordinary, that he was ſurnamed *Rhrage*, a *Daniſh* word, expreſſive of theſe qualities. His valour and martial ſpirit did not, however, interrupt the peaceable felicity of his ſubjects; for tho' he wiſhed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his proweſs, yet he ſuppreſſed his inclinations to war from juſt views of policy, and a fatherly regard to the intereſt of his people. He was at length drawn into a war with his own ſtep-father, the king of *Sweden*, to puniſh his inhuman uſage of the queen, who was was mother to *Rolfo*. The king of *Sweden* was killed in battle, and *Rolfo* ſoon after periſhed by the treachery of a *Daniſh* nobleman, whom he had diſtinguiſhed by numberleſs inſtances of his favour; and, among others, by marrying him to his ſiſter. No prince had ever more ſtrongly engaged the affections of his people than *Rolfo*, though ambition had puſhed on his brother-in-law to this ſhocking parricide. His virtues were ſplendid: magnificence, generoſity, and valour, were united in his perſon. Juſtice, clemency, and a ſtrict regard to his promiſes, had ſet him far above all the former kings of *Denmark*, in reputation. In a word, hiſtorians are ſo full of his praiſes, that we might ſuſpect them of painting with the pencil of fancy, if their portraits were not amply atteſted by facts ſuperior to all expreſſion [c].

Rolfo, *ſurnamed* Rhrage, *13th king.* A. C. N. 566.

HOTHER.

ROLFO dying without children, the ſtates immediately aſſembled for the election of a new king, and choſe in his room *Hother*, grandſon by his daughter to *Hadding*, the father of *Frotho* I. This young prince had been ſent in his infancy to *Norway*, and educated at the court of that monarch with the greateſt care and indulgence. Upon notice of the death of *Rolfo*, he was adviſed by the king of *Norway*, to offer himſelf a candidate for the crown, who promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his intereſt and force. While preparations were making to execute this plan, a meſſenger arrived from *Denmark*, acquainting him of the election of the ſtates, upon which he immediately ſet out for that kingdom. In gratitude to the king of *Norway*, he eſpouſed his daughter, whom he raiſed to the throne of *Denmark*. By this marriage he involved himſelf in a war with *Balder*, a northern prince, who

Hother, *14th king.*

[c] MEURS. p. 10. PONTAN. p. 19.

had

had paid his addreſſes to the princeſs, before *Hother* had made any propoſals to her. Several furious battles were fought between the rivals, when at length *Balder* was defeated and ſlain in a ſea-fight, which gave name to that ſtrait called to this day *Balderſound*. This glorious victory brought on the death of *Hother*; for *Balder*'s father, reſolving to avenge his ſon, ſummoned all his nobles, and, in a pathetic ſpeech, recommended it to their care to wipe off their late diſgrace, by ſome ſignal exertion of their courage. Upon which *Boo*, his ſon-in-law, undertook to finiſh the quarrel with *Hother*, and accordingly challenged him to ſingle combat. The king of *Denmark* accepting his propoſals, called his council, and, as if he had ſome foreboding of his fate, he preſſed the ſtates to declare his ſon *Rorick* the ſucceſſor: he told them, that the event of war was doubtful, but the civil diviſions which would happen in his kingdom certain, ſhould it pleaſe the gods to deprive him of life before the ſucceſſion was ſettled. Were his kingdom once ſecured againſt the calamities he foreſaw, then would he chearfully devote his life to glory, and the good of *Denmark*. The king's ſpeech had ſuch an effect, that *Rorick* was unanimouſly elected heir-apparent to the throne, though then but a child; after which *Hother* went to meet his antagoniſt, by whoſe hands he fell (A).

NOTWITHSTANDING *Rorick* was appointed by the people to ſucceed to his father, the victorious *Boo* found means to lay aſide this election, and fix himſelf in the throne; but how long he reigned, whether he died a natural death, or was depoſed, hiſtory is ſilent; and, indeed, ſome of the moſt accurate *Daniſh* hiſtorians, omit him intirely in the catalogue of kings[a].

[a] J. SUANING. Chron. Dan. ibid. PONTAN. 18.

(A) It merits obſervation, that ſome antiquarians ſuppoſe *Dan*, the founder of the *Daniſh* monarchy, reigned about the time that *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meurſius*, and *Pontanus* place *Hother*, the 14th king, that is the year before *Chriſt* 490. It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that the period allotted by theſe hiſtorians for a king's reign, is as much too long, as that aſſigned by *Gaſſar* and others is too ſhort. This prince is entirely omitted by *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meurſius*, and *Pontanus*; but we have ventured to inſert him upon the authority of the accurate *Suaningius*, and the learned *Lyſchander*, who makes him the 16th king from *Dan*, the founder of the *Daniſh* monarchy (1).

(1) *Vid. Suaning. Chron. Dan. Lyſch. Gen. Dan. ſub voc. ib.*

MEURSIUS and *Saxo Grammaticus* alone affirm, that he never mounted the throne [b]. We ſhall therefore continue the ſeries of princes from *Hother* to his ſon, without interruption, as the point is diſputed, and at this diſtance of time cannot poſſibly be determined with certainty.

RORICK SLYNGIBOND I.

Rorick Slyngibond I. 15th king. A. C. N. 483.

BEFORE *Rorick*, or, as ſome writers call him, *Roderick Slyngibond*, had fully arrived at the years of maturity, he found it neceſſary to head his own armies, and oppoſe a formidable league which threatened deſtruction to *Denmark*. The young monarch uſed the utmoſt diligence in levying forces, and equipping a fleet, and his endeavours were ſeconded by the affections of his ſubjects, who neglected nothing which might contribute to the glory of their king, on which reſted their own ſecurity. It had been ſtipulated in a treaty offenſive and defenſive, made between the *Swedes*, *Courlanders*, and ſome other northern powers tributary to *Denmark*, that they ſhould unanimouſly throw off their ſubmiſſion to this crown, refuſe all tribute and homage, and defend each other with all their forces, in order to reduce the pride and power of *Denmark*. This reſolution was taken with ſpirit, but ſoon broke through by the ſuperior fortune and valour of the *Danes*, who, headed by their king, defeated the allies by ſea and land, forcing them to pay a heavier tribute than before. Soon afterwards the victorious *Rorick* fell by accident into the ſea, and was drowned, leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt and warlike prince, emulous of nothing ſo much as the affections of his people, and national honour. Other writers alledge, that the cauſe of his death, as well as the duration of his reign are very doubtful; but all agree in giving him the higheſt character (A). One

[b] SAXO GRAM. l. 3. p. 46. MEURS. l. i. p. 10.

(A) At this time *Harwendil* and *Fegge*, or *Fogo*, two brothers, reigned in *Jutland*, and paid homage and tribute to the crown of *Denmark*. The former had married, ſays *Meurſius*, the daughter of *Rorick*, by which means he ſucceeded to his crown, ſoon after which he was treacherouſly murdered by his brother *Fegge*. *Hamlet* his ſon, ſuſpecting that his uncle's ambition occaſioned his father's death, feigned madneſs, the better to conceal his purpoſe of revenging his father's murder, in which he at length ſucceeded, having ſtabbed *Fegge* with his own hand at a public feſtival, while he was ſurrounded by all his nobility. Many of the circumſtances related by *Saxo Grammaticus*, are exactly copied by our great dramatic writer in the tragedy called *Hamlet*. The event, however, is

One circumstance, however, seems to prove, that his reign was not so short as *Grammaticus* alledges; for he left a son who succeeded to his throne, and a daughter whom he married to *Harwendil* prince of *Jutland*; yet they say he engaged in the *Swedish* war when he was scarce of age, and died soon after it was finished: consequently this war must have been of long duration, or *Rorick* must have survived it for a great number of years, as the reader will find by consulting the last note.

VIGLET.

Viglet, 16th king. *VIGLET*, son to the preceding king, did not succeed to the throne without a bloody competition, in which he slew his rival *Hamlet* of *Jutland*. This was the only act of valour he performed in the course of a long life. His whole reign was more indolent and pacific than that of any of his predecessors. The mildness of his disposition drew on him the contempt of the warlike *Danes*; yet nothing could alter his resolution to preserve the tranquility of the kingdom.

GUITLACH.

Guitlach, 17th king. AFTER a reign of forty-eight years he died, and was succeeded by *Guitlach*, whom some writers call his son [c]; though others are of opinion he succeeded in prejudice to the right of *Vermund*, the avowed son of *Viglet*. We find nothing recorded of this prince, but that he reigned thirty-two years, leaving the throne vacant, and to be filled by the states, who assembled during his last illness to appoint a successor [d].

[c] MEURS. ibid. [d] LYSCHANDER Gen. Dan. p. 28. PONT. Danic. Antiquit. p. 15.

is different; for according to the historian, *Hamlet* enjoyed his uncle's crown for a great number of years, and died with the reputation of one of the best princes that had ever filled the throne. However, all the best critics are of opinion that neither *Harwendil*, *Feggo*, or *Hamlet*, ever reigned in *Denmark*, affirming that *Rorick* was immediately succeeded by *Viglet*, who killed *Hamlet* prince of *Jutland* in battle, as he was endeavouring by force to succeed to the crown of his grandfather *Rorick*. *Pontanus* and *Suantingius* positively affirm, that neither of these *Jutland* princes ever mounted the *Danish* throne, tho' they admit the truth of all the other circumstances related by *Meursius*: indeed, *Saxo Grammaticus* himself does not place them among the *Danish* monarchs (1).

(1) *Vid. Suan. p.* 37. *Pont. l. i. p.* 20.

VER-

VERMUND.

Vermund, the ſon of *Viglet*, next ſucceeded, who was no leſs remarkable than his father, for a mild, pacific, indolent diſpoſition; but there were not wanting the ſeeds of courage, tho' circumſtances never ſo fell out as to afford him an opportunity of diſplaying the valour of his anceſtors. After a long reign he at length became the joyful father of a ſon, who, to appearances however, promiſed him no great felicity as he grew up. He arrived at the age of manhood before he was ever heard to utter a ſyllable; and many of his actions beſpoke a weak intellect, bordering upon ideotiſm. The old king was greatly affected, and to add to his misfortunes, was afflicted with loſs of ſight, in conſequence of old age, and a malady that had ſeized him ſome years before. Under theſe circumſtances the aged and venerable *Vermund* was inſulted by the prince of *Saxony*, who offered himſelf a candidate for a throne, which he ſaid the ſpirit of the *Danes* ought never to permit being filled by a blind dotard, or a natural fool; for this was the purport of an inſolent harangue, pronounced by his ambaſſador at a full diet of the ſtates of *Denmark*. *Vermund*, ſtung with reproach, forgetful of his old age and blindneſs, and eager to vindicate his majeſty, replied, that the reproach thrown upon him was truly worthy of a *Saxon*; that a man of ſpirit would contend for the honour of defending a prince, ſunk under age and infirmity, inſtead of endeavouring to aggravate his misfortunes, by deſpoiling him of his juſt rights; and, finally, that notwithſtanding blindneſs and decrepitude, he doubted not but the gods would give him ſtill ſtrength ſufficient to repel all the attempts of ſo vain-glorious a boaſter, in conſequence of which hope he was willing to reſt the fate of his crown upon the iſſue of a ſingle combat between them. Aſtoniſhed with the courage of the old prince, the *Saxon* ambaſſador declined the challenge, ſaying it was unworthy of his maſter to contend with a blind man, who had a ſon able to ſupport his quarrel. The ſtates were ſilent at this reply, which *Uffon*, prince of *Denmark*, obſerving, roſe up in a fury, and told the ambaſſador, that the king had a ſon, and *Denmark* a prince, able and willing to defend their rights and the honour of the nation. "Tell your inſolent "maſter, ſays he, that *Uffon*, whom he ſuppoſes unworthy of "ſucceeding to the crown, will not only accept of his chal-"lenge, but fight ſingly againſt him and any other *Saxon* he "will make choice of." Surpriſed at this intrepid reply from a prince who had never ſpoke before, or ever given the ſlighteſt proofs of ſpirit or underſtanding, the ſtates joyfully appointed

Vermund, 18*th king.* A. C. N. 352.

The extraordinary hiſtory of Uffon *the king's ſon.*

appointed the time and place for deciding the quarrel. They however repreſented to *Uffon* the raſhneſs of engaging with two antagoniſts, each of them probably of equal ſtrength with himſelf; but he was fixed in his reſolution. Accordingly the parties met, and the old king ordered himſelf to be conducted to a precipice that hung over the ſea, near the field of battle, reſolving to put an end to his life, ſhould his ſon be worſted, and the kingdom of *Denmark* diſgraced. The combatants engaged with the utmoſt fury; *Uffon*, like the brave *Horatius*, on whom depended the fate of *Rome*, gradually retreated and defended himſelf, until he had ſeparated the enemy, and exhauſted their ſtrength; after which he attacked the weakeſt with ſuch intrepidity and ſtrength, that he ſoon laid him dead at his feet. Now the two princes fought hand to hand, and *Uffon* perceiving his ſuperiority, generouſly offered to grant the *Saxon* his life, if he would ſubmit to pay him homage, and a tribute; which the other refuſing, he laid him dead at one ſtroke, and was carried triumphant off the field on the ſhoulders of the *Daniſh* nobility, who were overjoyed to find valour, ſtrength, and underſtanding, united in the perſon of a prince, they had till then beheld with pity and contempt. *Vermund* did not long ſurvive this glorious atchievement of his ſon; exceſs of joy put an end to his life, and *Uffon* was raiſed by the unanimous voice of the people, to the dignity which he had ſo ſeaſonably vindicated [a].

Uffon defeats the prince of Saxony.

OLAUS I.

Olaus I. *19th king.* A. C. N. 292.

SOON after his acceſſion he changed his name to that of *Olaus*, and was ſurnamed the *Merciful*, from the generous propoſal he had made to the *Saxon* prince, as well as from his natural good diſpoſition. His reign was an uninterrupted ſeries of felicity to his ſubjects, and victories over his enemies; but hiſtory relates no particulars. He married a lady of noble birth in *Sleſwick*, by whom he had a ſon, who was raiſed to the throne upon the death of *Olaus* [b].

DAN II.

Dan II. *20th king.*

THE young king was called *Dan*, the ſecond monarch of that name who had ſwayed the *Daniſh* ſceptre. No prince was ever more beloved during the firſt years of his reign. His military capacity had greatly enlarged his dominions, and the tributes paid by foreign princes augmented the power, wealth, and glory of the ſtate. But, flushed with ſucceſs, he

[a] GRAM. l. 4. [b] MEURS. l. i. p. 15.

became

became inſolent, cruel, and prodigal of his wealth and fame, dying at an advanced age, as much deteſted for his vices as before he was eſteemed for his virtue [c].

HUGLETH.

HUGLETH was next elected king; but whether he was the ſon of the preceding monarch we have no account. All that hiſtory relates of him is, that he conquered in a ſea-fight *Hemeth* and *Hogrin*, two of the chief perſons in *Sweden*, who had long exerciſed piracy in the *Baltic*, and ſcoured all the coaſts with a powerful fleet. He likewiſe kept the king of *Sweden* in awe, though he had raiſed a powerful army to ſupport a reſolution he had formed of diſcontinuing the tribute, and ſhaking off the *Daniſh* yoke. It would appear that his reign was uncommonly long, as from the year 225 before the birth of *Chriſt*, to the year 172, we find no other king mentioned; and indeed, ſome hiſtorians call him by the name of *Hugleth the Little*, ſecond ſon to *Dan* [a]. Hugleth, *21ſt king.*

FROTHO II.

AFTER the death of *Hugleth*, *Frotho*, the ſecond of that name, ſurnamed the *Vigorous*, was raiſed to the throne. There never was a prince endued with nobler qualities of mind and body; more courteous, generous, and brave; he ſoon became the darling of his people, and the terror of his rebellious neighbours, moſt of whom were tributary to his crown. He ſubdued *Norway*, after killing the king in ſingle combat, and annexed it, with ſome iſlands in the *Baltic* before unconquered, to his dominions. Having reigned thirty years he breathed his laſt, leaving the crown, with the conſent of the people, to his ſon *Dan*, who became the third monarch of that name [b]. Frotho II. *22d king.* A. C. N. 172.

DAN III.

IN the very beginning of *Dan*'s reign, the *Saxons* were ſo inſolent, as not only to refuſe payment of the tribute due to the ſovereign of *Denmark*, but to inſiſt on *Dan*'s reimburſing them all the money extorted from them by his father, by *Hugleth*, *Dan* II. and by *Olaus* and *Uffon*; a demand which ſoon produced a war, in which they were forced to ſubmit to their former condition. This prince engaged likewiſe in a war with *Sweden*, concerning the event of which hiſtory is ſilent. Dan III. *23d king.*

[c] PONTAN. l. i. p. 21. SAXO, p. 65. [a] Jo. SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 42. SAXO GRAM. t. iv. p. 66. [b] PONT. SAXO, &c. ibid.

All

All we know is, that he was wounded in a single combat by the *Swedish* monarch. We are told, indeed, that after this he conquered all those states inhabiting the countries on each side the *Elbe*, to whom the *Danes* gave the general name of *Saxons*; after which he was seized with an acute fever, that carried him off in the prime and vigour of life [c].

FRIDLEFF.

Fridleff, *24th king.* To him succeeded *Fridleff*, surnamed the *Swift*, who immediately, on his accession, entered into a close and intimate correspondence with the king of *Halland*; for at this time *Halland* was a separate and independent sovereignty. The intention of this league was to secure and protect each other's dominions against all enemies, to clear the seas of pirates, and thoroughly to reduce the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, who wanted only a fit opportunity to shake off the galling yoke of *Denmark*. This treaty, like most other compacts between princes, was broke as soon as either party imagined he could take an advantage of the other. The monarch of *Halland* was the first aggressor; he raised an army, and made a descent on *Denmark*, at a time when security had rendered *Fridleff* totally unprepared to receive him; but the vigour of this prince made him soon repent his treachery. *Fridleff* assembled a powerful army, and defeated *Huirvill* in a pitched battle, making great slaughter of his troops. In the pursuit *Huirvill* was killed, and *Fridleff* not only eased of the war, but fully revenged upon his insidious enemy, whose kingdom he annexed to his own dominions. After this we are told he carried his arms into *Ireland*, and having over-run a great part of the country, made himself master of *Dublin*, the capital. The same attempt he made on *Britain*, from whence after sustaining a signal defeat, he scarce escaped with life. Chagrined with this repulse, he determined applying his mind to domestic affairs, and studied rather to make his old subjects happy, than to acquire new, in which laudable undertaking he died, at an extreme old age [d].

FROTHO III.

Frotho III. *25th king.* A. C. N. 37. SUCH was the reputation *Fridleff* acquired with the people during the last years of his reign, that they unanimously agreed to raise his son *Frotho*, then a child, to the weighty charge of governing a powerful kingdom. Guardians were immediately appointed him, and the affairs of the nation

[c] MEURS. ibid. [d] SUANING. Chron. p. 45. GRAM. l. vi

committed to a ſelect council of the nobility, with this reſerve, that all their decrees were to be ſubmitted to a general diet of the ſtates, and there confirmed or repealed as the people thought proper. In this ſituation things remained for the ſpace of fourteen years, when the king took the government upon himſelf. The firſt years of his reign paſſed in indolence and inactivity, whence he gained the name of *Frotho the Pacific*; but the corruptions that had crept into the adminiſtration, waked him at length out of this lethargy, to an exertion of thoſe extraordinary abilities, which, in a little time, acquired him the appellation of *Great*, and the reputation of the moſt valiant prince of his age. He carried on nine wars with the moſt powerful northern nations, and came off victorious in all. At length poiſon accompliſhed what neither the courage, the numbers, or the animoſity of his enemies could effect. A variety of fabulous circumſtances relating to this event, are recorded by all the *Daniſh* writers; but we have omitted them as ſavouring too ſtrongly of the ignorance and prejudices of thoſe times, to be read with pleaſure in a more enlightened age.

SECT. III.

Comprehends the Hiſtory of Denmark, *to the Year* 981 *after the Birth of* Chriſt.

HIARN.

FROTHO dying without male iſſue, the diet took the extraordinary reſolution of making him king, who ſhould write the beſt verſes on the memory of the late monarch; and *Hiarn* being adjudged the beſt poet, was accordingly raiſed to the throne, in reward of his ſuperior genius. He was of that claſs of people called *Scialdres* in *Denmark*, and *Bards* in other countries, whoſe buſineſs it was to rove about the country, reciting their productions at the houſes of the great, and entertained by them as the repoſitories of the wit and learning of the times, all hiſtory, and the atchievements of their anceſtors being contained in thoſe long tales and narratives compoſed by the ingenious bard. The poet did not long enjoy his exaltation, being depoſed by *Fridleff*, a relation to the late king, who had ſpent the greater part of his life in foreign ſervice, and was now returned upon the news of his majeſty's death, to lay claim to his crown. This he obtained by killing the poor bard in ſingle combat, and convincing the ſtates, by a re-

Hiarn 26*th king*. A. poſt nat. Chriſt 16.

a relation of his conduct in the ſervices in which he had been engaged, that his valour merited the higheſt diſtinctions. *Pontanus* indeed relates from *Grammaticus*, that *Hiarn*, after ſeveral battles by ſea and land, which he maintained with great obſtinacy, was at length ſlain by his rival, in a ſea-fight on the coaſt of *Jutland*, the iſland *Hiarn*, ſituated on that ſhore, taking its name from his unhappy end [a].

FRIDLEFF II.

Fidleff II. *27th king.* A. D. 21.

No ſooner was *Fridleff* ſeated in the throne, than he ſent ambaſſadors to *Norway* to demand *Forgertha*, daughter to that king, in marriage. The inſolent refuſal of the *Norwegian* monarch produced a war between the two kingdoms, which terminated in the death of *Amand* king of *Norway*, and in the eſpouſals of *Fridleff* with his daughter. We are told of a number of miraculous battles this courageous prince fought with certain giants of *Norway*, during a glorious reign of twelve years; at which period he died, greatly eſteemed by his ſubjects, and reſpected by all the neighbouring ſtates [b].

FROTHO IV.

Frotho IV. *28th king.*

FROTHO IV. his ſon, then but twelve years of age, was proclaimed his ſucceſſor. This prince began to give very early proofs of his virtue and generoſity: inſomuch that before he arrived at maturity, he quaſhed a dangerous rebellion that had been raiſed by a combination of the principal nobility, to dethrone him, merely by the prudence of his conduct, and ſteadineſs of his meaſures, without ſpilling a drop of blood. He obtained the ſurname of *Generous*, from the beneficence and humanity of his diſpoſition, which was never ſo amply gratified as with the opportunity of beſtowing favours on deſerving objects. His courage was likewiſe diſplayed in ſeveral battles he fought with *Swerting* and *Harif*, two *Saxon* lords, who had raiſed great armies in defence of their liberties, and with a view to throw off their ſubjection to *Denmark*. *Swerting* perceiving that *Frotho* was invincible in the field, had recourſe to treachery, pretended a perfect reconciliation, and invited the *Daniſh* monarch to a feſtival, at which he propoſed deſtroying him by ſetting fire to the houſe. The good fortune of *Frotho* ſaved him, however, from this dangerous ſnare, and his valour turned the due puniſhment upon the inſidious *Saxon*, whom he attacked ſword in hand, and ſoon laid dead at his feet: but he died himſelf not long after,

[a] MEURS. l. ii. [b] Id ib. PONTAN. p. 24. l. i.

of a wound he had received from a poiſoned weapon in the conteſt with *Swerting* [c].

INGELL.

THE ſtates immediately aſſembled and choſe his ſon *Ingell*, or *Ingle*, to ſucceed his father. This prince at firſt abandoned himſelf to a life of indolence and debauchery, into which he was artfully drawn by ſome of the nobility, who formed deſigns upon his crown, intending by this means to alienate from him the affections of his people. The foreſight and natural good ſenſe of the young monarch penetrated into their machinations, and recovered him at a time when he was plunged in a life of diſſolution and pleaſure. All of a ſudden he diſcarded his old companions, and, like our *Henry*, aſſumed at once a behaviour and dignity worthy of majeſty. This diſmiſſion of the firſt nobility of the realm occaſioned murmurings among them, which ſoon broke out into open rebellion. Here it was that *Ingell* diſtinguiſhed his valour, his prudence, and his clemency. He firſt defeated his enemies, obliged them to ſubmit to his terms, and then not only pardoned them, but took them again into favour, which he eſteemed the true method of gaining their affections, and ſecuring their allegiance; but he firſt inſiſted upon a total reformation of their manners, and enforced this by his own example [d]. We find indeed a different character of this prince in *Meurſius*, who relates, that after the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, he fell again into his old courſes, and ended his reign in the ſame inglorious manner in which he began [e]. Ingell, 29*th king*.

OLAUS II.

UPON his death his ſon *Olaus* II. mounted the throne, inheriting all the vices of his father, without one of his virtues. His whole reign, which happily did not exceed ten years, was a ſeries of luxury, profuſion, and the moſt ſcandalous luſt and debauchery. He died however ſeemingly penitent, as appears by the ſpeech he made to his ſons on his death-bed, in which he exhorts them to retrieve by their conduct the national honour, which had greatly ſuffered by his weak and diſſolute meaſures (A). Olaus II. 30*th king*. A. D. 102.

FROTHO

[c] SAXO GRAM. l. vi. et Auct. citat. SUANNIN. p. 47. [d] SAXO GRAM. l. vi. [e] MEURS. l. ii. p. 24.

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Pontanus* call this prince *Olaus* the firſt, altho' it appears, upon undoubted authority, and indeed

FROTHO V. and *HAROLD* I.

Frotho V. *and* Harold I.

FROTHO V. and *Harold* I. ſons to the late monarch, were both raiſed to the throne, ſharing the ſovereignty between them; the one preſiding over naval affairs, and the other taking it upon him to direct whatever belonged to the armies and land-forces of the kingdom. *Frotho*, as the eldeſt, choſe the former province; a preſumption that marine employments were held more honourable and important than the land-ſervice (A). *Frotho* entered firſt upon action, and made an unſucceſsful deſcent upon ſome of the neighbouring coaſts, his ſoldiers, moſt of whom were married, refuſing to enter upon any dangerous enterprize, by which their families might be brought to ruin; and *Meurſius* expreſly affirms, that the influence which *Frotho*'s queen had over him, occaſioned his diſgrace. The particulars, however, of this affair are not recorded, and we only know that he quitted his employment in diſguſt to *Harold*, who immediately eſtabliſhed a maxim, that no married man ſhould be inliſted into the ſea or land-ſervice; a meaſure that was attended with the happieſt conſequences. The ſoldiers, emulous of glory, and free from domeſtic cares, braved all dangers, and obtained numberleſs victories under the conduct of the brave *Harold*; after which they were permitted to return home, to ſettle and enjoy the fruits and glory of their toil and courage. *Frotho* was ſtung with envy at the ſucceſs of his brother's arms, whoſe valour had ſo much eclipſed his own actions; and unable to ſupport the ſight of a perſon, whoſe victories reminded him of his own defeat, and whoſe public character he deemed a tacit reproach, took the baſe reſolution of having him murdered. His reſentment had fortified his heart againſt the dictates of honour, brotherly love, and humanity: he employed an aſſaſſin, accompliſhed his end, and then murdered the tool of his villainy, the better to conceal it[a]. But parricide is a crime, againſt which the Almighty ſeems, in a particular manner, to

Harold refuſes to inliſt married men.

He is murdered by his brother.

[a] Saxo Gram. l. vi. Meurs. p. 24.

upon their own, that *Uffo* had changed his name to *Olaus*, who is, for this reaſon, properly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Olaus* the firſt (1).

(A) The *Daniſh* writers are divided in their opinions concerning the departments theſe princes agreed upon. *Pontanus* ſays, that maritime affairs were committed to *Harold*; though this probably happened after the miſcarriage of his brother (2).

(1) *Suan. p.* 48. (2) *Pontan. l.* i. *p.* 27.

have

have pointed his vengeance. *Frotho*'s own conſcience was a ſufficient accuſer, and gave ſuch evidence again him, as convinced the whole world that *Harold* met with his death from the hand of his own brother. All his meaſures were dictated by phrenzy and deſpair, which became viſible in his countenance. He imagined he could not be ſecure while the children of *Harold* lived, and took meaſures to quiet his mind, by encreaſing the number of his crimes, and ſuperadding the murder of his nephews to that of his only brother. His deſigns, however, were fruſtrated by the vigilance of a nobleman, to whom the education of the young princes was committed. After concealing his pupils in a cave, the faithful guardian returned to court, and implored his majeſty that he would abſtain from ſhedding his own blood, and not deprive his innocent nephews of life, after robbing them of a royal and brave parent. *Frotho*, pretending to be moved by the intreaties of this honeſt nobleman, had nearly accompliſhed by diſſimulation what he could not effect by force. A few years after, he got the young gentlemen into his hands, and was going to have them aſſaſſinated, when their own addreſs ſaved them: they pretended to quarrel, and deſired leave to decide their diſpute by the ſword, which the king readily granted, in expectation that their warmth, courage, and animoſity, might effect his purpoſes, without dipping his own hands in their blood. He was even cruel enough to be a ſpectator of the fight, and thus his puniſhment was brought about by the inviſible operations of Providence; for the princes, upon a ſignal agreed, turned upon their uncle, and in an inſtant laid him dead on the ground with their ſwords. Thus periſhed the treacherous and bloody *Frotho*, by the hands of his own nephews, after a reign rendered infamous to all poſterity, by the barbarous murder of a brother, who was the greateſt ornament of his family and kingdom, as well as the moſt valorous prince of his age [b].

Frotho *ſlain by the ſons of* Harold.

HALDANE II. *and* *HAROLD* II.

FROTHO was ſucceeded by the two ſons of *Harold*, the oldeſt named *Haldane*, and the youngeſt called after his father. *Haldane* immediately engaged in a war with *Siward* king of *Sweden*, for reaſons with which we are unacquainted; after giving him frequent and ſignal defeats, he at length ſlew him in battle with his own hand. *Erick*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Siward*, to revenge his father's death, made a ſudden deſcent

Haldane II. *and* Harold II.

[b] PONTAN. l. i. p. 27. SUANING. p. 47.

Harold *is defeated and ſlain by the king of* Sweden.

on *Denmark*, with a powerful armament, while *Haldane* was taken up in deciding a diſpute with ſome *Saxon* lords. *Harold* immediately aſſembled an army, and gave the *Swedes* battle; but the ſucceſs was not agreeable to his courage and the juſtice of his cauſe; for after an obſtinate engagement he was ſlain in the arms of victory, which now immediately declared for *Erick*. Upon this *Haldane* immediately returned to *Denmark*, drove *Erick* out of his dominions, purſued him into *Sweden*, defeated him, and terminated the quarrel by the death of his enemy, whom he engaged in ſingle combat[c]. After this glorious tranſaction, he fitted out a powerful fleet againſt the pirates who infeſted his coaſts, and was no leſs ſucceſsful in this than he had been in all his former wars. Towards the cloſe of his life, and in a very advanced age, he married the princeſs of *Norway*, and by her had a ſon born on the very day in which he died, of a lingering diſeaſe contracted in conſequence of the fatigue and cold he ſuſtained in his laſt campaigns. Such were the actions of the glorious *Haldane*, commonly called the ſon of *Thor*, (a *Daniſh* deity) from his invincible courage and thoſe generous qualities which ſeemed to elevate him above the rank of mortals. His name had ſpread itſelf over all the northern kingdoms, and in *Sweden* particularly his memory was no leſs reſpected than in his own proper dominions; ſuch was the clemency, affability, and engaging manners of this celebrated warrior[d].

Haldane *reigns alone and defeats the* Swedes.

U N G U I N, or H A G U I N.

Unguin, *or* Haguin, *33d king.*

THE diet of the ſtates elected in the room of *Haldane* his couſin, nephew, or as ſome hiſtorians alledge, his natural brother *Unguin*, or *Haguin*, king of the *Goths*. Some writers call this prince the ſon-in-law of the late king, tho' *Meurſius* and *Pontanus* affirm, that *Haldane*'s daughter had been given in marriage to *Ebbo*, a northern prince, in her father's life-time. All we know of this reign is, that it was ſhort and bloody, the crown being obſtinately diſputed by *Regnaldo* king of *Sweden*, by whom *Unguin* was ſlain.

S I W A L D.

Siwald, *34th king.*

REGNALDO did not, however, ſucceed in his deſigns, for the ſtates immediately elected *Siwald* in the room of his deceaſed father. The war ſtill continued with *Sweden*, ſome ſay, from *Regnaldo*'s continuing his claim, while others af-

[c] SAXO, ibid. [d] GRAM. p. 110, & ſeq.

firm,

firm, that *Siwald* renewed it with intention to avenge his father's death. *Pontanus*, indeed, ſpeaks of the *Swediſh* war as if it had happened towards the cloſe of *Siwald*'s reign, and attributes the many quarrels in which he was at firſt engaged to the beauty of his daughter, who raiſed contentions among all the northern princes, ſome of them endeavouring to force *Siwald* to comply with their propoſals. Indeed, the tranſactions of his reign are ſo variouſly related, that we can affirm nothing of this monarch more than, that he did not degenerate from the heroic ſpirit which had diſtinguiſhed almoſt all the preceding kings of *Denmark*. His death is as variouſly related as his life, ſome writers aſſerting, that he died in his kingdom; while others affirm, that he ended his days a miſerable exile in *Scotland* [b], whither he had been driven by *Haco*, the ſon of *Hamund*, who had defeated him in a ſea-engagement; a circumſtance which *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meurſius*, and other hiſtorians relate of *Siwald* II. (A).

S I G A R.

SIWALD left behind him three ſons, *Sigar*, *Alfo*, and *Alger*, the former of whom, by right of primogeniture, ſucceeded to his crown. We ſay by right of primogeniture; for though the *Danes* kept in their own hands the power of electing their monarchs, yet they ſeldom ſet aſide the royal iſſue, and particularly the eldeſt ſon, unleſs incapacity or ſome other reaſon rendered it neceſſary. This prince, being of an indolent tame diſpoſition, committed the care of government to his brother, a prince of a very different caſt, and equally reſpectable for the qualities of his body and mind. The firſt act of *Alfo*'s adminiſtration, was the ſending ambaſſadors to demand in marriage *Avilda*, daughter to the king of *Gothland*; a lady who, at this time, contrary to the manners and diſpoſition of her ſex, exerciſed the profeſſion of piracy, and was ſcouring the ſeas with a powerful fleet, while a foreign

Sigar, *35th king*. A. D. 177.

[b] MEURS. & SUANING. ibid.

(A) *Suaningius* relates, that *Siwald* gave his daughter in marriage to *Ubbo Otharo*, in preference to all the other rivals; and that, aſſiſted by his ſon-in-law, he attacked *Regiald* and ſlew him in battle: that afterwards he killed in ſingle combat forty *Swediſh* warriors, and concluded his warlike atchievements by the death of *Sterchateer*, a *Swede* of the greateſt ſtrength and courage of any perſon of his times (1).

(1) *Ibid. p.* 49.

Alſo *diſputes the heart of the princeſs of* Gothland *by arms, and after conquering her marries the amazon.*

prince was offering ſacrifices to her beauty at the ſhrine of love. *Alſo*, perceiving that this maſculine lady was not to be gained by the uſual arts of lovers, took the extraordinary reſolution of addreſſing her in a method more agreeable to her humour. He fitted out a fleet, went in queſt of her, and engaged her in a furious battle, which continued two days without remiſſion; thus gaining poſſeſſion of a heart to be conquered only by valour [c]. After this conqueſt of the brave amazon, *Alſo* turned his arms againſt other pirates who had infeſted the coaſts of *Denmark*. In this expedition he fell in with a fleet commanded by the three ſons of *Hamund*, king of *Ireland*, and immediately entered upon action. After continuing the whole day an engagement, which was fought with equal obſtinacy on both ſides, night ſeparated the combatants, and next morning propoſals were made for an accommodation, which were accepted by the parties. They each of them had ſufficient proofs of the courage of their antagoniſts; and as neither harboured any perſonal reſentment, they parted with hearty profeſſions of ſincere eſteem and friendſhip. Notwithſtanding this treaty, *Alſo* again renewed the war againſt the *Hibernian* princes, at the inſtigation of an old crafty *Daniſh* nobleman, who perſuaded him that his honour was engaged in obtaining a complete victory over thoſe boyiſh commanders. In conſequence he fitted out a fleet, engaged them a ſecond time, and after killing *Helvin* and *Hamund*, the two eldeſt of the brothers, was himſelf ſlain by the hand of *Hagabert* the youngeſt. The victorious *Hagabert*, hearing of the extraordinary beauty of the king of *Denmark*'s ſiſter, dreſſed himſelf in women's apparel, and found means to inſinuate himſelf in quality of maid of honour to the princeſs, to whom he ſoon made a declaration of his ſex and quality, and the motives which had compelled him to ſo extraordinary a proceeding. His youth, beauty, and love, ſoon wrought upon the affections of *Signa*, for that was the princeſs's name, and the conſequence was the loſs of her virtue, and of *Hagabert*'s life; for the intrigue coming to *Sigar*'s ears, he ordered him to be hanged upon a gibbet without form of trial. This was ſo cruel a ſtroke to the fond *Signa*, that in deſpair ſhe ſet fire to the palace, and afterwards ſtrangled herſelf, putting an end to a life which would be inſupportable to her, after the ignominious cataſtrophe of her lover. *Sigar* was inconſolable at the unhappy end of a ſiſter and brother he loved with a tender affection; and his misfortune was aggravated

[c] Gram. l. 17.

by

by the melancholy ſituation of his kingdom, now invaded by a powerful army from *Ireland*, commanded by *Haco*, the king's fourth ſon, who was come to revenge the death of his brethren. *Sigar*'s grief did not, however, prevent his taking every poſſible meaſure for the ſecurity of his kingdom. He placed guards on the coaſts, and took poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong poſts through which *Haco* muſt paſs to *Roſchild* and *Lethra*, then the reſidence of the *Daniſh* monarch; but all theſe precautions were eluded by the art and conduct of *Haco*: he ordered his men to cut down boughs and green branches of trees, which they held in their left hands, marching with their drawn ſwords in the right. So extraordinary a phænomenon as a moving foreſt, terrified the *Daniſh* out-guards, and made them abandon their poſts without the leaſt reſiſtance; ſo that *Haco* met with no obſtruction until he arrived with his army at *Lethra*, where *Sigar* was encamped with a body of forces. A battle enſued, and the *Daniſh* monarch fell, while he was exerting a courage ſuperior to what it was ever imagined he poſſeſſed [a].

SIWALD II.

In his room was elected *Siwald* II. his ſon, by the unanimous voice of the people. So eager was the young king to expel *Haco*, or *Hacquin*, as *Pontanus* calls him, and to revenge his father's death, that he aſſembled an army, compoſed of both ſexes, and gave battle to the *Iriſh*, after *Haco* had embarked near half his army. The fight continued for near three days without victory's declaring herſelf, till *Haco* fell towards the cloſe of the third day; upon which a panic immediately ſeized his troops, who were ſlaughtered without mercy by the *Danes*, until they were ſatiated with blood. Such was the carnage made on the field, that to this day it goes by the name of *Valbrana*, a word expreſſive of the horrible ſlaughter [b]; though *Meurſius* alledges, that this appellation was given to the field in which *Sigar* was defeated and killed. It is, indeed, the general opinion, that both princes periſhed in this engagement; and the male line of the royal family being extinct, the government of the kingdom was committed to five of the nobility, who divided the authority. *Zealand* was given to *Hunding*, *Schonen* to *Oſtmar*, *Funen* to *Hano*, and *Rorick* and *Hother* were choſen to preſide over *Jutland*, which countries would ſeem to have conſtituted the whole of the *Daniſh* dominions at that period. In this ſituation was *Denmark* governed for the ſpace of forty-one years, Siwald II. 36*th king.*

[a] Saxo, ibid. Pontan. l. i. p. 33. [b] Meurs. l. ii.

till

till *Haldane*, who had eſpouſed *Gurith*, daughter to *Siwald*, was raiſed by her means to the throne.

HALDANE III.

Haldane III. 37*th king.*

THIS prince, the third of that name, was inferior to none of his predeceſſors in valour, and the other qualities of a great king; but his ſtrength was ſo remarkable as to procure him the ſurname of *Strong*. The manner in which he gained the conſent of *Gurith* his queen to addreſs her, was an extraordinary inſtance of his proweſs; for he ſlew with his own ſingle arm, twelve guards, the boldeſt men who could be found, placed round her perſon to deny acceſs to all ſuitors; a precaution which ſome attribute to her chaſtity, and others, to the policy of the regents, who were ſenſible they muſt ſurrender their authority as ſoon as ſhe was married. Some years after his acceſſion to the throne, he engaged in a war with *Viſet* (A), a prince who had been his rival in the affections of *Gurith*. Several deſperate battles were fought between them, in the laſt of which *Haldane* was killed, yielding to the good fortune of his enemy, and rival in glory and in love [c].

HAROLD III.

Harold III. 38*th king.*

AFTER his death the ſtates met for the election of a new king, and their choice fell upon *Harold*, the ſon of *Haldane*. *Harold* began his reign with an attempt to complete the meaſures entered upon by his father, the reduction of the regents, who had refuſed to ſurrender their authority to *Haldane*, though duly elected by the ſtates. In this he was more ſucceſsful, having obliged all the provinces to ſubmit to the crown in the ſpace of a few years. He begun his operations with declaring war againſt *Viſet*, who had killed his father: him he deſtroyed at a feſtival, which *Viſet* gave to his friends at the celebration of his nuptials with a lady of *Schonen*. He next directed his arms againſt the governor of *Southern Jutland*, and ſoon reduced that country, by the death of the governor, whom he ſlew in the field of battle. His next expedition was againſt the regents or governors of *Northern*

[c] Ibid, etiam SAXO & PONTAN. ibid.

(A) *Viſet* was ſon to *Hunding*, viceroy or regent of *Zealand*. He ſucceeded his father in that office, and kept his authority for ſeveral years after the acceſſion of *Haldane* to the throne. Probable it is, that his refuſal to ſurrender it was one of the chief cauſes of the war.

Jutland,

Jutland, in which he met with the ſame ſucceſs. *Zealand* and *Funen* followed the fortune of the other provinces; and thus the kingdom of *Denmark* was again reunited, and all thoſe petty tyrants ſubdued and deſtroyed in the ſpace of two years, by the vigorous and intrepid conduct of *Harold*, who was now a ſecond time proclaimed king of all *Denmark*. After this he reſtored by force to his throne and dominions *Aſmund* king of *Norway*, from whence he had been driven by a ſtrong party that had declared in favour of his ſiſter. During his reſidence in *Norway*, *Alvar* king of *Sweden* breathed his laſt, leaving three ſons, *Ingo*, *Olaus*, and *Ingell*. *Ingo*, the eldeſt ſucceeded to his throne; but, not ſatisfied with his paternal dominions, he and his brothers, ſupported by a powerful army, made a deſcent on *Denmark*. *Meurſius* relates, that the brothers only meditated an invaſion, the news of which coming to *Harold*, he immediately entered *Sweden*, attacked the forces commanded by *Ingo* and *Olaus*, whom he ſlew in the field, after entirely routing their army. This defeat obliged *Ingell* to ſue for peace, and accept of the terms which *Harold* thought fit to impoſe. The *Daniſh* monarch, equally generous in proſperity and firm in adverſity, granted ſuch conditions as *Ingell* ought to have been ſatisfied with; he ſeemed to acquieſce, expecting ſoon to find an occaſion of wiping off the late diſgrace. Accordingly he invaded *Schonen*, while *Harold* was lulled in profound ſecurity, and carried off by violence the ſiſter of the *Daniſh* monarch, whom he eſpouſed. Hence the war was renewed, proſecuted with various ſucceſs, and at length happily terminated, *Harold*, as juſt as brave, preferring an indifferent peace to the moſt ſucceſsful war, which muſt neceſſarily be attended with the blood and ruin of many of his ſubjects. He was ſcarce returned from *Sweden* before the inſolence of *Ubbo*, lord of *Embden*, or one of thoſe ſtates which now compoſe the circle of *Weſtphalia*, called him again into the field. It was not long before *Ubbo* found cauſe to repent his temerity; for he was defeated and taken priſoner, but afterwards ſet at liberty by the clemency of the conqueror. Nor was this all; *Harold* married him to his daughter, ſecured his friendſhip, and by his means ſtrengthened his own intereſt upon the continent: but his ſucceſs was not limited to theſe conqueſts [a]; he reduced ſeveral nations upon the *Rhine*, took the *Vandals*, a people inhabiting that country on the *Baltic*, ſituated between the *Viſtula* and the *Elbe*, into his protection, over-run *Aquitain*, and a part of *Britain*, which, ſays *Grammaticus*, had with-

He conquers Ubbo, *lord of* Embden.

[a] Saxo, l. vii.

drawn

drawn its allegiance from *Denmark* ſince the death of *Frotho* III. But what ſets the equity of this monarch in the moſt conſpicuous view, is that, after raiſing an army to puniſh the perfidy of *Ingell* king of *Sweden*, he not only deſiſted from the enterprize on the death of that prince, but appointed guardians to his infant ſon, though the faireſt occaſion offered for annexing *Sweden* to his own dominions; a rare inſtance of moderation, which deſerves being recorded in honour of ſovereignty. The young *Swediſh* king, unmindful of his obligations, no ſooner arrived at the age of maturity, than he declared war againſt his generous benefactor *Harold*, the event of which was the death of this great prince, admired even by his enemies for the elevation of his ſpirit, his valour, generoſity, and above all, for his juſtice. We find by the preparations made for the war, to what a prodigious height of power this monarch had raiſed the kingdom of *Denmark*. *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, that his fleet was ſo numerous as to extend like a bridge acroſs the *Sound*, ſeparating *Zealand* from *Schonen*; and that, beſides common ſoldiers, he muſtered thirty thouſand nobility in his army. His death occaſioned the defeat of this otherwiſe invincible power, and obliged the *Danes* to patch up a peace at the price of *Schonen*, which was ceded to the victorious *Ringo* [b].

Harold's character.

O L O, or O L A U S.

THE glorious *Harold* was ſucceeded by his ſiſter's ſon, a prince of a very oppoſite character to his uncle (A). His name was *Olo*, and firſt he was appointed to the government of *Schonen* by *Ringo*, who likewiſe obliged the *Danes* to ſubmit to the authority of *Hetha*, a woman of a maſculine ſpirit. Upon their remonſtrances, however, he recalled her,

Olo, *or* Olaus, 38*th king*.

[b] MEURS. l. ii. p. 30.

(A) *Pontanus* ſpeaks differently of this prince, though we know not upon what authority. According to him, *Olo* poſſeſſed the nobleſt qualities of mind and perſon, having this remarkable circumſtance about him, that his eyes killed like thoſe of the baſilisk; meaning, perhaps, the ſternneſs of his countenance, which ſtruck terror into his enemies; a conjecture which we find ſupported by a fact. One of the *Daniſh* nobility having reſolved to ſtab him, when he was undreſſing to enter the bath, the grim and fierce countenance of *Olo* made him drop the poignard juſt as he had raiſed it to give the fatal blow (1).

(1) *Meurſ. l.* ii. *p.* 30.

and compenſated her with the ſovereignty of that country now called *Sleſwick*, where ſhe built the city of that name. *Olo* he ſubſtituted in her place, whence it appears that *Denmark* was, in conſequence of *Ringo*'s victory, little more than a province to *Sweden*, though all the *Daniſh* writers omit *Ringo*'s name in the liſt of their kings. Whether it was, that the *Danes* were uneaſy under the adminiſtration of a prince impoſed upon them by their inveterate enemies the *Swedes*, or whether their diſaffection aroſe from his own cruelty, as ſome writers affirm, is a point diſputed by hiſtorians: certain, however, it is, that he was taken off by a conſpiracy, formed againſt him by many of the chief nobility of the kingdom, and his ſon *Omund* elected king: a preſumption that *Olo*'s misfortune aroſe from perſonal pique and mal-adminiſtration, more than from the reſentment of his ſubjects againſt the *Swedes* [c].

O M U N D.

OMUND, ſays *Meurſius*, was elected, not out of regard to his father's memory, but from the expectation which ſo promiſing a youth afforded, of his reſembling in virtue his great uncle *Harold*. When arrived at age, his nobility adviſed him to think of encreaſing the royal family by marriage. This made him turn his thoughts to the daughter of *Ringo*, whom he had ſeen and admired when he viſited the court of that monarch in his youth: but to the accompliſhment of his wiſhes there was an obſtacle which he determined to ſurmount. *Ringo* had publicly declared, that he never would receive for his ſon-in-law a prince who had not ſignalized his valour. To render himſelf worthy of this honour, *Omund* entered upon a war with the king of *Norway*, who had lately refuſed to pay the uſual homage to the crown of *Denmark*, and a powerful fleet was equipped for the occaſion. In his way he was joined by *Oddo*, a prince who had received ſome cauſe of diſguſt to the *Swediſh* monarch. *Ringo* was at this time cruiſing with a fleet off the coaſt of *Ireland*, and *Oddo* perſuaded his new ally, that now was the opportunity for recovering the liberty of *Denmark*, curbing the power of *Sweden*, and accompliſhing his wiſhes with reſpect to *Ringo*'s daughter. Perſuaded with theſe arguments, *Omund* complied with *Oddo*'s propoſal of making a deſcent on *Sweden*, which was accordingly executed. Intelligence being ſent to *Ringo*, he returned inſtantly for the protection of his dominions, and a furious engagement enſued, in which both par- Omund, *39th king.* A. D. 331.

[c] Aut. citat. ibid.

ties

ties claimed a victory. To render things more deciſive, they recruited their forces by mutual agreement, and fought a ſecond battle more bloody than the former, at the cloſe of which *Ringo* was mortally wounded. Upon this he ſent for *Omund*, and told him, that now he had given proofs ſufficient of his valour to merit the daughter of a warrior, and therefore he ſhould contentedly reſign himſelf into the arms of death, as he had the happineſs to ſee his family ſtrengthened by the alliance of ſuch a ſon-in-law; after which words he expired. *Omund*'s next exploits were againſt *Ruſla*, a warlike virgin, who uſurped the ſovereignty of ſome provinces of *Norway*, and endeavoured to extend her power over *Denmark* likewiſe. Her he defeated in a ſea-fight, but not ſo deciſively but ſhe ſoon recruited her forces, and was again ready to enter upon action. *Omund* not caring to hazard a defeat from a woman, determined to uſe policy, and by dint of gold weaned from her the allegiance of the *Norwegians*, who deſerted her, and afterwards delivered her into the hands of her brother, whom ſhe had dethroned, in revenge for which he put her to death, and was mean enough to pay homage to *Omund*, in acknowledgment of his ſervices. Having honourably concluded ſome other wars in which he was neceſſarily engaged, *Omund* preſerved his dominions in profound peace for a number of years, and then died ſincerely regretted and eſteemed by his people, who immediately choſe his eldeſt ſon to ſucceed him. He was, indeed, a prince equally ſkilled in the arts of war and of peace, who had obliterated by the prudence and ſucceſs of his adminiſtration, all memory of his father's cruelty [a].

S I W A R D.

Siward, 40*th king*.

SIWARD, on his acceſſion to the throne, was complimented by an ambaſſy from the king of *Sweden*, who demanded his ſiſter in marriage. Imagining that this alliance might aſſiſt in uniting kingdoms always at variance, and prove advantageous to both, *Siward* complied, and the treaty was concluded. *Halland* was the place fixed upon for the celebration of the nuptials; but the *Swediſh* monarch being beſet by ruffians on the road thither, broke off the treaty and prepared for war, from a notion that the aſſaſſins had been hired by *Siward* to murder him. Both kings having raiſed forces, they met on the confines of the ſpot appointed for a more friendly intercourſe, and a battle enſuing,

[a] Meurs. p. 31.

the

the *Swediſh* monarch was ſlain, and his army totally defeated (A). *Denmark freed from the yoke of Sweden.*

THE war with *Sweden* in which *Siward* was engaged, furniſhed ſome tributary princes on the continent with an opportunity of revolting. They raiſed an army, obtained a victory, and reduced their ſovereign to great ſtraights. Such was their ſucceſs, and the ill fortune of *Siward*, that he loſt all his dominions except *Zealand* and a few inconſiderable iſlands. His ſpirit, however, was not broke; he raiſed freſh forces, and determined either to perſiſt by their hands, or to reduce to obedience his rebellious ſubjects. Accordingly, he engaged the rebel army, commanded by one *Sumo*, and juſt as victory began to declare for him, died of a wound he received by the hand of the rebel general, after he had given a mortal blow to his antagoniſt, both falling dead upon each other. Such was the end of this brave but unfortunate prince, who had become odious to many of his ſubjects, rather from a ſpirit of rebellion in them, than any fault in him. He left two ſons; but they being carried off and kept priſoners by the rebels, his brother was elected king in his room [b]. *He is killed in battle against the rebels.*

BATHUL.

BATHUL was raiſed to the throne leſs upon account of his own merit, which was but inconſiderable, than from a regard the people had for the blood royal, and reſpect for the memory of *Siward*. The ſtate of *Denmark* was now truly deplorable; her dominions rent in pieces by rebellion, her power and credit ſunk, and a king elected, the moſt unfit in the world to retrieve her affairs, by courage or conduct. There remained, of all the potent kingdom of *Denmark*, but *Zealand*, *Funen*, and thoſe little iſlands, called by the *Danes* *Smallands*; *Jutland*, *Norway*, *Schonen*, *Sleſwick*, *Embden*, and other countries on the continent, as well as ſeveral iſlands were diſmembered from the crown. In this ſituation it would probably have remained, had not *Jarmerci*, the ſon of *Siward*, *Bathul, 41ſt king.* *The deplorable condition of* Denmark.

[b] SAXO, l. viii.

(A) The event of this battle is variouſly related, *Meurſius* in particular affirming, that *Siward* was defeated, and forced to retreat precipitately to *Jutland*, where he was a ſecond time routed by the *Sclavi*, a people who had revolted from his authority, and purſued to the iſland of *Funen*; upon which he made peace with *Sweden*, by ceding *Schonen* to that crown (1).

(1) *Meurſ. Hiſt. l.* ii. *p.* 31.

fall in

fallen upon the means of recovering his liberty, returning into *Zealand*, and of asserting the dignity of his ancestors, which was sunk during the weak and timid reign of his uncle *Bathul*, who now willingly resigned the burthen of sovereignty, to which he found his own strength unequal.

JARMERCI.

Jarmerci, 40*th king*.

THE first endeavours of this heroic prince were to recover the revolted provinces, and reduce them to their former obedience. He begun with *Sweden*, that had led the way and encouraged his subjects in their rebellion, by which *Gothar* the king got possession of *Schonen*, *Jutland*, and some other *Danish* provinces. He raised a great army, entered *Sweden*, defeated and killed *Gothar*, and of consequence recovered all that the *Swedes* had taken from his father and uncle: thence he marched into *Slesvick* and *Holstein*, and soon reduced them: from *Slesvick* he marched into *Pomerania*, and thence to *Silesia*, laying all that country under contribution, and exacting an oath from the nobles, that they would pay homage and a yearly tribute to the crown of *Denmark*. In a word, he not only recovered in a short time all the countries his ancestors had ever possessed, but greatly enlarged the boundaries of the *Danish* sovereignty. All this prosperity was not unattended with a mixture of adversity and domestic misfortunes, which more than counterbalanced the power and grandeur of *Jarmerci*. He had discovered an intrigue that was carrying on between a beautiful young lady he had taken for his second wife, and *Broder*, a son he had by his former. Enraged at a crime so unnatural, he gave orders they should both be instantly put to death, a sentence which was executed accordingly upon the queen; but his son found means, thro' the favour of his keepers, to escape, and raise civil commotions, which ended only with the life of his father, whom he besieged, took, and put to death, in a strong castle which *Jarmerci* had built as a retreat in case of any unforeseen change of fortune. It is true, that both the queen and *Broder* were innocent of the crime laid to their charge, the whole being a contrivance of *Bicco*'s, a nobleman of great power and ambition, who, out of resentment or envy to *Jarmerci*, wanted to distract his councils. Such was this man's art and address, that he fomented the quarrel between the father and son to such a height, that notwithstanding filial duty on the one side, and paternal affection on the other, strongly urged them to a reconciliation, they were both made to believe that their security could only be effected by the death of the other. Thus ended the glorious reign of *Jar-*

His conquests retrieve the face of affairs.

Is put to death by his own son.

Jarmerci, a monarch inferior to none in valour and greatneſs of ſoul; but unhappily credulous in his temper, and eaſily wrought on by theſe diabolical inſtruments, who never fail to inſinuate themſelves in all courts, and create diviſions with a view of raiſing themſelves [a].

B R O D E R.

BRODER ſucceeded to his father's throne by the unanimous voice of the people, who ſoon had reaſon to repent their choice. The indolence and weakneſs of his reign encouraged ſeveral of the provinces recovered by his father, again to revolt; and the *Swedes* in particular took poſſeſſion of *Schonen*. This is all we know of him, hiſtory being ſilent concerning the manner of his death, and of moſt of the particulars of his life [b]. Broder, 41*ſt king*.

S I W A L D III.

He was ſucceeded by *Siwald* III. a prince who had arrived to a great age before he was raiſed to the throne. The tranſactions of his reign are no leſs obſcure than thoſe of his predeceſſor; nor do we know any thing of the circumſtances of the kingdom, until his ſon *Snio* was joined with him in the ſovereignty. Siwald III. 42*d king*.

S I W A L D III. *and S N I O.*

Now *Denmark* began to reſume her wonted vigour, and immediately entered upon the recovery of *Schonen*, and the revolted provinces, which were ſoon obliged to ſubmit, and ſurrender the ringleaders of the rebellion. *Snio* in the next place reſolved to ſecure the crown in his family by marriage, and accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to demand the daughter of the king of *Swediſh Gothland*, who were all put to death by this ſavage prince, under pretence of their being ſpies. Irritated at this indignity, *Snio* raiſed a powerful army, entered *Gothland*, laying the country waſte with fire and ſword. *Gotho*, for that was the king of *Gothland*'s name, perceiving that his forces were unable to reſiſt the rapid progreſs of the *Danes*, challenged *Snio* to ſingle combat, a propoſal which he accepted, on condition that the kingdom of the vanquiſhed ſhould ſubmit to the conqueror. Upon this *Gotho* declined the combat, ſent his daughter into *Sweden*, and fought a battle, in which his army was defeated, and himſelf forced to ſubmit to the terms impoſed by the victo- Siwald III. *and* Snio.

[a] Saxo, l. viii. Pontan. p. 34. [b] Meurs. l. ii. p. 34.

rious *Snio*. The king of *Sweden* married his ward, and while he was enjoying all the pleaſures of love, was ſuddenly deſpoiled of his wife and treaſure, by a rapid deſcent made on his kingdom by *Snio*, who carried her off in triumph. This rape gave occaſion to a long and bloody war, which was terminated by a greater misfortune. Both kings having levied all their ſubjects, hardly any perſons were left to cultivate the lands; the conſequence of which was a cruel famine, that carried off incredible numbers of the people. This gave birth to a law, prohibiting, on pain of death, that a ſingle grain of corn ſhould be converted into malt, or uſed in any other manner than bread, of which the rich were in equal want with the poor; but this edict not having the deſired effect, it was propoſed by *Aggo* and *Ebbo*, two noblemen of *Jutland*, or of ſome other of the *Daniſh* provinces, that all the old men and children ſhould either be put to death, or compelled to ſeek for new habitations in foreign countries. Intelligence of this execrable ſcheme coming to the ears of *Cambora*; or as other writers call her *Magga*, the king's mother, a woman of an heroic ſpirit, ſhe immediately entered the council chamber, and in a very pathetic ſpeech, repreſented the inhumanity of ſacrificing their aged parents and innocent babes, who were unable to ſecure themſelves poſſeſſions in foreign countries. It would better become, ſhe obſerved, the piety and valour of the *Danes* to ſend forth their young men upon expeditions, which required ſtrength, vigour, and health, and thus ſupply the wants of the infirm, weak, and aged, by leaving them their ſhare of the public ſtock of proviſions. This, ſhe ſaid, would anſwer the ſame purpoſe as barbarouſly ſacrificing with their own hands, thoſe beings who gave them life, and thoſe innocent tender babes whoſe ſupport depended on their parental fondneſs. She propoſed, that if the enterprize appeared ſo dangerous as to terrify any of the nobility from taking the command of this large colony, to lead it in perſon, and baniſh herſelf from her native ſoil, for the ſake of her country, for the ſake of humanity, and every principle the moſt dear and valuable to a true-born *Dane*. *Snio* immediately acceded to her propoſal, and aſſembled the nobility and commons to ſettle the plan of migration. In this aſſembly it was agreed, that every ninth man in *Denmark* and the provinces, able to carry arms, ſhould compoſe the colony; that it ſhould be conducted by *Aggo* and *Ebbo*; and that the place of rendezvous ſhould be that province lying between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*[a], and waſhed by the *Baltic*, the

A cruel famine prevails in Denmark, *and occaſions a barbarous propoſal, which gave birth to the firſt migration of a colony from this country.*

A. D. 383.

[a] Saxo, ibid. Pontan. & Meurs. lib. citat. Suan. p. 53 anti

antient name of which is not determined (A). By this means plenty was introduced in *Denmark*, and *Snio* lived in peace to a good old age, after having by prudence and conduct reſtored his kingdom to its antient ſplendor, and without a ſingle blemiſh upon his reputation, except his carrying off by force the queen of *Sweden*, which may be looked upon as the cauſe of all the dreadful misfortunes which afterwards attended him by a cruel and ruinous war, and a ſtill more deſtructive, famine. We are not informed by any hiſtorian, whether *Siwald* his father reſigned the throne to *Snio*, or whether he died ſoon after he had taken him a partner in the throne. *Character and death of* Snio.

B I O R N O.

BIORNO his ſon ſucceeded *Snio*; a prince of little merit according to *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Meurſius*, though *Lyſchander*, *Pontanus*, and *Suaningius* affirm, that the male royal line was extinct in *Snio*. All writers indeed agree, that here is a chaſm of two hundred and ninety-eight years in the *Daniſh* hiſtory, *Biorno* alone ſtanding in the ſpace between *Snio* and *Gormo*; that is, from the year 401 after the birth of *Chriſt*, to the year 699 of that æra; a period this the moſt buſy but obſcure in antient hiſtory, during which all thoſe very extraordinary migrations were made from the northern countries, which deſtroyed the *Roman* empire, and wholly changed the face of affairs in *Europe*. *Pontanus* and others, to fill up this chaſm, relate the expedition of the *Wandali*, *Longobards*, Biorno, 44th king. *Some difficulties concerning the chronology.*

(A) Various are the conjectures of hiſtorians and critics concerning the time of this migration, the place where the colony eſtabliſhed itſelf, and the derivation of their name, all agreeing that they were called *Lombards* after their departure, and *Winnuli*, or *Winili*, before. The *Daniſh* writers to a man affirm, that the famine which occaſioned the migration happened in *Snio*'s reign; tho' *Paulus Diaconus*, and other writers, make it later. *Proſper*, a writer of credit, aſſerts, that they ſettled in the iſle of *Rugen* and country adjacent, till the year 484, when they removed themſelves into *Pannonia*, and other provinces of the *Roman* empire. As to their name, ſome derive it from their beards, *Longo-Barb*; others from their weapons called *Bardens*, or *Lango-Bardens*; but the curious reader will find a ſatisfactory account of this people, whether *Lombards* or *Longobards* (for we make a diſtinction) in the nineteenth volume of our Antient Hiſtory, p. 12. 497. *& ſequent* (r).

(r) *Vid. & Got. Proteg. Hiſt. Got. p.* 53. *& Pontan. Hiſt. Dan. l.* iii. *p.* 39. *ad p.* 57. *Radbec Atalant, t.* i.

Lombards, and other northern nations, giving at the ſame time a long liſt of *Saxon* and *Swediſh* kings; but as theſe matters relate nothing to our hiſtory, we think it more ſatisfactory intirely to paſs over this period, and reſume our narrative with *Gormon*, who was elected to the throne in the year 699 or 700 after the birth of our Saviour (B) [b].

GORMON I.

Gormon I. *52d king.*

ACCORDING to *Lyſchander*, *Gormon* was the fiftieth and ſecond monarch who wielded the *Daniſh* ſcepter from *Dan*, and a prince the moſt extraordinary of his age, not for the uſual qualities of a king, but his profound ſkill in magic, and deep penetration into the ſecrets of nature. We muſt refer the reader to the wonderful tales he will find related of his magic ſkill, by *Saxo*, who aſcribes them all to a ſtrict correſpondence he maintained with the parent of deceit; they might paſs for truth in the age of that entertaining writer, but they will ſcarce furniſh amuſement in theſe enlightened times, where even fiction itſelf requires the aſſiſtance of probability. We know only for certain of this prince, that he lived to an advanced age without engaging in any wars with his neighbours, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Gotrick*, ſurnamed the *Generous* [c].

GOTRICK.

Gotrick, *53d king.*

SOME writers call this prince *Guitlach*, and others *Godfred*; but we chuſe to follow the authority of *Grammaticus* and *Pontanus*. In the firſt year of his government the *Saxons* rebelled, and he raiſed a powerful army to ſuppreſs them, which he ſoon effected, by giving them a ſignal overthrow, and obliging them, upon the birth of a *Daniſh* prince, to ſend a preſent to the king of an hundred milk white horſes, in token of their ſubmiſſion and vaſſalage to the crown of *Denmark*. Immediately after, he married the princeſs of *Norway*, ſending at the ſame time an ambaſſador into *Swe-*

[b] MEURS. p. 36. [c] SAXO, l. 8.

(B) To ſupply the chaſm, *Lyſchander* in his Genealogy of the *Daniſh* kings, and *Suaningius* in his *Chronicon Danicum*, give the following table of kings; *viz.* *Rorick* II. *Swan* I. *Guitlach* II. *Harold* III. (according to them;) *Erchall*, *Vermond* II. *Omond* II. to whom ſucceeded *Biorno* his ſon, whom we have made the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Snio*. Of theſe princes they give no account, nor have they even quoted their authority for inſerting them.

den,

den, to appeaſe certain tumults which broke out at the general diet of that kingdom: but the ambaſſador's authority was deſpiſed, and himſelf killed by a large ſtone thrown at him in the mob; an inſult which *Gotrick* thought it his duty to puniſh [d]. In conſequence he invaded *Sweden*, defeated the *Swediſh* army, ſubdued the whole country, and puniſhed the perſons concerned in the murder of his ambaſſador with a heavy fine. Scarce had he returned from *Sweden* before *Saxony* was over-run by *Charlemagne*'s army, while *Vitichond* lord of the country, unable to reſiſt ſo potent a force, implored the aſſiſtance of *Gotrick*, whoſe ſiſter he had married; and the *Daniſh* monarch readily promiſed him ſpeedy ſuccour, becauſe he ſaw the neceſſity of checking the growing power of *Charlemagne*, who like an impetuous torrent, threatened to ſwallow up all *Europe* in one univerſal monarchy. *Charlemagne's* retreat to oppoſe the *Saracens* prevented a battle at this time with the main army; but ſome poſts which he maintained were forced, and his troops driven quite out of *Saxony*. When *Charlemagne* returned from *Spain*, *Gotrick* ſent ambaſſadors to remonſtrate to him, that *Saxony* was a fief of *Denmark*, which he thought himſelf bound to protect. He therefore requeſted him not to diſturb the peace of that country, which would neceſſarily reduce the *Danes* to the neceſſity of oppoſing him with all their power, a meaſure that would not at all be agreeable to a people who entertained the higheſt reſpect for his majeſty. As *Charlemagne* gave no explicit anſwer to this remonſtrance, *Gotrick* reſolved to enforce it by arms, and accordingly ſent a powerful reinforcement to *Vitichond*, which enabled him to drive the *French* out of the barrier towns, and garriſon them with *Danes* and *Saxons*. *Charlemagne*, offended at this preſumption, ſent an army under *Conrade* to reduce all *Saxony* to his obedience; but this general was defeated, and his army diſperſed. Enraged at the indignity, *Charlemagne* entered *Saxony* at the head of an army, and by forced marches had nearly ſurpriſed *Vitichond*, who fled precipitately and took ſhelter with *Gotrick* beyond the *Elbe*. His army being deſtitute of a commander, became an eaſy prey to the *French* monarch, who determining to ſtrike terror in the inhabitants, ordered above four thouſand *Saxons* to be executed, after which he retired with his army, leaving ſtrong garriſons in all the towns [e].

He ſubdues Sweden.

Saxony *over-run by* Charlemagne's *army*.

[d] Meurs, & Gram. ibid. [e] Pontan. l. iii. Meurs. ii.

Gotrick *recovers* Saxony *a ſecond time.*

GOTRICK no ſooner had advice of this defeat, than he led his army into that deplorable country, expelled all the *French* garriſons, and reduced it to its former obedience. Upon his return to *Denmark*, he heard that *Charlemagne* propoſed ſending his ſon *Pepin* with a mighty army, to invade the *Daniſh* provinces upon the continent, and reſolved to oppoſe him with an equal force. He levied a prodigious army, and equipped a fleet of above three hundred large ſhips, with which he propoſed making a deſcent on the coaſt of *France*, and by this means to weaken *Pepin*'s army. In a word, ſuch was the valour, the conduct, and the mighty force of *Gotrick*, that *Charlemagne*'s empire was never more endangered than from this formidable enemy, had not an unforeſeen accident, and his uſual good fortune, ſaved that powerful monarch. After *Gotrick* had over-run *Eaſt Frieſland*, and ſome other provinces belonging to the enemy, leading his army ſtrait to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at that time the capital of *Charlemagne*'s empire; he was ſtabbed in his tent by a centinel, bribed, as ſome writers imagine, by *Pepin*, to remove this dangerous rival to his father's glory. Other writers imagine, that this unworthy action was committed by his own ſon, in revenge for his having repudiated his mother, and taken another wife. Be this as it will, certain it is that the great *Gotrick* fell by the hands of an aſſaſſin, at a time when he was about to diſpute the empire of *Europe* with the greateſt monarch of the world, leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt, brave, merciful, and munificent prince, poſſeſſed of every quality which could gain the love of his own ſubjects, and the eſteem and reſpect of all other nations. That he was the dread of his mighty competitor, appears from the exceſſive and indecent joy which *Charlemagne* expreſſed on the news of his death [b]. The exact time of this event is diſputed; but *Suaningius*, and ſome of the beſt writers, place it in the year 801 after *Chriſt*.

Is treacherouſly murdered.

Gotrick's *character.*

OLAUS III,

Olaus III. *55th king.*

GOTRICK being killed, his eldeſt ſon *Olaus*, the third of that name, was elected king of *Denmark*. This prince is entirely omitted by many hiſtorians, and others place him after *Hemming*, though *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Meurſius* expreſly ſay, that he was the ſon and immediate ſucceſſor of *Gotrick*. *Olaus*, while he was endeavouring to bring to juſtice the murderers of his father, had the misfortune to involve himſelf in a civil war, in which we have reaſon to believe he

[b] SUANING, p. 62.

periſhed,

periſhed, though we do not find this circumſtance mentioned by any writer beſides *Eric* of *Pomerania*.

H E M M I N G.

ACCORDING to the ſame author, he was ſucceeded by *Hemming*, his only child. The firſt act of this prince's adminiſtration was to conclude a treaty with *Lewis the Pious*, ſettling the limits of their reſpective dominions, which was effected to the ſatisfaction of both parties, without any encroachment on the boundaries of *Denmark*, now comprehending great part of the *German* continent. After reigning for two years, with great applauſe, this excellent monarch yielded up his laſt breath, and left his kingdom to his two couſins, *Siward* and *Ringo*[c]. Hemming, *56th king.*

S I W A R D and R I N G O.

DENMARK was divided between them, and a conſtant jealouſy and perpetual wars enſued, by which this potent kingdom began to dwindle, and loſe the reſpect it had ſo long commanded from the ſurrounding ſtates. At laſt the condition of the *Danes* became deplorable. *Siward*'s ſubjects depoſed him, and raiſed his infant ſon *Regner* to the throne, which furniſhed his rival *Ringo* with a fair occaſion of invading *Zealand* and *Schonen*, where he met with little reſiſtance. Immediately on his arrival he threatened with the moſt cruel and ignominious death, all the inhabitants who refuſed to acknowledge him for their king. In this critical ſituation, the people deſired he would permit them to deliberate upon his propoſal, which being granted, they aſſembled to debate on the meaſures which they ought to purſue. On the one hand their affection, and the oath they had ſworn to *Regner*, inclined many of the inhabitants to remain firm in their duty; on the other, the power and dreadful menaces of *Ringo* terrified them. Various meaſures were propoſed, and all were attended with a thouſand difficulties; in conſequence of which the aſſembly was ready to break up without coming to any concluſion, when *Regner*, though then but twelve years of age, ſpoke in the following manner. "To what "purpoſe is it, my faithful friends, to irritate a powerful "enemy, by an obſtinate attachment to an unhappy prince, "whom you have not ſtrength ſufficient to defend? As "deſerting your king, and flying from your colours with-"out urgent neceſſity, would be a crime of the moſt Siward and Ringo. *Civil wars in* Denmark. Regner's *ſpeech to his friends.*

[c] Scriptor. citat. ibid.

" heinous nature, ſo, adhering to them at the hazard of " your own lives, when you are ſenſible you cannot better " the cauſe in which you are engaged, is downright folly, " and a treſpaſs againſt the firſt principles of nature. Deceit " in ſome caſes is allowable: can it ever be practiſed in a " more juſt cauſe than the preſent, or with more probabi- " lity of ſucceſs? You muſt deceive the enemy you are " unable to combat; you muſt counterfeit ſubmiſſion, until " an occaſion offers of reſuming your principles, recalling " your king, and throwing off the yoke of the oppreſſor. " Adverſe fortune is never ſo eaſily ſurmounted as by yield- " ing to it." This ſenſible oration from a child, determined them to follow his advice, as ſoon as they had conveyed him ſafe into *Norway*. They accordingly ſubmitted to *Ringo*, and immediately gave notice of their intention to *Siward*, who without heſitation ſtruck his tents and marched to give battle to his rival, equally deſirous of coming to a deciſive action. The armies met and engaged with unrelenting fury, until *Ringo* was killed and victory had declared in favour of his adverſary, who had likewiſe received a mortal wound, of which he died the next day; and happy had it been for *Denmark* had this event happened earlier, though each was deſerving enough of the crown, had he enjoyed it without a competitor. It was their rivalſhip and ambition that reduced the kingdom to its melancholy ſituation, and the continuance of their wars would probably have made way for its total conqueſt by ſome foreign power [a].

Death of Ringo *and* Siward.

R E G N E R.

Regner, 56*th king*.

BOTH theſe princes being removed by death, *Regner* was recalled from *Norway*, and replaced in the throne (A). As ſoon as this prince had ſettled the domeſtic œconomy of his kingdom, which he found intirely ruined and confounded by the late civil diſcords, he marched into *Norway* againſt *Froe*, king of *Sweden*, who had invaded that kingdom, imagining that he could eaſily reduce it before the ſituation of the *Danes* would admit of their ſending forces to its relief. *Froe* had, indeed, defeated *Siward* king of *Norway*, and made priſoners of his wife and daughters, before the arrival of *Regner*. He

[a] SAXO, l. ix. MEURS. l. ii. p. 38.

(A) Authors differ conſiderably in the orthography of this prince's name, ſome calling him *Regner*, others *Reginfrid*, and not a few *Ragnifrid*. We have adhered to the orthography of *Grammaticus*, *Meurſius*, and *Pontanus*.

had

had expoſed them, and all the virgins who had fallen into his hands, to the moſt cruel indignities and inſults, which made them receive *Regner* as their deliverer. The indignation of this prince was ſo highly inflamed by their piteous relations, that he marched inſtantly againſt the barbarous conqueror, and gave him battle; but with a very dubious event, until *Lathgartha*, a virgin of an heroic diſpoſition, who had been raviſhed by the brutal *Froe*, entered the ranks, and with incredible valour, drove the *Swedes* every where before her, till ſhe opened a way to their king, whom ſhe pierced through the body before he was prepared to guard againſt her furious attack [b]. The war being finiſhed by this deciſive action, *Regner* was ſo captivated with the bravery of the virago, that he ſought her of her relations in marriage, and obtained her with little difficulty.

Bravery of Lathgartha, *a young lady of* Norway.

Regner *marries her.*

DURING the king's reſidence in *Norway*, the provinces of *Schonen* and *Jutland* revolted, and ſome commotions were excited in *Zealand*; his preſence ſoon reduced affairs to their former ſituation, but not till he had given battle, and defeated the rebels, all of whom he generouſly pardoned, excepting a few of the ringleaders, who were reſerved for an exemplary puniſhment. Another revolt ſoon however broke out, and was ſuppreſſed with the ſame expedition and vigour; to this ſucceeded a third, and to that a fourth, which obliged him to treat theſe obſtinate delinquents with more ſeverity, and to put it out of their power to diſturb the courſe of government by their rebellious and reſtleſs diſpoſition.

REGNER's marriage with the valorous *Lathgartha* was unfortunate; for ſhe was ſuppoſed to aſpire at the crown independent of her huſband, againſt whoſe life ſhe was unjuſtly thought to harbour deſigns; upon the diſcovery of which he repudiated her, and demanded in marriage the daughter of *Haroth* king of *Sweden*. Before he could obtain this lady, it was neceſſary he ſhould fight the two greateſt bullies in *Denmark*. This he performed with ſucceſs, having killed them, and, in conſequence, gained the prize, which had been contended for by all the ſurrounding young princes, inflamed either with love or ambition. By this lady he had ſeven ſons, *Rathbert*, *Dun*, *Vorth*, *Siward*, *Biorno*, *Agner*, and *Ivar*. In the mean time the *Cimbri* threw off the *Daniſh* yoke, and choſe a king, whom they called *Harold Klang*; upon which *Regner* raiſed an army in *Denmark*, and reinforced himſelf by a ſtrong body of auxiliaries from *Norway*, which was afterwards ſtrengthened by a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips

He repudiates Lathgartha.

Harold *proclaimed king by the* Cimbri, *and defeated by* Regner.

[b] SAXO, p. 171-2.

of

of war, which *Lathgartha* had equipped for his ſervice, and commanded in perſon. *Regner* was aſtoniſhed at this inſtance of her affection; but ſhe frankly told him, that no inconſtancy on his ſide could wean her from her duty, or oblige her to revolt from the allegiance ſhe owed, both as his ſubject and his wife. "If, ſays ſhe, the charms of my perſon be faded in your eyes, it is requiſite that I ſhould endeavour to ſupply that loſs by other qualities, more conducive to your glory and the good of theſe kingdoms[a]." Such was the generous revenge which this noble lady took on the infidelity of her ſpouſe. He marched with his army directly againſt the rebels, and begun an action, which continued with great warmth and ſpirit without appearance of advantage to either ſide, till *Siward*, the ſon of *Regner*, was killed, which occaſioned great confuſion in the wing of the *Daniſh* army he commanded. *Regner* hearing of his ſon's misfortune, flew like lightning along the lines, exhorting his men not to add to his calamity by their miſconduct, and rallying them with amazing ſpirit and reſolution, while *Lathgartha* led on the wing the king had left, and puſhed the enemy with ſuch irreſiſtible valour, that they were broke and totally defeated.

The fidelity and courage of Lathgartha.

HAVING ſettled the affairs of this country, rewarded, and refreſhed his ſoldiers, he led them without delay into *Saxony*, which he reſolved to puniſh for its frequent revolt to the emperor. Arriving here with a fleet of two hundred ſail, he landed his men with ſuch expedition, that the *Saxons* were ſubdued almoſt as ſoon as they had intelligence of his arrival. The emperor *Lotharius*, then encamped with a large army on the *Elbe*, gave battle to *Regner*, and was defeated; but the *Daniſh* monarch was prevented from purſuing his victory, by diſturbances that were raiſed in *Sweden* after the death of their king *Haroth*, whoſe children the nobles had driven out of the kingdom, raiſing one of their own number to the throne. *Regner* ſent his ſons with an army to reinſtate the royal family, which they ſoon effected by a ſignal defeat, given the uſurper. *Sorlus*, ſo the uſurper was called, finding himſelf unable to combat the forces of the king of *Denmark*, ſent a herald to deſire that the iſſue might be decided by ſelecting a certain number of combatants out of each army; a propoſal that was accepted. *Sorlus* choſe one *Scardo*, the moſt famous ſwordſman in *Sweden*, and his ſeven ſons for his ſeconds; and on the ſide of the *Danes*, the three princes *Biorno*, *Fridleff*, and *Rathbert* offered themſelves. The combat began in ſight of both armies, and *Scardo* be-

He ſubdues Saxony.

Regner *defeats the emperor* Lotharius.

[a] SAXO, ibid. MEURS. p. 40.

ing

ing killed, *Sorlus* and his children, unable to ſtand againſt the fury of the *Daniſh* princes, were ſoon forced to follow his fate. This conqueſt being obtained, the *Daniſh* army attacked the *Swedes*, and obtained an eaſy and deciſive victory [b]. *A combat fought between Regner's three ſons, and the princes of Sweden.*

It would appear, that *Regner* went in perſon to *Sweden*; for we are told, that here he carried on an intrigue with a perſon of faſhion, by whom he had a ſon called *Ubbo*, who, born under an unhappy planet, ſays *Meurſius*, afterwards contrived to dethrone the parent that begot him.

The death of *Thora*, his beloved wife, ſo grievouſly afflicted *Regner*, that he found it neceſſary to divert his mind by engaging in ſome foreign war. Accordingly he publiſhed an edict, ordering all his ſubjects who were harraſſed either with idle children or ſervants, to ſend them to him for employment. As ſoon as he had raiſed a ſufficient force, he put the affairs of his kingdom in the beſt order, and committed them to the care of a council, compoſed of twelve of the moſt prudent and weighty men in *Denmark*. After which he embarked his troops, and made ſo ſucceſsful a deſcent on *Britain*, that in a ſhort time he reduced the iſland, not even the *Orkneys* eſcaping his arms. In his return to *Denmark*, he appeaſed ſome commotions, ſet on foot in *Norway* by the pride and ambition of ſeveral of the nobility, who aſpired at the crown. He was not long in *Denmark* before he married a third wife, by name *Suanloge*, and had by her three ſons, *Reynold*, *Widferc*, and *Erick*.

The next exploits of this conqueror were performed in the *Helleſpont*, againſt *Dio* king of that country, anciently called *Myſia*, who refuſed to pay certain duties which had always been claimed by the anceſtors of *Regner*. This war ended as ſucceſsfully as the former; upon which he turned his arms againſt the *Ruſſians*, who had lent conſiderable aſſiſtance to *Dio*, by which he was enabled to prolong the war. We are told by the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, that this rude people confided more in the power of incantations, charms, and their ſkill in magic, than in arms; that they raiſed ſuch ſtorms of hail and ſnow, as reduced the *Danes* to the laſt extremity, and had almoſt conquered him by famine, who had always proved invincible in arms. *Regner*, after loſing near half his army, was forced to retreat into *Courland*, where he was kindly welcomed and furniſhed with every neceſſary which the country afforded. Incenſed at his late diſgrace, he again entered *Ruſſia*, with a reſolution to bring the ſavage monarch to action. *He defeats Dio king of Myſia.*

[b] Ibid. etiam Pontan. l. iv.

The king of *Ruſſia*, for ſo he is called, foreſeeing *Regner*'s return, had procured a ſtrong body of auxiliaries from the king of *Finland*, whoſe troops were exceeding expert in throwing the lance. Relying upon theſe ſuccours, he ventured to attack the *Danes*, unable, on account of the mountains of ice and ſnow, to extend their wings, or draw out in order of battle. *Regner*, for this reaſon, kept in his camp, and watched the opportunity of finding the enemy unguarded. Next night preſented the happy occaſion he wiſhed for; upon which he led his army with the utmoſt expedition and ſilence in the middle of the night, and broke into their camp, while they were felicitating themſelves with the notion of ſtarving the *Danes* into ſubmiſſion. In this diſorder he obtained an eaſy victory; and after taking ſufficient revenge, withdrew his army out of this inhoſpitable country.

Ubbo, his baſtard ſon, revolts, and is conquered.

THE long abſence of *Regner*, furniſhed his baſtard ſon *Ubbo* with an opportunity of diſplaying his ambition, and unnatural deſire of depoſing his own father, and ſeizing upon a crown to which he had no kind of right. In this wild project he was aſſiſted by his grandfather *Eſbern*, a man of great power in *Swediſh Gothland*, where he raiſed a numerous army in ſupport of *Ubbo*. But *Eſbern* was defeated by *Biorno*, who was left præfect of *Gothland* by his father; and *Ubbo* meeting with a check from *Ivar*, the other ſon of *Regner*, went into voluntary baniſhment. Soon after, by the aſſiſtance of his grandfather, he equipped a large fleet, with intention to ſurprize his father at ſea in his return from *Ruſſia*. He met with him accordingly, but was forced to yield to the ſuperior valour and juſtice of the parent. In this action *Eſbern* was ſlain among the firſt, and his head fixed on the prow of *Regner*'s galley, which ſo terrified *Ubbo*, that he made all the ſail he could towards *Zealand*, where, once more, making trial of his fortune, he was defeated, made priſoner, and ſlain by his keepers, for having attempted to make his eſcape.

Regner *conquers* Daxo, *the ſon of* Dio.

REGNER, who was born to ſhine as the firſt of heroes in the *Daniſh* annals, had no ſooner ſuppreſſed this domeſtic foe, than he was attacked by a more formidable foreign enemy; and this was no other than *Daxo*, the ſon of *Dio*, king of the *Helleſpont*, whom he had lately overcome in ſeveral battles. The peace which *Dio* had concluded, was by no means ſincere, and patched up only with intention of ſeizing the firſt opportunity of revenge. He ſubmitted from neceſſity to the terms of the conqueror, and permitted his dominions to be governed by *Widferc*, *Regner*'s ſon, who was left in quality of lieutenant, *Daxo* retaining nothing more than the name and pageantry of majeſty. *Daxo* embraced the opportunity of a fair

ſair that was held in the city, to perpetrate his baſe deſign of maſſacring *Widferc*. Accordingly he invited that prince to a feaſt, and had concealed a number of armed aſſaſſins; but this ſcheme being fruſtrated by ſome buſineſs, which had prevented the lieutenant's attendance, he went early in the morning to his houſe, attended with the aſſaſſins, dreſſed like peaſants, and finding admittance, was forcing his way to *Widferc*'s chamber; when the prince, alarmed with the noiſe, leaped out of bed, and placed himſelf, ſword in hand, in the entrance. Here he bravely defended himſelf till he received a wound, was overpowed with numbers, and taken priſoner. His valour had ſuch an effect upon the treacherous *Daxo*, that he offered to ſhare the kingdom with him, and to give him his ſiſter in marriage, provided he would promiſe never to revenge this attack. But the generous *Widferc* preferring death to owing an obligation to his perfidious foe, reſolutely replied, "That he deſired no greater favour of his hands, than his "imbruing them in blood that would not fail of drawing "upon the inſidious *Daxo* the vengeance of *Regner*." Incenſed at this haughty repulſe, the cruel *Daxo* ordered him, with all his attendants, to be bound and thrown into a large fire lighted for the occaſion, there feaſting his eyes with the unhappy cataſtrophe of the valorous and noble-ſpirited *Widferc*. Advice of this barbarous action coming to the ears of *Regner*, it gave ſuch a ſhock to his conſtitution, as had near unſettled his underſtanding. He ran about the palace like a maniac, tore his hair, rent his cloaths, and committed all the other actions of phrenzy and deſpair. This paroxyſm of madneſs was ſucceeded by a fit of deſpondency and ſullenneſs, which it was feared would intirely deſtroy his reaſon; but the good ſenſe of the queen *Suanloge*, got the better of his grief, and rouſed him to a ſenſe of his own condition, the ſituation of the kingdom, and the folly of lamenting, like a woman, what ought to be avenged with all the fury of an injured king and father. Convinced, with the many forcible arguments this lady advanced, he levied an army, marched into *Daxo*'s country, defeated his army, took him priſoner, and, like a truly generous prince, again ſet him at liberty: "Enjoy that "life, ſaid he, which would only be an unworthy atonement to "the manes of my brave ſon; and let thy own conſcience be "thy puniſher." However, to add to his mortification, he ordered that he ſhould pay an annual tribute, and come in perſon, once a year, attended by twelve noblemen, all barefooted, in token of his ſubjection. After this, leaving his ſon *Eric* his lieutenant over the conquered countries, he returned to *Norway*, where ſome new commotions began to diſturb the

Daxo *murders the brave* Widferc, *ſon to* Regner,

Regner *revenges his death; but generouſly grants his life to* Daxo.

public tranquility. Theſe he ſoon ſuppreſſed, and ſettling the affairs of that kingdom, left his ſon *Biorno* to preſide over them.

BEFORE his return to *Denmark*, his queen *Suanloge* died, a circumſtance which threw him into a fit of deep melancholy, that could only be ſubdued by the din of arms; and now the occaſion offered: for *England* and *Scotland* both refuſed to pay the uſual homage. This obliged *Regner* to raiſe a prodigious armament by ſea and land, which he tranſported into *Scotland*, and there fought a dreadful battle, which laſted three days, and ended in the defeat of the *Scots*, and death of their king. The victory, however, was not cheaply bought; for *Regner* loſt his ſons *Dan* and *Rathbert*, with a prodigious number of officers and ſoldiers in the engagement. Paſſing from hence into *England*, he fought there with equal ſucceſs, and ſubjected the whole kingdom to his obedience, after defeating *Hella*, the ſon of *Haum*, who was aſſiſted by a powerful reinforcement from *France*. Nor did *Ireland* eſcape the terror of his name, and the weight of his arm; for tranſporting his army to that kingdom, he ſlew *Molbric*, the *Iriſh* general, in battle, routed his army, and made himſelf maſter of *Dublin*, the capital, which he gave to be plundered by his ſoldiers. Before he returned to *Denmark*, his ſubjects there had broke out into open rebellion, and recalled *Harold*, who had before been ſet up as king in *Jutland*. This prince reflecting upon the power and valour of *Regner*, reſolved to make uſe of every precaution to withſtand him, and ſecure the poſſeſſion of his new-acquired authority. Accordingly he ſought the alliance of the emperor, which he obtained conditionally, that he would embrace the Chriſtian religion, and propagate it with all his power through his dominions. *Harold*, the better to ſecure the emperor's friendſhip; without any religion, immediately became a convert to Chriſtianity; without faith, abjured infidelity, deſtroyed all the pagan idols, and erected a church in *Sleſwick*, where the doctrine of *Jeſus* was publicly preached. *Regner* arriving in *Denmark*, as theſe new ſchemes of religion and politics were carrying on, attacked *Harold* without delay, overthrew him, and forced him a ſecond time to ſeek ſhelter in *Germany*. Then he deſtroyed the Chriſtian temple erected in *Sleſwick*, and reſtored the worſhip of the pagan gods; a circumſtance which derogates by no means from his reputation, as he had yet received no conviction of the truth of the goſpel, and had he embraced it, muſt have proved a convert from political motives: a reflection, which we thought neceſſary, in anſwer to the ridiculous defamation of Chriſtian writers. This laſt act, ſay they, was evidently puniſhed

Regner invades Scotland, *and defeats the king.*

Subdues England.

Rebellion breaks out in Denmark.

Chriſtianity introduced into Denmark.

puniſhed by the Almighty; for *Hella*, king of *England*, revolting a ſecond time, had ſeduced *Ireland* to ſecond his views of independency. This once more drew the aged *Regner* into the field, where his uſual good fortune, but not his valour, deſerting him, he was defeated and made priſoner. His cruel enemies, without regarding the character of the hero, threw him bound, into a dungeon filled with ſnakes, vipers, and poiſonous animals, thus ingloriouſly putting an end to a life grown old in glory and victory. A proverbial ſaying of this great king's in priſon, determined *Hella* to ſet him at liberty; but too late, he had breathed his laſt before the order came to the jailor (A). Other writers have given a different account of the death of the great *Regner*; but we are of opinion, that the authority of *Daniſh* writers ought, in facts reſpecting their own country, to weigh againſt the teſtimony of foreigners: we have therefore related it as we find it aſſerted by *Grammaticus*, *Pontanus*, and *Meurſius*, who correſpond directly in all the circumſtances of his reign. His whole life was an uninterrupted courſe of glorious victories, wiſe meaſures, and noble generous actions. His repudiating his wife *Lathgartha*, a woman of ſo ſublime and elevated a ſoul, may be imputed to him as a weakneſs, if we ſuppoſe it proceeded from the inconſtancy of his nature. But this does not appear; on the contrary, *Meurſius* and *Grammaticus* affirm, that this lady's chaſtity was publicly taxed; and it was unworthy of *Regner* to cohabit with a wife, who had even been ſuſpected of incontinence. Thus we ſee the errors of thoſe writers, who place the converſion of the *Daniſh* kings in the reign of this monarch[a]. It is true, *Harold* was a Chriſtian, if we may give that appellation to a man who profeſſed this religion only to ſerve temporary views; but he never was king of *Denmark*, he was only an uſurper, who, by means of a faction, was raiſed four months to the throne, during the abſence of the lawful prince, by whom he was driven into his primitive obſcurity[b].

Regner is defeated and cruelly put to death by Hella *king of* England, *or as others ſay, of* Ireland.

His character.

IT is now difficult to fix with certainty the ſucceſſor of *Regner*, and continue the ſeries of *Daniſh* kings. The diſputes and differences on this head, among writers, are numberleſs;

[a] SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 63. [b] Propis vid. Gram. MEURS. PONTAN. ibid. & SUANING, p. 64.

(A) *Suaningius* ſays, that *Regner* was defeated by *Hella*, in *Ireland*, expreſly affirming, contrary to the teſtimony of all other writers, that the conqueror of the brave *Daniſh* monarch was king of that country. *P* 63.

and

and it would be a vain endeavour to reconcile them: we ſhall therefore adhere to thoſe who have kept the neareſt to a natural chronology, though all, indeed, have greatly failed in this particular (A).

I V A R.

Ivar, 57th king. A.D.836, or 841.

ACCORDING to the beſt authorities, *Ivar* was raiſed to the throne of his deceaſed father, and began his reign with revenging the unworthy death of that famous warrior. He was proclaimed immediately after *Regner*'s death, which happened, according to *Meurſius*, in the year of *Chriſt* 836; and if we credit *Pontanus* and *Suaningius*, five years after. He raiſed an army, equipped a fleet, and, without heſitation, invaded *England*; but finding *Hella* too ſtrong for him, he ſent to his brothers for ſuccours. Their arrival with a powerful reinforcement, ſoon turned the ſcale in favour of *Ivar*, who defeated *Hella*, and took ample vengeance on him for the cruel death of his father. Some writers affirm, that he took him priſoner, and ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet before the camp; but *Grammaticus*, with more probability relates, that *Hella* fell in battle (B).

Ivar revenges his father's death.

The better to ſecure the country, and gain the affections of the people, he remained two years in *England*; during which time the *Danes* revolting, raiſed his brother's *Siward* and *Eric*, to the throne. This news alarmed *Ivar*, and obliged him to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, of whom he embarked a large body, and ſailed with them directly to *Holſtein*. At length he met with the *Daniſh* army, engaged and defeated it near *Sleſwick*, after a very bloody and obſtinate conteſt, in which the rebels loſt twelve thouſand men. He now reſolved to keep the *Danes* in awe by his preſence, and therefore ſent his brother *Agner* to govern in *England*. Here *Agner* reſided but a ſhort time before the *Engliſh*, uneaſy under a foreign yoke, raiſed an army, and

(A) *Suaningius* and *Pontanus* intirely omit *Ivar* in their liſt of kings, though it is certain that *Regner* had a ſon of that name, of whom we have made frequent mention; and as theſe writers have chiefly made uſe of the authority of *Saxo Grammaticus*, we are at a loſs to conjecture upon what teſtimony they excluded this prince. As they have given no reaſon for this proceedings, we think ourſelves excuſable in adhering to the authority of that elegant hiſtorian.

(B) *Meurſius* affirms, that *Hella* conquering *Ivar*'s father, by the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* forces, whoſe ſtandard was an eagle, he ordered an impreſſion of this to be ſeared on *Hella*'s back, his body to be flead, and ſprinkled with ſalt, until he died in the moſt agonizing torture. *P.* 44.

were

h the point of reducing him to extremity, when *Si-*
his brother, arrived with a body of forces to his relief;
:h he was enabled to reduce them to their former obe-
and to prevent another inſurrection, he cruelly maſſa-
e pious king *Edmund*, with all the nobility of the

ILE theſe horrid tranſactions were carrying on in *Eng-*
rebellion was raiſed in *Sweden* by means of one *Oſten*, a
a turbulent aſpiring diſpoſition. Thither *Agner* flew
n army of *Engliſh*, and engaging the enemy with too
mpetuoſity, was ſlain in the heat of the engagement;
are not told which of the parties obtained the victory.
ıtlived his brother but a ſhort time; for he was carried
a fever in the fifth year of his reign; but not until he
uired and merited the reputation of a great and war-
ince.

SIWARD S'NAKE-EYE.

'var ſucceeded *Siward*, ſurnamed *Snake-Eye*, his brother. Siward
outh this prince had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many Snake-
linary feats of valour in the field; but now having ac- eye, 58th
he crown, he turned his inclinations to the arts of *king.*
endeavoured to reſtore induſtry, and promote the pub-
quility, that had ſo long been diſturbed by a ſeries of
and domeſtic wars. God, ſays *Meurſius*, ſeconded
is intention, and enabled him to complete a reign as
t with real felicity and true glory, as any which the
f *Denmark* can produce. He died and left an infant
)ſen by the ſtates to ſucceed him in the throne [d].

ERIC.

name of this young prince was *Eric*, ſurnamed *Bern*; Eric, 59th
he *Scotch* to this day pronounce it, *Bearn* or *Child.* *king.*
inority he was depoſed by *Eric*, brother to the *Ha-*
have ſo frequently mentioned in the reign of *Regner*;
k the reins of government into his own hands, aſ-
ie ſupreme authority, and by means of a faction, ob-
he title of king: a revolution that happened, accord-
Meurſius, in the year 847, though, more probably,
years later.

ERIC the USURPER.

Eric the Uſurper, 60th *king.* A.D. 857.

DFUL that his brother was depoſed ſoon after he em-
the Chriſtian religion, he took the ſtrongeſt averſion

[d] URS. l. iii. ſub. init. [d] SAXO & MEURS. ubi. citat.

to the doctrine of *Jeſus*, put all the miniſters of the goſpel in *Denmark* to death, and every where reſtored the pagan religion; from which we may infer, that Chriſtianity had now begun to take root in this kingdom. As *Saxony* and *England* had now begun to ſhew their uneaſineſs under the *Daniſh* yoke, and to raiſe armies for the recovery of their liberty, *Eric* ſtruck up a league and ſtrict alliance with the kings of *Sweden* and *Norway*, obtained large ſupplies of land and ſea forces from them, raiſed himſelf a powerful army, and with an hundred thouſand fighting men, and a proportionable fleet, entered upon the reduction of *England* and *Saxony*, dividing his forces, that he might attack both together, and prevent their mutually aſſiſting each other. Spreading terror wherever he went, the fame of his power was ſufficient to reduce the revolters to obedience, and ſubmit to the terms he thought fit to impoſe, before he had ſet foot in either country.

A. D. 858. *The uſurper embraces and propagates Chriſtianity.*

It was after his return from this expedition that we may date the æra of Chriſtianity in *Denmark*; for *Eric* was again brought back to embrace the truth of the goſpel, in which both he and his brother *Harold* had been educated. *Anſgarius* biſhop of *Bremen*, was the happy inſtrument of this converſion; in conſequence of which *Eric* aboliſhed the idols he had but lately reſtored, and publiſhed an edict of toleration, permitting all his ſubjects to follow the doctrine of *Chriſt* with impunity. Such was the force of truth, or ſuch, perhaps, the inconſtancy of human nature, always eager after novelty, that Chriſtianity ſpread with amazing rapidity, and was greatly aided in its progreſs by the zeal and piety of the king, who, notwithſtanding his devotion, never once thought of reſtoring the crown to the right owner: but the inviſible hand of Providence brought about juſtice in a way which the uſurper little expected, amidſt the tranquility in which he had hitherto poſſeſſed the throne. *Guthorm*, his brother's ſon, became his rival, and connected his own cauſe with that of young *Eric*, the ſon of *Siward*, and the lawful king of *Denmark*. Violent were the diſſentions raiſed among all degrees of men by this oppoſition. Such of the nobility as had taken part with *Harold* againſt *Regner*, or held places under the uſurper, remained his faſt friends; the reſt of the nation in general, thoſe who remembered the glorious *Regner* and retained any ſenſe of juſtice, gratitude, and compaſſion, took the ſide of *Guthorm*, and declared in favour of the young prince. A bloody battle was fought, in which almoſt all the nobility of *Denmark* were ſlain, and the numerous progeny of *Regner* entirely extinguiſhed, except the ſon of *Siward*, the laſt hope

wever, he not only withdrew his reſentment, which A.D. 861.
evouſly oppreſſed the Chriſtians, but publiſhed an in-
erty of conſcience, and embraced himſelf the true
y means of the eloquent and prudent *Anſgarius*, to
this as well as the former converſion is wholly to be
l. He erected, at his own expence, a magnificent
at *Ripen*, ordered the Pagan temples to be razed,
w became as bigotted a Chriſtian, as a little before he
n a Heathen; thus acting in extremes, and proba-
neither from conviction, but from ſuperſtition and
e. At the perſuaſion of *Anſgarius*, he appointed per- *His cha-*
operly qualified to teach the goſpel in every corner *racter.*
kingdom, allowed them handſome ſalaries, and took
us for his director, not only in ſpirituals but in tem-
likewiſe; an office for which the good biſhop was
fferently qualified. Having thus afforded a remark-
tance of the weakneſs of the human underſtanding,
it different times, and without any particular convic-
an maintain opinions diametrically oppoſite, he died
ſelyte and chief ſupport of that religion, which, but a
ars before, he had perſecuted with ſuch cruelty and
ſs [b].

CANUTE the LITTLE.

C left an only ſon called *Canute*, and afterwards ſur- Canute
the Little, or, according to ſome writers, *the Hairy*. the Little,

man of great wiſdom and valour, was choſen by public conſent; but he was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, before *Olaus* king of *Sweden* entered the kingdom, ſeized upon the crown, maintained it till his death, and then tranſmitted it to his ſon *Siward*, who was ſlain ſome years afterwards by an inſurrection of the *Danes*, in favour of *Canute*, now arrived at years of maturity.

A ſecond migration of the inhabitants of Denmark.

In the very beginning of *Canute*'s reign, a large colony of *Danes* went forth to look for new habitations (though for what reaſon we are not told) and ſettled themſelves in *Pruſſia*, the eaſtern parts of *Courland*, and in *Carelia*. Now it was that *Norway* entirely ſhoke off the yoke of *Denmark*, under the auſpices of *Harold*, ſurnamed *Yellow-hair* (A), which is the only circumſtance of any note we find mentioned under this reign. This prince differed greatly from his father with reſpect to his religious diſpoſition; for *Eric* was either a zealous Pagan or bigotted Chriſtian; whereas *Canute* was perfectly indifferent to both, and regarded the prieſts of all religions little better than pious impoſtors, whom it was neceſſary to protect on account of the veneration in which they were held by the people; a way of thinking that brought great ſcandal upon his memory [a].

FROTHO VI.

Frotho VI. 62*d king.*

FROTHO VI. the ſon of *Canute*, ſucceeded him; but the year of his ſucceſſion to the throne is diſputed. He was the greateſt warrior that wielded the *Daniſh* ſcepter ſince *Regner*. He reduced *England*, which had rebelled during the indolent reign of his predeceſſor, and firſt planted the Chriſtian religion there, if we may credit the *Daniſh* hiſtorians. The better to propagate the faith in *Denmark*, he was preparing an ambaſſy to pope *Sergius* III. to acknowledge his ſupremacy in ſpirituals, and to requeſt that he would ſend ſome perſons perfectly qualified to teach the goſpel in *Denmark*, when death put an end to all his projects, and deprived his people of an excellent prince. He was married to *Emma* daughter to the king of *England*, by whom he had a ſon named *Gormo*, who ſucceeded to his crown [b].

GORMO ANGLE II.

Gormo Angle II. 63*d king.*

GORMO was ſurnamed *Angle*, or the *Engliſhman*, becauſe he was born in *England*, where he likewiſe received the firſt

[a] Meur. p. 46. Saxo, l. ix. p. 178. [b] Ibid.

(A) *Pontanus* calls this prince *Harold, Haarfaar* or *Fair-Hair.*

I rudi-

rudiments of his education. Upon advice of his father's death, he immediately embarked for *Denmark*, and there received the crown, by the unanimous conſent of the people. In his abſence, the *Engliſh* again took the opportunity of recovering their liberty; nor did he make any attempts to deprive them of it, whether from indolence, or from a rectitude of opinion, a ſtrict regard to juſtice, and affection for the country of his birth and education, is uncertain. *Grammaticus* indeed ſays, that his nature was mild, modeſt, and moderate; that he was contented with the government of one kingdom, and thought it impoſſible for a prince to do that juſtice to the ſubjects of two different and diſtant kingdoms, which his duty required; an opinion that reflects great honour on his memory. After a peaceful reign of four years he died, and left the crown to *Harold* V [c].

HAROLD V.

THE peaceable reputation which *Gormo* acquired, and the tranquility which his ſubjects enjoyed, was not loſt or diſturbed by *Harold*, who was a prince of much the ſame diſpotion. He acted upon his father's principles, preferred eaſe and tranquility to every other advantage, preſerved the kingdom in juſt the ſituation he found it, and handed down the crown without additional luſtre or ſtain to his ſon [d]. Harold V. *64th king.*

GORMO III.

GORMO III. ſurnamed *the Old*, from the extraordinary age to which he lived, was a weak and timid prince, though father to two very warlike princes by his wife, daughter to the king of *England*. He was a bitter enemy to the Chriſtians, whom he perſecuted in every quarter, demoliſhing their churches, and baniſhing their clergy. Among other ſacred buildings, he totally deſtroyed and razed the famous cathedral in *Sleſwick*, and ordered the Pagan idols to be erected wherever they had formerly ſtood. Gormo III. *65th king.*

GORMO's ſons were both men of great ability in war, twins by birth, and rivals in glory. Their firſt exploits were directed againſt the *Vandals*, whom they ſubdued: next, they carried their arms againſt the *Engliſh*, who had for ſome time enjoyed their liberty, and conquered them; but without dethroning their uncle, who at that time wielded the ſceptre of this country: however, they obliged him to *The exploits of* Gormo's *ſons.*

[c] Ibid. [d] PONTAN. l. iv. SUANING. p. 65.

ſign an inſtrument, whereby he conveyed the crown to them at his deceaſe. From *England* they paſſed into *Ireland*, and laid ſiege to *Dublin*, where *Canute* received the wound of which he died a few days after; upon which *Harold* puſhed the ſiege, took the city, ſettled the affairs of the country, and returned into *Denmark*.

WHILE his ſons were gathering laurels abroad, *Gormo* took arms againſt the *Saxons*, with a view to oblige them to renounce the Chriſtian religion. Having reinforced his army, by a large body of auxiliary *Vandals*, he deſtroyed the country before him with fire and ſword, ſparing neither ſex nor age that did not abjure the faith. The emperor *Henry the Fowler* ſoon came to the relief of the *Saxons*, defeated *Gormo*, and drove him out of *Saxony*. Purſuing his victory, he entered *Holſtein*, paſſed into *Sleſwick*, took the city of that name, then a town flouriſhing in trade, and gave it to his ſoldiers to be plundered. At a ſmall diſtance from thence he built another town, tranſmitting thereby to poſterity, that here he fixed the boundaries of his empire. He then granted peace to *Gormo*, on condition that he would ceaſe to perſecute his Chriſtian ſubjects, and permit liberty of conſcience to all. *Gormo* was not acquainted with his ſon *Canute*'s death for ſome time after his return from *Saxony*. When it came to his knowledge, it affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he ſickened with grief, and died [a].

HAROLD VI.

Harold VI. *ſurnamed* Blaatand, *66th king.*

HAROLD his ſon was immediately elected king; but he refuſed to accept the crown, until he had firſt performed his father's laſt obſequies with all the magnificence becoming his high rank and quality. He was no ſooner crowned than he had to diſpute the throne of *England* with *Haquin*, king of *Norway*. His claim to this was indeed indiſputable, both on account of his affinity, and by the will of *Ethelred*, who had bequeathed him his dominions, in excluſion of his own ſon; though, from motives of equity, *Harold* avoided diſputing the crown with this laſt prince, and permitted him to wear it unmoleſted to his death. As *Adelſtan* died without iſſue, he now thought he might fairly aſſert his claim, and accordingly made preparations for that purpoſe. *Haquin* in the mean time invaded *England*; beſides which, *Harold* had other reaſons for engaging in a war with him. But this alone was ſufficient; a conduct that was owing to reſpect for his

[a] SAXO, l. ix.

uncle

uncle and couſin, the late kings of *England*, might not now be conſtrued into indolence or cowardice, he therefore paſſed with a fleet into *England*; and ſent another to ſupport the claim of *Harold*, a prince of the *Norwegian* blood, who had craved his aſſiſtance. The king of *Norway*, hearing that his dominions were invaded by a pretender to the throne, returned thither before *Harold* of *Denmark*'s arrival in *England*. On the coaſt of *Norway* he engaged the *Daniſh* fleet, commanded by *Hovind* and *Carofio*: but finding himſelf inferior in ſhips, he landed his men, and drew the enemy into a land-engagement, in which he defeated them; but did not live to enjoy his victory; for he was killed in the purſuit: by which means *Harold*, the pretender to this crown, ſucceeded him, and paid the promiſed tribute and homage to *Harold* of *Denmark*, in return for the generous aid he had lent him. Thus *Norway*, once more, became a province to *Denmark* [b].

He ſucceeds to the crown of England.

AFTER *Harold* had ſettled the affairs of *England*, he ſailed againſt the *Vandals*, who committed horrid depredations on all the coaſts of the *Baltic*: nor had ſcarce rid his hands of this war, when his aid and protection were ſolicited by *Stubiern* king of *Sweden*, who was driven out of his own dominions by *Eric*. To enforce his requeſt, *Stubiern* had brought along with him *Gyntha* his ſiſter, a lady of admirable beauty and accompliſhments. The ſtratagem had the propoſed effect: *Harold* became enamoured of her, married her, and promiſed the brother all the aſſiſtance in his power to reinſtate him. Raiſing an army, he led it into *Holſtein*; and marching from thence into *Sleſwick*, he took by ſtorm the new-built city of *Henry* the emperor, put the commanding officer to death, and made priſoners of the garriſon, leaving a ſufficient number of his own men in their ſtead. He reſtored to this city the ancient name of *Sleſwick*, and annexed it again to the dominions of *Denmark*. While he reſided here, the *Vandals* reſumed their piracies; and *Harold* again attacked them with ſuch vigour, that he reduced and plundered all their ſtrong holds, and, among the reſt, the rich and important city of *Wollin*, built in an iſland of the ſame name, which is formed by two branches of the river *Oder*. This city he preſented to *Stubiern*, who became extremely dear to him, on account of the brave exploits he had ſeen him perform in the courſe of this war. He now therefore reſolved to turn his arms againſt *Eric*, and to reinſtate his brother-in-law, before he undertook any other affairs. Recruiting his army with the utmoſt expedition, he led his forces through *Halland* againſt *Eric*.

[b] Id. l. x. p. 182.

Otho's *expedition into* Jutland.

In the mean time advice was received, that *Otho* I. had entered *Jutland* with a powerful army, and penetrated to the very heart of the country, to revenge the indignity offered the empire by the attack on *Sleſwick*. *Otho*, indeed, gave other reaſons for his conduct. He pretended to be the protector of Chriſtianity, which *Harold* perſecuted; to be the ally of the *Vandals*, whom *Harold* conquered; and the lawful poſſeſſor of *Sleſwick*, which the *Dane* took and plundered. The emperor found *Jutland* an eaſy prey, all the inhabitants fit to bear arms being inliſted by *Harold* to ſerve in the *Swediſh* war. Some aſſert, that he proceeded to *Dantzick*, and thence travelling along the coaſt, flung a ſpear into the ſea, marking that ſtrait as the boundary of his empire. *Crantzius* affirms, that he paſſed into the iſland of *Funen*, and there built a city called after his own name: but this we find denied by all the *Daniſh* writers; for the city which reſembles his name was built, ſay they, by *Othin*, many years before the birth of *Otho*. What the event of this war was, we know not. Some *German* writers aſſert, that *Harold*, collecting all his force, pitched his camp on the narrow neck of land at *Sleſwick*, to intercept *Otho*, which he did, and was defeated. On the contrary, *Grammaticus* writes, that *Otho*, hearing of *Harold*'s march againſt him, retreated with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind many neceſſaries of his camp, which became ſo many trophies to the *Daniſh* monarch [a]. All agree, that the princes having adjuſted the preliminaries of a perſonal conference, met; and *Harold*, overcome by the arguments of *Otho*, and the clergy about him, embraced the Chriſtian religion, ſolemnly and publicly abjuring Paganiſm. On this occaſion he received baptiſm, *Otho*, the emperor, being ſponſor; and the ſame ceremony was performed on his queen, and all his children. During this congreſs *Stubiern* was defeated by *Eric*, who, in conſequence of his victory, ſeized upon *Halland* and *Bleking*, two provinces of *Schonen*, belonging to *Harold*. This occaſioned the latter to provide againſt all future irruptions, by erecting that ſtrong wall acroſs the iſthmus of *Sleſwick*, which he called *Danemarck*, or the *work of the Danes*. Some writers aſcribe this wall to the emperor *Otho*, though for what reaſon we are at a loſs to conjecture: the very name ſufficiently indicates the authors.

AMIDST theſe tranſactions, *Harold* king of *Norway* died, and his ſon *Haquin* ſucceeding, refuſed the homage and tribute which his father conſtantly paid to *Denmark*. This he believed was a ſeaſonable opportunity for claiming his inde-

[a] SAXO, ibid. MEURS. l. iii. p. 48.

pendency,

pendency, when *Harold* was engaged in quarrels with t*ric* ſuch powerful monarchs, as the emperor *Otho*, and *E* king of *Sweden*. It fell out, however, otherwiſe than he imagined; for *Harold* immediately demanded the uſual homage, and levied an army to enforce his demand. *Haquin* refuſing to comply, he ſent a fleet and army thither, under the conduct of ſome of his generals, while himſelf marched againſt *Eric*, whom he defeated, and obliging him to ſue for peace upon ſuch conditions as were propoſed by the conqueror. In the mean while his army was defeated in *Norway* by *Haquin*, and this was only the prelude to his future misfortunes; for his own ſon *Swen*, ſpurred on by ambition, and the intreaties of the *Sambi* and *Cimbri*, two powerful provinces, who were ready to revolt, aſpired at his father's crown (A). *Swen* was accordingly crowned king at *Weiburg*, and a great force raiſed to ſupport his claim; and indeed, ſuch was his influence, that the ſeeds of diſaffection began to ſpring up in every part of *Denmark*. *Harold*, however, determined not to be wanting in his duty, raiſed an army, and gave battle to his ſon, but was defeated on account of the treachery of his officers, many of whom went over with whole troops to worſhip the riſing ſun. He next equipped a fleet; nor was his fortune more favourable, for he was a ſecond time defeated, and obliged to take ſhelter in *Zealand*, where he found means to refit his ſhips, with which he determined once more to hazard an engagement. The event was no leſs unſucceſsful than the former, upon which he fled into *Normandy*, and obtained large ſupplies of men and ſhips from the duke. With this reinforcement he returned to *Zealand*, and once more gave battle to his ſon. Both were ſenſible that they now fought for the laſt ſtake, and the battle continued for two days with

Defeats Eric *king of* Sweden.

His ſon rebels and diſputes the crown with him.

(A) *Grammaticus* relates, that *Harold*, after defeating *Eric*, was buſied in erecting a magnificent tomb to the memory of his beloved queen *Gyntha*, and that he employed all the inhabitants of the provinces in bringing materials to the workmen. This ſervile occupation thoſe proud and warlike people could not ſupport without indignation, and this it was that alienated their minds from *Harold*. *Harold* ſeeing a ſtone of prodigious weight raiſed by the workmen, asked his jeſter, whether he had ever ſeen ſo prodigious a weight raiſed by human ſtrength? "Yes, replied the "jeſter, I have ſeen your ſon "*Swen* run away with a whole "kingdom;" intimating the deſign of ſetting him upon the throne, which was the firſt notice *Harold* had of the rebellion (1).

(1) *Saxo, l.* x.

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the utmoſt obſtinacy. Great numbers were killed and wounded on both ſides; but neither could reſolve upon yielding the victory, and of conſequence the crown. A treaty therefore was ſet on foot by ſome of the more moderate and prudent men in either army; to which the father and ſon aſſenting, a truce was ſettled, and next day appointed for a congreſs to adjuſt the particulars of the enſuing treaty. In the mean time *Harold* was killed by the hands of a common ſoldier, while he was walking in a grove near his camp, to relax his mind after the fatigue of the day, by which the crown deſcended to *Swen* without diſpute or litigation. Thus died *Harold*, a prince of very ſhining qualities, and equally verſed in the arts of war and of peace. His piety was no leſs remarkable than his other virtues. Under him the Chriſtian religion had made great progreſs, and three biſhoprics were endowed in his dominions [a]. He built many churches, founded monaſteries, convents, and other religious houſes: but what renders his memory reſpectable is, that he governed with equity, was a juſt king, a kind maſter, a tender huſband, and an affectionate father, though he met with ungrateful returns from his ſon and ſubjects. His body was buried with great funeral pomp, his ſon paying thoſe honours to his memory, which his ambition prevented his performing while he lived; and now only it was, that his ſubjects became ſenſible of his merit, and their own folly, when it was too late to remedy their fault.

His unfortunate end and character.

SECT. IV.

In which is contained all the material Occurrences until the Year 1147.

SWEN.

A.D. 981. Swen, *ſurnamed* Split-beard.

AS *Swen* was the firſt *Daniſh* monarch who had been bred from his youth, and publicly baptized in his infancy according to the Chriſtian faith, we may date the perfect eſtabliſhment of the goſpel in *Denmark* in his reign. He was called *Swen-Otho*, in compliment to his godfather the emperor, and ſurnamed *Split-beard*, from ſome peculiarity obſerved about his beard. He was ſcarcely eſtabliſhed in the throne, when it was perceivable that the minds of the nobility began to relapſe into the idolatry of Paganiſm, and recur

[a] SAXO, l. x. MEURS. l. iii. PONTAN. l. 5.

to

to their old ſuperſtition. *Swen*, willing to ſhew his gratitude to thoſe men who had forfeited their fidelity, and hazarded their lives to procure him a crown, ordered the heathen idols again to be erected in compliment to them. He even went further, and perſecuted the clergy, though he never publicly abjured the doctrine of *Chriſt*, or ſequeſtered thoſe lands which his father had annexed to the church. Next he took up arms againſt the inhabitants of *Wollin* on the *Oder*, for having aſſiſted his father in the late rebellion; but here he was thrice defeated by thoſe brave and loyal iſlanders, and in the laſt engagement taken priſoner, and ſet at liberty on paying a ranſom of twice his own weight, when full armed, in pure gold. This ranſom was ſettled at three payments; but the king's perſon was confined till the laſt payment was made, which was raiſed by the generoſity of the *Daniſh* ladies, who ſold their jewels for this purpoſe, the treaſury being quite exhauſted, and the country oppreſſed by heavy taxes for the payment of the two former diviſions of the ranſom. Upon his return he made ſome laws favourable to the women; and among others ordained, that they ſhould inherit a third of the eſtates real and perſonal. Moreover, he redeemed with all poſſible expedition, all the jewels they had ſold for his liberty, and returned them to the proper owners.

Swen, *tho' educated a Chriſtian, perſecutes Chriſtianity.*

He is taken priſoner by the Vandals.

His misfortunes did not, however, reclaim him, ſays *Grammaticus*; he ſtill purſued his idolatrous courſes, and perſecuted the faith, which drew down upon him the vengeance of the Almighty with more weight. *Eric* of *Sweden*, contracting an alliance with the king of *Poland* and the emperor *Otho*, and beſides, holding *Swen* in the utmoſt contempt, after the frequent defeats he had received from a handful of *Vandal* iſlanders, raiſed a great army and invaded *Schonen*. *Swen* marched againſt him; but was defeated in the firſt engagement, and driven out of his kingdom. Thence he wandered an exile into *Norway*, went to the court of *Olaus*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Haquin*, reminded him of the obligations his father *Harold* owed to the king of *Denmark* for placing him in his throne; but was anſwered, that no ingratitude could equal his, who had robbed his father of his crown and his life. Finding no hopes of ſucceſs by further applications to this monarch, he went to *England*, and there met with a reception equally cold and mortifying. Not thinking himſelf ſecure here, he retreated into *Scotland*, and was kindly received by the king, and maintained handſomely at the public expence, for the ſpace

He is defeated and baniſhed by Eric *king of* Sweden.

Received by the king of Scotland, and [illegible] to

ſpace of fourteen years [b]. *Eric* now dying, and misfortune opening the eyes, and ſoftening the heart of *Swen*, he began to perceive the folly he had committed in perſecuting the faith in which he had been inſtructed. He attributed his paſt calamities to the hand of God, who had thus juſtly puniſhed his impiety, and returned with redoubled fervour and zeal to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity. His reſtoration ſoon followed, through the mediation of the king of *Scotland*, who exerted himſelf warmly in behalf of the unfortunate prince. On his return he recalled all the clergy he had baniſhed, A.D. 994. ſet at liberty, and compenſated in the beſt manner he was able, the ſufferings of thoſe he had confined; and laſtly convoked a diet of the ſtates, to whom he related the circumſtances of his baniſhment, by which he became the ſport of his enemies, and the object of compaſſion of his friends. He had loſt his crown and reputation, dearer than life itſelf, by the hands of a man who had been defeated, and driven out of *Schonen*, by his mother; whence it was viſible that the hand of God had interpoſed, and made uſe of *Eric* as the inſtrument of his vengeance, in order to render his puniſhment and defeat the more diſgraceful. As he could not now avoid acknowledging the juſtice and wiſdom of that inviſible Power whom he had impiouſly abjured, he requeſted his people, as they valued their preſent and future happineſs, to be warned by his example, to receive the light of the Goſpel, and leave that falſe and profane religion, which God might permit for a time, but would not fail to puniſh and deſtroy in the end. His propoſal did not meet with the reception he expected, and he therefore reſolved upon other means of accompliſhing his wiſh, *The Chriſtian religion reſtored in Denmark.* and re-eſtabliſhing Chriſtianity. This was ſoon effected by the arrival of *Poppo*, a *German* divine of great piety and eloquence, who, by dint of example and perſuaſion, brought about what the king's authority could not. Several miracles are related of this prelate; and indeed he was poſſeſſed of the happy talent of impreſſing the people with whatever notions he thought fit to inſpire, in which perhaps conſiſted his ſupernatural powers. All the clergy were recalled, lands and houſes appropriated to their maintenance and reſidence, and a ſee given to *Poppo*, appointed to preſide over the reſt of the *Daniſh* clergy; but at the ſame time a ſuffragan of *Adelage*, biſhop of *Bremen* [c].

WHILE *Swen* was thus employed in promoting piety and the Chriſtian religion, *Olaus* king of *Norway* was taking mea-

[b] Vid. aut. citat. ibid. [c] SAXO GRAM. l. x.

ſures

ſures for diſturbing the public tranquility. Apprehenſive that *Swen*, after ſettling the internal œconomy of his kingdom, might reſume his claim to a ſupremacy over *Norway*, he determined to anticipate his meaſures by levying a powerful army, and entering into ſtrict league with *Sweden*. *Swen*, receiving advice of theſe intrigues, found means to countermine the machinations of *Olaus*, by marrying the queen-mother of *Sweden*, by which he ſecured the friendſhip of king *Eric*; inſomuch that they executed a treaty for the defence and propagation of Chriſtianity, and the mutual ſecurity of their kingdoms. *Olaus* was now enraged with diſappointment, and, determined at all events upon revenge, he declared war. The fleets of *Denmark* and *Norway* met: they fought with inveteracy, and the latter was totally defeated and diſperſed. *Olaus* eſcaped out of the battle with a few ſhips; but was ſo cloſely purſued, that, to avoid the diſgrace of being taken, and in the power of his enemy, he leaped into the ſea, and was drowned. In conſequence of this victory, *Norway* was again annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, and *Swen* immediately publiſhed an edict there in favour of the Chriſtian religion [b]. Having ſettled the affairs of *Norway*, he prepared to invade *England*, which had for ſome years thrown off its ſubjection to the crown of *Denmark* (A). *Ethelred* II. held at this time the ſupreme authority in that kingdom, the particular condition of which ſhall be related in its proper place. Here the *Daniſh* and *Engliſh* hiſtorians differ conſiderably in many important circumſtances, and we ſhall have occaſion to mention their ſeveral relations in our Hiſtory of *England*, the proper place for ſuch a diſquiſition. Sufficient it is for our preſent occaſion, that a peace between *Ethelred* and *Swen* was concluded, after the latter had over-run great part of the

Invades England.

[b] Ibid. etiam PONTAN. l. 5.

(A) We muſt obſerve, that although *Daniſh* writers aſſert in general terms, that *England* was ſubjected to the kings of *Denmark*, near three hundred years before *Canute the Great*, it is probable they never conquered above one or two diviſions of the *Saxon* heptarchy. In theſe early times they were juſt ſuch a people as the *Saxons* had been about five hundred years before; their invaſions were ſudden, their ravages barbarous, and their retreats quick. They probably extorted a promiſe of homage from the conquered; but never reſided long enough in the country to enforce it by authority and power before *Canute*'s reign, who firſt took the title of king of *Denmark*, *England*, *Norway*, &c. &c.

kingdom,

His death and character.

kingdom, and obliged the former to acknowledge his (B) ſovereignty [c]. In this iſland he breathed his laſt, much regretted for the exemplary piety, ſtrict juſtice, and remarkable proofs of military genius and valour which he had diſplayed towards the cloſe of life. There could not, indeed, be a ſtronger ſatire on the manners of his youth, than that total change of conduct he put on in his old age. The ſame man who, with the moſt criminal ambition, had fought a father's life, for the ſake of a crown, was now contented with the bare homage of a prince, always eſteemed a vaſſal by the kings of *Denmark*; permitting him to enjoy all the power, authority, and honours belonging to a king [d].

IT is not very certain who was the immediate ſucceſſor of *Swen*, though almoſt all hiſtorians allow that he had two ſons, *Harold* and *Canute*. *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Pontanus* take no farther notice of the former, than by mentioning him as the ſon of *Swen*; affirming that the latter, though youngeſt, was raiſed to the throne in preference to his brother.

HAROLD.

Harold, 70 *king.*

ON the contrary, *Meurſius* and *Lyſchander* number *Harold* among the kings, aſſerting, that he ſucceeded *Swen* by right of primogeniture; this being an invariable maxim with the ſtates, where ſome very extraordinary circumſtances and reaſons for laying aſide the elder brother did not occur. Upon their authority we ſhall venture to inſert *Harold* in the liſt of kings, however unworthy of that dignity he afterwards proved. His effeminacy, lewdneſs, profligacy, and intire contempt of decency, virtue, and morality, rendered him ſo odious to a people always brave, and now perfectly civilized by the beautiful ſyſtem of religion and morals introduced among them, that he enjoyed but a ſhort time the honour he ſo little merited. He was depoſed with every poſſible mark of diſgrace and infamy, and his

He is depoſed.

[c] MEURS. l. iii. p. 52. [d] SAXO GRAM. l. x. p. 191. PONTAN. p. 145. MEURS. Hiſt. p. 53.

(B) *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, that the following proclamation was made by *Swen*; viz. that he had taken up arms with no intention of ruining the people of *England*, but of reducing them to that obedience they had ſo often promiſed after repeated defeats. He was willing, he declared, to allow *Ethelred* the name and power of king of *England*, provided only that he acknowledged the ſovereignty of *Denmark*; a propoſal which was accepted by *Ethelred*, as he had not forces or a fleet ſufficient to diſpute it.

brother

brother raiſed to the throne; of which he likewiſe had like to have been deprived, on account of his conſtant engagements in foreign wars, the *Danes* neither bearing with temper a perfect indolence, nor too great activity in their princes [a].

CANUTE the GREAT.

CANUTE, deſervedly ſtrnamed the *Great*, began his reign with the invaſion of *England* and *Norway*, both theſe kingdoms having thrown off the ſubjection they had promiſed to his father *Swen*. The talents of *Canute* for the cabinet and the field were greatly ſuperior to his father's, and indeed equal to thoſe of any prince who had wore the *Daniſh* diadem. The *Engliſh* recalled *Ethelred* their king, who had abdicated the throne; and as their affections were ever in extremes, *Canute* perceived that this event would be attended with an attempt to render him independent of the crown of *Denmark*, and took his meaſures accordingly. But that he might not be oppreſſed with ſuch a multitude of foreign wars, as he found he muſt neceſſarily be engaged in, he temporized with the *Vandals*, and other northern nations, who claimed the ſame independency with *England* and *Norway*, in order to direct his whole force againſt the two laſt kingdoms. *England* was his main object; and to prevent its receiving ſuccours from *Norway*, he artfully drew *Claud* the king's brother into his views, by perſuading him to lay claim to the crown. After this he ſailed for *England*; and in his way met, ſay the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, with the *Engliſh* fleet, commanded by king *Edward* in perſon, whom he defeated after a ſharp engagement (A). At firſt, ſay they, victory, which was diſputed with great obſtinacy, ſeemed to incline to the *Engliſh*, when *Thymon*, a nobleman of *Zealand*, arriving with a reinforcement, ſoon obliged her to declare in favour of *Canute* [b]. Numberleſs difficulties, indeed, occur in this period of our hiſtory, and the

Canute the Great, 71ſt king. A. D. 1015.

[a] Crantzius apud Meurs. l. iii. p. 53. Pontan. l. v. p. 147. [b] Saxo Gram. l. x. Meurs. l. iii. Pont. l. v.

(A) Theſe were the expreſs words of *Meurſius* and *Pontanus*, which are diametrically oppoſite to the relations of all *Engliſh* hiſtorians. According to theſe laſt, *Ethelred* reigned in *England* at this time, *Canute* landed without oppoſition; and, relying upon the dilatory diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* monarch, imagined he ſhould carry all with little trouble; but misfortunes had rendered *Ethelred* more prudent, and his vigorous meaſures obliged *Canute* to reimbark for *Denmark* (1).

(1) *Guthrie*, p. 267.

ſtrongeſt

Contradiction of the Engliſh *and* Daniſh *hiſtorians.*

ſtrongeſt contrariety of ſentiments in the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* hiſtorians; but we ſhall leave them to be diſcuſſed in our Hiſtory of *England*, that being the theatre of the war, and the proper place for entering upon ſuch diſquiſitions, which very little affect the Hiſtory of *Denmark*.

CANUTE had other motives than the power of *Ethelred* for returning to *Denmark*. His abſence had furniſhed *Olaus* of *Norway* with an opportunity of invading his kingdom; but his return, and the vigour with which he attacked the *Norwegians*, obliged that monarch to embark not only with great loſs, but alſo to ſeek ſhelter in *Ruſſia*, whither he was purſued by *Canute*'s ſon, who ravaged a great part of that country, and totally ſubdued *Eſthonia*, a province of *Livonia*, at that time ſubject to the *Muſcovites*, obliging the inhabitants to pay tribute to the crown of *Denmark* [c].

Canute *enters upon a war with* Sweden *and* Norway.

IN the mean time *Canute*, after holding a perſonal conference with the king of *Sweden*, to adjuſt ſome diſputes which threatened to diſturb the public tranquillity, and ſettling the affairs of *Denmark*, was preparing to embark again for *England*, where he imagined his preſence would be advantageous to his affairs, upon the death of *Ethelred*. But the old king of *Sweden* dying before the fleet intended for *England* was ready to put to ſea, his intention was deferred, upon receiving advice that *Omund*, the young king of *Sweden*, was taking meaſures to reinſtate *Olaus* of *Norway* in his throne and dominions. *Omund*, in fact, not only granted *Olaus* a paſſage to *Norway* through his dominions, but aſſiſted him with a powerful body of troops, by which the exiled prince was ſoon in a condition to appear at the head of a formidable army, and to fortify all the poſts againſt *Canute*. Not contented with this, it was agreed between him and the king of *Sweden*, that the former ſhould invade *Zealand*, and the other *Daniſh* iſlands in the *Baltic*, while the latter ſhould make a deſcent on *Jutland*: they had moreover endeavoured to ſtir up an inſurrection in *England*, where the malcontents were to declare themſelves at the very time when he ſhould be moſt engaged in the defence of his own dominions. By this extended plan, and ſuch a variety of attacks in different places, they hoped to confound his councils, to weaken and divide his forces in ſuch a manner as would render victory certain, and clip the wings of this ſoaring and ambitious king. But his policy, his penetration, courage, and ſteadineſs, fruſtrated all their deſigns, and turned their intrigues againſt themſelves. He procured ſome of the moſt faithful noblemen of *Zealand* to carry on a

[c] Auct. citat. ibid.

ſecret

ſecret correſpondence with *Olaus*, and to promiſe that they would take up arms, with all their vaſſals, as ſoon as his fleet appeared. Several other deſigns they formed; and appeared ſo earneſt and ſincere, that *Olaus*, having no ſuſpicion of treachery, had nearly been ſurrounded by *Canute*'s fleet, while he was waiting the effects of the promiſed inſurrection. Thus were all the meaſures of *Olaus* overturned, without the loſs of a man, and himſelf forced to retreat with ſuch precipitation, as equalled the diſgrace of a defeat. As ſoon as *Canute* had refreſhed his troops, he paſſed with ſuch celerity to *Schonen*, that he ſurpriſed, defeated, and ſlew in battle the king of *Sweden* [a].

HAVING now rid his dominions of foreign enemies, his next meaſure was to raiſe ſuch civil commotions in *Norway*, as would render it impoſſible for *Olaus* to diſturb the peace of *Denmark*. With this view he artfully diſtributed large ſums of money among the leading men of that kingdom, encouraged *Harold* the king's brother to renew his claim to the crown, and, in a word, took ſuch effectual and politic ſteps, as not only anſwered his purpoſe, but ended in the death of *Olaus*, who, as ſome affirm, had been murdered, by a conſpiracy formed by his brother *Harold*; and, according to the relation of others, was depoſed and put to death by his own nobility, influenced by the gold and intrigues of the court of *Denmark* [b]. *The ſucceſs of* Canute's *policy.*

CANUTE was now the moſt formidable potentate perhaps, in *Europe*. *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *England*, were tributary to him: his alliance was courted by the greateſt monarchs; and even the emperor *Conrade* ſought his daughter in marriage, and voluntarily renounced all claim to *Holſtein*. When *Conrade* was afterwards depoſed, he reaped the fruits of *Canute*'s friendſhip; for, by means of his intereſt and power, he was again reſtored to the imperial dignity. After this he embarked for *England*, in which country he ſpent the remainder of his life. Finding the extent of his dominions, and the government of ſo many diſtant kingdoms, too great a weight for any ſingle perſon, he reſolved to divide the authority; and accordingly gave the crown of *Denmark* to his ſecond ſon *Hardi-Canute*; to *Harold*, the eldeſt, according to the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, he gave the crown of *England*; and to *Swen*, the youngeſt, he aſſigned *Norway* (A). As we ſhall have *His character and death.*

[a] SAXO, l. x. MEURS. l. iii. p. 55. [b] Vid. Aut. citat. ibid.

(A) Our *Engliſh* hiſtorians in general labour under a miſtake concerning the iſſue of this monarch. They call *Swen* king of

have occaſion to enlarge upon the military actions of this great prince in our Hiſtory of *England*, to avoid repetition, we ſhall only ſubjoin in this place, that he died a natural death in *England*, after he had reigned with great applauſe for the ſpace of twenty-five years over that kingdom, and is deſervedly enrolled with the greateſt princes who ever wore the diadem. His early age was rendered famous by conqueſts, glorious victories, and the moſt refined policy: the laſt years of his life were amiable by temperance, a ſtrict regard to juſtice, affability, clemency, and every other virtue that could render him beloved and reſpected by his ſubjects. But this is not the place to expatiate on his character, of which we only trace the outlines (B).

HARDI-CANUTE.

Hardi-Canute, *72d king.*

THIS prince, the ſecond ſon of *Canute*, obtained the appellation of *Hardi-Canute*, or *Hardi-Knute*, from the difficulties he combated, and the valorous actions he performed in *Ruſſia*, when his father had ſent him thither in purſuit of *Olaus* king of *Norway*. He was preparing to invade *England*, then governed by his brother *Harold*, when ſome inſurrections among the *Norwegians*, who were deſirous of recalling the *Olaus* family, rendered his preſence in that country neceſſary. His tranſactions in *Norway* are variouſly related. Some affirm that he ſent an army thither, which was defeated by *Magnus*, the ſon of *Olaus*, the elected king of *Norway*. Others are of opinion, that, in order to proſecute his voyage to *England*, *Hardi-Canute* entered into a treaty with *Magnus*, and yielded to him the crown, of which his brother *Swen* was

of *Norway* the eldeſt ſon of *Canute*, and affirm that he was born before his father became king of *England*, which is an aſſertion directly oppoſite to the relations of *Daniſh* hiſtorians (1).

(B) The *Daniſh* writers relate an anecdote of this prince, which we do not find mentioned by any *Engliſh* hiſtorian. Having in his cups killed one of his ſoldiers, he immediately aſſembled the people, and inſiſted upon his being tried by a jury, who brought him in guilty, but reſerved the ſentence and puniſhment to his own pleaſure. He had before rated the price of murder at a certain pecuniary mulct, a third of which went to the king, a third to the relations of the deceaſed, and a third (ſay the *Daniſh* writers) to the army. He now decreed that himſelf ſhould pay nine times the value of the uſual fine; and to remove difficulties about his own third, he ordered it ſhould be given to the clergy (2).

(1) *Vid. Meurſ. Hiſt. l.* iii. *p.* 54. (2) *Meurſ. l.* iii.

unworthy; but ſtill obliged him to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of the crown of *Denmark*. Be this as it will, certain it is that *Hardi-Canute* equipped a great fleet, and ſailed to *Bruges* in the *Low Countries*, at that time the reſidence of his mother *Emma*, by whom he was made acquainted with the death of *Harold*. Here it was that he was met by the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, ſent to invite him to accept of the crown. As from henceforward he may be looked upon as an *Engliſh* king, we ſhall leave the particulars of his reign to be related in the hiſtory of that country. Sufficient for our purpoſe it is, that he reigned king of *Denmark* from the year 1035, one year before his father's death, to the year 1041; and died with the reputation of a prince whoſe character was compounded of the moſt deteſtable vices and the nobleſt virtues. His valour and generoſity were in the number of the latter; his cruelty, ferocity, intemperance, and debauchery, compoſed the former [a].

MAGNUS.

PONTANUS relates, that, after the death of *Hardi-Canute*, *Magnus*, the ſon of *Olaus*, king of *Norway*, ſucceeded to the throne of *Denmark*, in conſequence of a compact between him and *Hardi-Canute*, that the ſurvivor ſhould inherit both kingdoms; but we find no mention of this treaty in any other hiſtorian, nor was it in the power of *Hardi-Canute* to bequeath his crown, without the conſent of his people. On the contrary, *Meurſius* affirms, that *Magnus* invaded *Denmark* with a powerful fleet and army, immediately on the death of *Hardi-Canute*. It was the dread of his power that induced the ſtates to elect him, in order to avoid the neceſſity of being compelled into that meaſure. Immediately he received the allegiance and homage of the nobility, and was publicly proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*; for by this time the *Engliſh* had renounced the *Daniſh* blood, and raiſed *Edward*, ſurnamed the *Confeſſor*, to the throne. His election was unconteſted; but *Swen*, the nephew of *Canute* the *Great*, by his ſiſter, ſoon after the acceſſion of *Magnus*, put in his claim to the throne, imagining he ſhould be ſtrongly ſupported by *England*, in conſequence of a promiſe he had received from *Edward*, and ſome other ſteps he had taken in that country. This *Swen* is ſpoken of as if he had been king of *England* after *Hardi-Canute*'s death; for *Grammaticus* and *Meurſius* both ſay, that he left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of *Harold*, *Godwin*'s ſon, who betrayed him, and was the great inſtrument of expelling the

Magnus, 73*d king.*

Swen, *nephew to* Canute, *claims the crown of* Denmark.

[a] CRANTZ. apud MEURS. l. iii. SAXO, l. x.

the throne, after he had lived a great number of years an exile. *Harold* knowing that *Swen* was elected king of *Denmark*, and finding that his power was inſufficient to diſpute with that monarch, ſcrupled not to hold his kingdom as a fief of *Denmark*, until a fit occaſion ſhould offer for his claiming its independency, and throwing off ſo ſhameful a vaſſalage. He ſeized the opportunity of *Swen*'s being engaged in a war with the *Vandals*, and levied powerful forces, with which he had the preſumption to invade a part of the *Daniſh* dominions. Intelligence of his proceedings ſoon recalled *Swen*, who gave him battle, and with prodigious loſs. A great part of his fleet was taken without a ſingle man on board, the ſeamen plunging themſelves into the ſea to avoid the diſgrace of falling into the hands of an enemy they had been taught to hold in contempt, in conſequence of the repeated victories gained over them. *Meurſius* relates, that *Swen* having firſt gained a complete victory, but generouſly ſetting the captives at liberty, *Harold* immediately renewed the fight, while the *Daniſh* monarch was wrapped in ſecurity, and eaſily defeated him. *Swen* being thus conquered, took refuge with the remainder of his fleet in the ſmall iſlands, from whence he went over to *Schonen* and *Zealand* to recruit his forces, and endeavour to retrieve the loſs ſuſtained from his too great humanity. As ſoon as he had completed his levies, and repaired his fleet, he again fought the enemy in the *Baltic*. To prevent his ſhips deſerting him, he had them chained together, and though greatly inferior in force, bravely maintained the engagement till night, and would probably have obtained a victory, had not *Harold* received a reinforcement, which greatly diſpirited the *Danes*, or rather a number of *Germans* who ſerved in the fleet, and now ſeparated themſelves in the night, to prevent the conſequences of a defeat, and their falling into the enemy's hands. *Swen*, whoſe courage was invincible, renewed the battle next morning, notwithſtanding a third part of his fleet had withdrawn, and hoping to make up by reſolution what he wanted in ſtrength, fought with the utmoſt fury, and moſt obſtinate valour, until he was at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to yield to his ill fortune [c].

Harold *of* Norway *makes war upon* Swen.

Swen *defeated.*

HAROLD, not ſatisfied with two victories obtained over the *Danes*, landed his forces, and laid waſte all the coaſts of the iſlands and *Daniſh* continent, burning, deſtroying, and ravaging many villages and cities, and among the reſt *Sleſwick*. *Swen* was forced to content himſelf with harraſſing *Harold* in his march, not being able to raiſe a force ſufficient to give him

[c] Meurs. l. iii. p. c. i.

battle;

battle; but when he had leaſt reaſon to expect it, Providence wrought a happy change in his ſituation. The civil diviſions in *England* had raiſed *Harold*'s ambition to extend his conqueſts and influence, which he thought he might probably do by taking part with *Godwin*'s children againſt their ſovereign. The low condition to which he had reduced *Swen*, gave him no diſturbance about the conſequences of his abſence from *Norway*; he therefore reſolved upon an expedition to *England*, where he was killed; by which means *Swen* recovered the peaceable poſſeſſion of all his dominions. *Harold*'s ſons *Olaus* and *Magnus*, ſhared their father's dominions, and entered into a treaty and alliance with *Swen*, which was confirmed by the marriage of *Olaus* with the daughter of *Swen* [a].

Harold *killed and defeated in* England.

THE death of *Harold* II. king of *England*, ſlain in a battle fought with *William* of *Normandy*, called the *Conqueror*, furniſhed *Swen* with an opportunity of putting in his claim to the crown of *England*, as the only remaining deſcendant of *Canute the Great*. He had kindly received the two ſons and daughter of *Harold*, who took refuge with him upon their father's defeat; and the latter he married to the prince of *Ruſſia*. He accordingly equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, and put on board a large body of land-forces, under the command of his ſons *Harold* and *Canute*. On their arrival in the mouth of the *Humber*, they were ſuddenly joined by a great body of malcontents, who were reſolved at any rate to throw off the unſupportable tyrannical yoke of *William*. After a ſeries of tranſactions, which will be recited in the *Engliſh* hiſtory, they retired, at the perſuaſion of *Osbern*, brother to *Swen*, who had been corrupted by the gold of *Normandy*. The king his brother was ſo incenſed at this meanly venal action, that on the return of the fleet, he immediately ordered *Osbern* into perpetual baniſhment [b].

The Danes *depart from* England.

A FEW years before *Swen*'s death, the *Vandals* again revolted, from their diſlike to the Chriſtian religion, which they had been forced to embrace, after the great defeat they laſt received from *Harold*. After overturning and ruining all the Chriſtian churches among them, ſetting up their pagan idols, and putting to death a biſhop and ſeveral Chriſtian prelates, they entered *Holſtein* with fire and ſword, and made the country an entire deſart. They moreover pillaged the city of *Sleſwick*, levelled the churches with the ground, and in deriſion broke the crucifixes which miſtaken piety had erected in different quarters of the town. But the greateſt inſult upon *Swen* was, the manner in which they treated his ſiſter *Syrith*,

The Vandals *overrun* Holſtein.

[a] MEURS. Hiſt. ibid. [b] SAXO GRAM. l. xi.

Danes out of that iſland. Relying upon this ſupport it was that he diſputed the crown of *Denmark* with *Magnus*, intending to uſe force, ſhould his application to the ſtates prove ineffectual. Both his deſigns were now fruſtrated, and the *Danes* driven out of *England*, which they could never afterwards recover.

Swen *defeated.*

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe unfortunate occurrences, *Swen* determined not to relinquiſh his claim: he had the addreſs to gain over a great number of the *Daniſh* nobility to his intereſt, and by their means equipped a fleet in *Jutland*, with which he gave battle to *Magnus*, and was routed, being forced to take ſhelter in the iſland of *Funen*. Here he refitted, and ventured upon another engagement, which terminated as unſucceſsfully as the former. His whole fleet was taken or diſperſed, himſelf eſcaping with a ſingle ſhip to *Zealand*, whither the conqueror purſued him, and obliged him to retire to ſome of the remoter provinces of *Sweden* [b].

Magnus *overthrows the* Vandals *in a bloody battle.*

THIS war being ended, *Magnus* reſumed his operations againſt the *Vandals*, with whom it ſeems he was at war before *Swen* occaſioned the late commotions. He had ſlain their prince *Ratiborius*, who left behind him eight ſons, all ſworn enemies to *Magnus*, and men of great valour, who reſolved on revenging their father's death. Accordingly they overran with a multitude of troops the coaſts of *Jutland*, laying waſte all the country through which they paſſed, with all the cruelty of incenſed barbarians. Fired with reſentment, and the deplorable condition to which his unhappy ſubjects were reduced, *Magnus* raiſed an army, ſeized the ſtrait or narrow paſs at *Sleſwick* to intercept the enemy, and there gave them battle, with ſuch advantage as fully avenged his ſubjects, and puniſhed thoſe barbarians for their ſavage cruelty. Some hiſtorians relate, that forty thouſand of the *Vandals* were left dead on the field, and thoſe that remained compelled to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion; but *Meurſius* reduces the number of ſlain to fifteen thouſand, affirming, however, that the priſoners greatly exceeded this number [c].

He is ſurnamed the Good.

THIS victory, and his clemency to the priſoners, acquired him the ſurname of *Good*; and ſo endeared him to all his people, that on his return they met him in crowds, loading him with bleſſings, abjuring *Swen*, and offering their lives and fortunes for the extirpation of that pretender to his crown, and the defence of his majeſty's perſon and dignity. It was not long after the defeat of the *Vandals* that *Magnus* died by

[b] PONTAN. l. v. p. 178. [c] MEURS. l. iii. p. 58.

a

HAROLD the SIMPLE.

HAROLD, the oldeſt ſon of *Swen*, was elected in the room of his father, after warm diſputes about the ſucceſſion. The noble qualities of *Canute*, a younger ſon, had raiſed a ſtrong party in his favour; but the promiſe made to the late king, and *Harold*'s gold, at length prevailed: upon which *Canute* went over to *Schonen*, there to carry on the war againſt the *Vandals*, that had been left unfiniſhed by his father. This was a kind of honourable voluntary baniſhment, into which he entered to avoid exciting his brother's jealouſy, or diſturbing the tranquility of the kingdom. So prudent and moderate a conduct in a young prince of known ambition wrought ſuch an effect on *Harold*, ſurnamed the *Simple*, that he gave him the kindeſt invitations to return, and offered to receive him as his colleague in the throne; but *Canute* adhered to his firſt reſolution, either foreſeeing that a divided authority would be attended with inconvenience, or diſdaining to ſhare the ſupreme power, with a brother whoſe capacity he deſpiſed [a]. Harold the Simple, 75th king.

SOME writers place an inter-regnum of four years about this time; but whether after the death of *Swen*, or of *Harold*, we cannot affirm; nor do the beſt hiſtorians make any mention at all of ſuch a chaſm in the regal government: for *Harold* was elected by the firſt diet that aſſembled after the death of his father; and *Canute*, who then reſided in *Jutland*, was immediately recalled on the death of his brother [b].

BEFORE *Harold* mounted the throne, he made the largeſt promiſes to the people of framing new laws, ſuch as would redreſs all the grievances conſequent on thoſe at that time in force, and of governing them with the moſt ſcrupulous regard to juſtice, and the public good; but the firſt part of his engagement he never fulfilled, except in one inſtance. This was a law by which criminals, where poſitive evidence was wanting, ſhould be allowed to clear themſelves by an oath, and, without paſſing the ordeal, or trial by fire, as was uſual in *Denmark*, and all the other kingdoms in *Europe*. The law was received with univerſal approbation: after which *Harold*, as if he had ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his reputation, reſigned himſelf to the moſt ſhameful indolence and ſloth, neglected to enforce the laws already made, and ſuffered the whole kingdom to be polluted by the moſt ſcandalous corruption, licentiouſneſs, and venality; in which ſituation *Canute* found it at the death of his brother, who ſurvived his elevation but two *A law made by* Harold.

[a] SAXO GRAM. l. xi. [b] SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 72.

years.

years, according to *Grammaticus* and *Meurſius*[c], though the latter acquaints us, that ſome writers have prolonged his reign to upwards of ſix years (A).

CANUTE the PIOUS.

Canute the Pious, *76th king.*

CANUTE was recalled by the ſtates on the death of his brother, and appointed his ſucceſſor. *Grammaticus* ſays, that this prince accepted of the crown merely with a view to extend the Chriſtian religion, and not from motives of ambition. The war he had carried on in his brother's life-time againſt the *Vandals* was for the ſake of religion; and he now renewed it, when his power enabled him to puniſh the impiety of thoſe infidels with more ſucceſs and ſeverity. Nor did he ever relax in this deſign until he had accompliſhed it, by obliging ſeveral idolatrous nations lying on the frontiers of *Livonia* and *Muſcovy*, to receive the truths of the goſpel. Having happily finiſhed this war, he married *Ethla*, daughter to the earl of *Flanders*, and then applied himſelf to curb the licentiouſneſs, immorality, and corruption which had crept into public offices, and among all degrees of men, during the inactive reign of *Harold*. But ſenſible that example would operate more powerfully on the minds of the people than the moſt rigid laws, he began a reformation, by the ſtricteſt obſervance of every moral and religious virtue, by enforcing the laws already made, and by ſhewing his own compliance to them, in the ſame manner he required of the meaneſt ſubject. The effect anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectation. Every man was ambitious of emulating his ſovereign; merit and virtue were the only recommendations to court-favour; and this rendered them univerſally ſought after. In a word, *Canute's* reign may be called the reign of religion, virtue, and true worth in *Denmark*, in which temperance, chaſtity, liberality, juſtice, and all the heroic and ſocial virtues were cultivated from the king to the peaſant: an aſtoniſhing inſtance to

His conqueſts.

His virtues.

[c] MEURS. l. iii. p. 62.

(A) Here freſh chronological difficulties occur, ſome writers affirming, that *Harold the Simple* began his reign in the year 1085, on which year *Swen* died, according to them; and among theſe is the judicious *Pontanus*. *Suaningius*, on the contrary, whoſe induſtry and erudition cannot be called in queſtion, places *Harold* 1079 and 1081, if we ſuppoſe him to have reigned but two years; or if we rather ſuppoſe him to have reigned ſix, between 1075 and 1080-1.

what

what a pitch of piety and virtue a nation may be brought by the example and practice of a diſcerning monarch [d]!

AFTER civil affairs had undergone a thorough alteration, *Canute* next applied himſelf to eccleſiaſtical matters, in which he made ſeveral uſeful regulations. The firſt was to detach the body of the clergy intirely from the civil government, and confine their authority wholly to the affairs of the church; ſuch as inſpecting into the lives, manners, and doctrine of the inferior clergy; preſcribing the forms of public worſhip, &c. The power of the biſhops, however, was greatly augmented, for they were raiſed to the dignity of dukes and princes, and took place of the ſenators and nobility of the higheſt quality. Such was his regard for the biſhops, that he even inveſted them with the civil ſword, and permitted them to go to war with all the power of independent monarchs; an inſtitution which plainly ſhews, that all the good ſenſe of *Canute* was not proof againſt the craft of ſuperſtition and prieſthood; as nothing could be more abſurd than this authority committed into the hands of eight prelates (for that was the number of biſhops in *Denmark*) while all the reſt of the clergy were wholly cut off from civil connections, and deprived of that weight which alone could give influence to their doctrine, or declare them of the ſame function with thoſe dignified prelates [a].

Canute's regard for learning.

BUT it was not the leaſt glory of *Canute*, that he paid the utmoſt reſpect to men of learning, and promoted the ſtudy of arts and ſciences by his own private benevolence, as well as by public rewards, and certain literary foundations, which he annexed to the eccleſiaſtical government. It is certain, however, that a prince may carry his regard to religion and learning, to a pitch dangerous to himſelf and oppreſſive of the people. *Canute*'s bounty to the clergy and learned men had no bounds; beſides the numberleſs inſtitutions he made in their favour, he granted them the tythes, which occaſioned an univerſal diſaffection, and at length brought on his ruin. Large ſums of money were expended in erecting churches and pious foundations, which were raiſed from the ſweat of the labourer, and the oppreſſion of the uſeful husbandman and mechanic [b].

He meditates the reduction of England.

IN this ſituation were the affairs of *Denmark*, when *Canute*, laying aſide civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs, reſolved once more to embark in war, and attempt the recovery of *England*. He communicated his intentions firſt to his brother *Olaus*, who

[d] PONTAN. l. v. p. 198. GRAM. l. xi. p. 215. MEURS. l. iv. [a] GRAM. l. xi. PONTAN. ubi ſupra. [b] MEURS. l. iv.

greatly approved of it from private views, and afterwards to the ſenate, who did not diſcourage the project. Upon this *Canute* equipped a fleet, and raiſed an army with all poſſible expedition. The earl of *Flanders*, and a great number of *Engliſh* exiles reſiding at that nobleman's court, rejoiced at the occaſion that was likely to reſtore them to their own country, whence they were driven by *William*'s ſeverity and partiality to the *Normans*. While the fleet and army were waiting at the appointed rendezvous, until *Canute* had finiſhed ſome public buſineſs, and appointed regents to govern the kingdom in his abſence, he diſcovered that his brother *Olaus* had been ſecretly endeavouring to deprive him of the crown: upon which he immediately ſet out with a few troops for *Sleſwick*, of which his brother was governor, to ſecure his perſon, and bring him to public juſtice. *Olaus* had, however, ſo gained upon the affections of the ſoldiers, that they refuſed to obey the king's orders to ſeize him: upon which *Eric*, brother both to *Olaus* and the king, broke into his apartment, and brought him bound in chains to his majeſty. *Canute*, not caring to pollute his hands with a brother's blood, ſent him to his father-in-law the earl of *Flanders*, with directions that he ſhould be treated in a manner ſuited to his rank, but ſo narrowly watched as to prevent his return to *Denmark*. In the mean time, the tools of *Olaus* had ſo wrought upon the minds of the ſoldiers by their artful inſinuations, that they disbanded themſelves before the king's return, which obliged him to poſtpone his expedition to *England*, and convoke another diet, before he could raiſe an army [c].

His brother conſpires againſt him.

The army deſerts.

The king calls a diet.

THIS diet he opened with a ſpeech, reminding the people of the glory acquired by his anceſtors, by the faithful attachment of their ſubjects; of their conqueſts in the different parts of *Europe*, and particularly in *England*, which country they held for two hundred years in ſubjection, and now loſt from the indolence and puſillanimity which laid hold of the once intrepid *Danes*. He repreſented to them the ſhame of deſerting their monarch, who was in full purſuit of glory, conqueſt, and dominion; and of ſo ſcandalouſly abandoning a cauſe, which required no more than their preſence to terminate happily. He laid before them the advantages which would reſult to *Denmark*, a poor, rocky, cold, and unfertile country, from the conqueſt of an iſland abounding with all the conveniencies and luxuries of life: in a word, he omitted no arguments that could ſeduce or impel them to their duty; but in vain. The emiſſaries of *Olaus* were indefatigable, and the minds of the

[c] Aut. citat. ibid.

people

people wholly alienated from their ſovereign from the time he had granted the tenths to the clergy. They inſiſted upon the revocation of this decree, and *Canute* was unhappily obſtinate to confirm it. The people roſe in arms in different quarters, and he was forced to ſeek ſhelter in the iſland of *Funen*, where he ſoon after periſhed through the treachery of a nobleman, in whoſe fidelity he placed his greateſt confidence. He died by the hands of a people he loved; and but for a few errors in his conduct, and the ambition of his brother *Olaus*, would have governed happily. His valour, juſtice, generoſity, and piety, were univerſally acknowledged; but a certain eaſineſs of temper, and tincture of enthuſiaſtic devotion, betrayed him into weakneſſes that were the original cauſes of his unfortunate end. In a word, the reader cannot but perceive a ſtriking analogy between his character and melancholy cataſtrophe, and that of our *Charles* I. Both were princes, who, but for the peculiar circumſtances of the times, would have reigned equally beloved by their ſubjects, and eſteemed by foreigners; both fell the ſacrifices of amiable foibles, dangerous indeed in monarchs, but greatly admired in private life[a].

He is betrayed and put to death.

OLAUS, ſurnamed the Hungry, or Famiſhed.

CANUTE's death was no ſooner known, than the friends of *Olaus* ſet every ſpring at work to procure his liberty, and raiſe him to the throne. They doubted not but they ſhould enjoy his chief confidence and favour, as they were the inſtruments of his promotion. Accordingly a ſum of money was raiſed for his ranſom, and his brother *Nicholas* ſent to the earl of *Flanders* to conduct *Olaus* to *Denmark* (A). On his arrival his brother *Eric*, who had ſeized him in *Sleſwick*, retired with his family into *Sweden*, not doubting but the young king would deeply reſent an action which had occaſioned his long impriſonment.

Olaus, *ſurnamed the* Hungry *or* Famiſhed, 77*th king.*

THE firſt act of *Olaus*'s government was the ſhewing his gratitude to his brother *Nicholas*, then confined in *Flanders*, and ſending thither a large ſum of money for his redemption. He next proceeded to ſeveral popular regulations, in order to

[a] SAXO GRAM. l. xii. PONTAN. l. v.

(A) In the conduct of *Nicholas* we find a remarkable inſtance of brotherly affection; for the earl of *Flanders* refuſing to ſet *Olaus* at liberty, *Nicholas* offered himſelf a priſoner in his room, was accepted, and voluntarily put on the chains which his brother had juſt laid aſide (1).

(1) *Saxo Gram. l.* xii. *Pontan. l.* v. *p.* 200. *Meurſ. l.* iv.

ſecure

ſecure the affections of the people, as he knew that a great part of the nation dreaded his reſentment, on account of their eſpouſing the cauſe of *Canute:* but he was interrupted in the midſt of this laudable conduct by a terrible misfortune, which he could neither foreſee nor prevent. A dreadful famine, in conſequence of a bad harveſt, prevailed ſo much, that the richeſt people in *Denmark* were forced to ſupply the want of bread with roots, and other vegetables; while the poor, who were unable to procure even theſe, periſhed in the ſtreets and highways. Nor was this all: the heat of the preceding ſummer, and the deluges of rain which had fallen in the autumn, occaſioned ſuch a corruption in the air, and alteration in the human frame, as was attended with the moſt deplorable peſtilence that had ever been known in any northern country. Both theſe terrible calamities, of famine and peſtilence, ſeemed to contend which ſhould moſt afflict the miſerable *Danes*. Thouſands of ſouls were ſwept off by each, and public faſtings and prayers appointed in all the churches, to beſeech God to remove ſo inſupportable a ſcourge, which they now looked upon as the juſt puniſhment of their late rebellion againſt the beſt of monarchs. *Sweyn*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, thereby to appeaſe the Almighty, and atone for the crimes of the people. At length it pleaſed God to put a ſtop to the plague, and to ſend a plentiful harveſt, which removed the wants of the people; but not during the life-time of *Olaus*, who, oppreſſed with grief at the miſeries of the nation, died ſuddenly, and, as ſome affirm, upon the following occaſion. It had long been cuſtomary for the nobility to dine with the king on *Chriſtmas-day*, and they were accordingly invited by *Olaus*. When dinner was ſerved up, the king called for bread; but was told, there was not a bit in the kingdom: a reply that ſtruck him with ſuch horror, that he put up a prayer to God, beſeeching him to accept of his life as an atonement for his crimes, and the ſins of the nation. His prayer was heard; for he inſtantly expired, and the famine ceaſed. We muſt however obſerve, that this anecdote is not very conſiſtent with the account given by the beſt writers, and even by *Grammaticus* himſelf, though he relates this ſtory; for they all aſſert, that the famine was removed by the enſuing plentiful autumn. Some writers alledge, that *Olaus* reigned only ſeven years; but *Ælnothus*, a contemporary hiſtorian, affirms, that he wore the crown for eight years and nine months [b].

Great ſcarcity in Denmark.

The cauſe of the death of Olaus.

[b] Apud. MEURS. l. iv. GRAM. ibid.

ERIC

E R I C III.

OLAUS dying ſuddenly, the ſtates immediately aſſembled to elect a ſucceſſor, and it was unanimouſly agreed, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to *Eric*, then an exile in *Sweden*, to invite him to the throne. Under this excellent prince, who was poſſeſſed of many heroic and amiable virtues, *Denmark* began to retrieve her ancient character and power. In the beginning of his reign he entered upon a war with the *Vandals*, who had protected two notorious pirates, baniſhed out of *Schonen* for their crimes; and, under their conduct, committed the moſt impudent depredations and robberies on the high ſeas, as well as on the coaſts of *Denmark*. Fitting out a fleet, he inveſted their capital in the iſle of *Rugen*; and, after a briſk ſiege, took it by aſſault. Then, to deprive thoſe pirates of this ſtrong hold, he ordered the fortifications to be razed, and the town ſo thoroughly diſmantled, that for a great number of years it did not recover its ancient ſtrength and ſplendor. He next purſued the pirates into all the different ports of the *Baltic*, and puniſhed ſeverely thoſe who fell into his hands, in order to terrify others by theſe examples. *Eric*'s nature was mild, and prone to mercy; but he ſaw the ſecurity of *Denmark* depended on the extirpation of this neſt of thieves. After having wholly ſubdued the *Vandals*, as he imagined, he returned to his capital, where he was received with the acclamations of a joyful people, who had penetration enough ſoon to diſcover the true character of their ſovereign. His reſidence here was but ſhort, when the *Vandals* made ſhift, notwithſtanding their late reduction, to enter *Denmark*, ſpreading terror and deſolation wherever they went, in revenge for the deſtruction of their city; but making ſo ſhort a ſtay as rendered it impoſſible for *Eric* to attack and puniſh them, before they quitted his dominions. Enraged with this inſult, he raiſed a body of troops, and, entering their country, ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed them, that during his life they never again attempted giving the leaſt moleſtation [a].

Eric III. 78*th king.*

He ſeverely chaſtiſes the pirates.

On his return he ſent a deputation to *Rome*, ſetting forth the virtues and piety of his brother *Canute*, who periſhed a martyr to religion by the hands of an enraged mob, and requeſting that his name might be enrolled in the calendar of ſaints, which petition was honourably received and granted by his holineſs, who had too much policy and breeding to refuſe a requeſt from ſo potent a monarch, which at the ſame time implied a compliment to his own authority. Not long

Obtains leave from the pope to canonize Canute.

[a] PONTAN. l. v.

after

after the pope, *Paſchal* II. found an opportunity of diſplaying his power more amply to the *Danes*; for a diſpute, concerning ſome temporalities, ariſing between *Eric* and the biſhop of *Bremen*, that prelate went in perſon to *Rome*, and, laying the caſe before his holineſs, obtained a verdict, though *Eric* refuſed for ſome time to ſtand by this award; but was afterwards forced to yield to the clamours of his own clergy, and the thundering menaces of the conclave. It is even affirmed, that he was forced to go in perſon to *Rome* to ſupplicate the pope's pardon, and make up the breach between him and the holy ſee, by the moſt reſpectful ſubmiſſion and deepeſt contrition: the account, however, of this event, is very obſcurely related by all the *Daniſh* hiſtorians [b].

An extraordinary ſtory of the power of muſic.

AFTER *Eric*'s return from *Rome* it was, that a muſician boaſting to him of his ſkill on the harp, aſſerted, that his power over the faculties extended ſo far, that he could at any time deprive his hearers of their underſtanding, and render them frantic by force of harmony. *Eric*, who greatly doubted the truth of the muſician's aſſeveration, ordered him to give a ſpecimen of his ſkill, and was himſelf the firſt inſtance of the truth of what he aſſerted; for his paſſions were ſo wound up, that in an extaſy of madneſs he flew like a maniac round the apartment, and in his tranſport killed four ſoldiers of the guard, which the muſician obſerving, immediately changed his cadence to a ſoothing ſtrain, and ſoon aſſwaged the violent tranſports he had excited. Grieved at what he had done, *Eric* rewarded the muſician, and after making all poſſible recompence to the relations of the deceaſed, vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in order to do penance, and expiate thereby the horrid crime he had committed. For ſome time he concealed his intention from the ſtates; but all things being ready for his journey, he made public declaration of his vow. They unanimouſly remonſtrated againſt his deſign, which muſt inevitably involve the kingdom in numberleſs calamities. They embraced his feet, and bathed them with their tears, beſeeching that he would not expoſe to danger a life upon which depended the felicity of a whole kingdom; but *Eric* was inflexible. He accordingly purſued his journey, and paſſing through *Greece*, was honourably and magnificently entertained by the emperor *Alexius*. From *Conſtantinople* he took ſhip for *Cyprus*, and there ended his days a ſhort time after his arrival. His death ſo afflicted *Bathilda*, queen, and faithful companion of his pilgrimage, that ſhe ſurvived him but a few hours, and was buried with him in the

Eric's pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Dies at Cyprus.

[b] MEURS. l. iv. p. 68.

ſame tomb. This event fell out, according to *Grammaticus* and *Suaningius*, in the year 1101 after the birth of *Chriſt*, although an author quoted by *Meurſius*, places it four years earlier; and thus *Denmark* was deprived of an excellent king, through a falſe and miſtaken devotion. *Eric* was ſurnamed *the Good*, from an exceſſive benevolence in his diſpoſition, which rendered him the ſure friend and patron of the diſtreſſed and unfortunate. His affability was ſo great, that he converſed with his meaneſt ſubjects, received their complaints, and relieved them, either by his authority, or out of his own private purſe: yet had he the addreſs of blending the dignity of a king with the humility of a ſubject; for he was equally beloved by his nobility and commons, and reſpected by all the neighbouring powers. We are told that his eloquence was ſo great, that he was never under the neceſſity of exerting his authority in the ſenate: the irreſiſtible perſuaſion that hung upon his tongue carried all before it; and if he was ever oppoſed, it was only that his people might have the ſatisfaction of yielding to the ſweetneſs of his oratory. However abſurd his piety may appear in theſe more enlightened days, his implicit faith in the pope's infallibility was the fault of the times: in other reſpects he practiſed the rigid precepts of morality, which are ever inſeparable from true religion; and the laſt act of his reign ſhewed his ſtrict regard to his vows, though it may be condemned by ſuch as are of opinion, that a proper regard to the public good might have ſufficiently abſolved him from an obligation raſhly entered upon [a].

His character.

When *Eric* departed for the Holy Land, he left his ſon *Harold* regent of the kingdom; but the ſtates being made acquainted with his death, recalled *Nicholas*, paid his ranſom to the earl of *Flanders*, and placed him upon the throne, out of reſpect to the promiſe they had made to his father on his death-bed. They were urged the more to this by the ſeverity of *Harold*'s manners, which they foreſaw would render them unhappy, if they raiſed him to the throne. Before the arrival of *Nicholas*, *Swen*, relying upon his intereſt with the diet of *Wiburg*, put in his claim to the crown as the elder brother, and was haſtening thither when he was ſeized by a fever, of which he died in a few days. *Ubbo*, the next in age, wanted not a party of the nobility to eſpouſe his cauſe; but he declined the crown out of reſpect to his younger brother, whoſe capacity, he modeſtly declared, was more adequate to the weight of governing; a rare inſtance of ſelf-denial and brotherly love.

[a] Aut. citat. ibid.

NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, 78*th king.* A. D. 1107.

THUS the ſceptre was put into the hands of *Ni* who at firſt wielded it with great applauſe; but f off in his character, and degenerating from the virtu his anceſtors, and from his own, he fell into the utmoſt tempt (A), and involved himſelf and his people in a v of misfortunes. The breach of the public tranquillit its firſt riſe from *Henry*, ſon to *Godeſchal*, prince of the *dals*. This prince, after the deſtruction of his country laſt reign, lived privately for ſome years in *Denmark*; b *Eric*'s ſetting out for the Holy Land, found means to r his hereditary dominions. He was nephew to *Nichola* had frequently beſought him to reſtore his mother's po but had always met with a harſh refuſal. This irritate young prince, and determined him to have recourſe to Entering into an alliance with the *Nordalbingi*, a pec *Lower Saxony*, or properly the *Holſteiners*, he ſoon ſubd that country lying between the *Elbe* and *Sleſwick*. The made ſuch terrible incurſions into the dutchy of *Sleſwic* *Nicholas*, who at that time reſided in the capital, was for double his guards, and provide for the ſecurity of th For this purpoſe he ſent to the ſeveral parts of his dom for troops, and unfortunately committed that truſt to a nobleman, who held a clandeſtine correſpondence with *ry*, and ſtipulated with him to betray his royal maſter. this view he uſed all poſſible delay in marching the t and, to cover his treachery, was continually ſending ex to *Nicholas*, repreſenting the occaſion of his dilatorineſ raiſing ſome new difficulty. At length the infantry a and with them *Nicholas*, at *Elive*'s perſuaſion, determi give battle to *Henry*. The event fell out as the traitor ſaw: *Henry*'s horſe broke and put in confuſion the *Dan* fantry; and now, when it was too late, the perfidy of was diſcovered. *Nicholas* was defeated, and forced to with precipitation into *Denmark*; where he no ſooner a than he diveſted the treacherous *Elive* of all his employ and confiſcated his eſtate, believing that, and its neceſſar ſequence, poverty, to be a more ſevere puniſhment than itſelf [b].

Some of the Daniſh *provinces laid waſte by the* Vandals.

[b] MEURS. l. iv.

(A) Here would ſeem to be an inter-regnum of ſix years, as *Eric* died in the year 1101, and *Nicholas* was not placed in the throne until the year 1108. It is probable, that *Harold*, during this period, held the office gent; and ſo indeed we f aſſerted by *Suaningius*, t this fact is omitted by a other hiſtorians. *Vid. p.*

In the mean while *Henry*, grown bold by his victory, made more dreadful incurſions into the *Daniſh* territories, and, laying waſte all the ſea-coaſts, made an attempt on *Sleſwick*; but was repulſed with loſs. *Canute*, the ſon of *Eric* the late king, and nephew to *Nicholas*, perceiving the miſery to which this fine dutchy of *Sleſwick* was reduced by the cruelty of the *Vandals*, requeſted the government of a country which had been refuſed, on account of the danger, by many of the nobility. With a great deal of intreaty and intereſt, he at length obtained it, and immediately ſet out to perform the duties of his employment. His firſt meaſure was to offer propoſals of peace to *Henry*, which he aſſured him he would willingly enter into, without any other conditions than his indemnifying the dutchy of *Sleſwick* for her loſſes, and the king of *Denmark* for the expences he had been at in the war. Theſe were terms which he was ſenſible the haughty ſpirit of *Henry*, now rendered more inſolent and untractable by proſperity, would reject, and therefore provided accordingly, by raiſing a body of troops with the utmoſt expedition and ſecrecy. With theſe he marched in the middle of the night, with all poſſible ſilence, directly to a caſtle on the frontiers of *Sleſwick*, where *Henry* kept his head-quarters, and was fortunate enough to ſurround the place before the *Vandal* prince received any intimation of his march. In this ſituation, *Henry*, perceiving that reſiſtance would be fruitleſs, mounted his horſe, and by a ſecret path made his eſcape, leaving the caſtle to be plundered by the *Daniſh* ſoldiers, who did not fail to retaliate the many injuries they had received from him [a].

Canute, *the ſon of* Eric, *obtains the government of* Sleſwick, *and obliges the* Vandals *to ſue for peace.*

HENRY's eſcape occaſioned a prolongation of the war: he levied a ſtrong body of troops, with which he had frequent ſkirmiſhes with *Canute*, without ever venturing upon a general engagement. At length the *Dane*, tired out with the tediouſneſs of a war which kept him in perpetual apprehenſion, determined to finiſh it by one deciſive ſtroke. He augmented his army, entered the enemy's country, laid it waſte, and then defeated *Henry*, who had hazarded a battle. The conſequence was, that *Henry* ſued for peace in the moſt ſupplicating and abject terms, promiſing to ſubmit to any terms which the conqueror would think fit to impoſe. His ſubmiſſion was immediately accepted by the magnanimous *Canute*, who, ſays *Grammaticus*, after *Virgil*, was ſatisfied with humbling a haughty foe, and delighted with extending his clemency to the conquered. He immediately took horſe, attended only by an eſcort of twenty perſons, and entering *Henry*'s domi-

Canute *defeats* Henry *prince of the* Vandals.

[a] Saxo Gram. l. xiii.

nions with more valour than diſcretion, ſent a meſſenger to his caſtle to acquaint him with his arrival. The *Daniſh* meſſenger entered the caſtle juſt as *Henry* was ſitting down to dinner; upon which he inſtantly ſeized his arms, and ordered all his people to ſtand on their defence; but being told that *Canute* was come to conclude a peace, he went out to receive him. Theſe brave princes embraced each other with tears, ſigned a peace, and entered into the ſtricteſt friendſhip, which continued inviolable for the remainder of their lives. Such was the eſteem which *Henry* conceived for *Canute*, that on his death-bed he appointed him the guardian of his infant-children, and put the government of his kingdom wholly into his hands; nay, he had taken ſuch precautions and meaſures with the emperor, that, after his death, *Canute* found himſelf raiſed by his means to be duke of *Mecklemburg*. Thus the valour and generoſity of *Canute* not only ſecured the dutchy of *Sleſwick* to the crown of *Denmark*, but ſtrengthened the intereſt of that kingdom, by attaching to it a brave people, ever before in a ſtate of hoſtility with the *Danes*, and procured to himſelf the dignity of a duke and prince of the empire, without art, intrigue, or ambition. Soon after the emperor inveſted him with the title of king of the *Vandals*, for which purpoſe he viſited the imperial court [b].

Canute and Henry enter into a ſtrict friendſhip.

Canute's wiſe policy, by which he's made king of the Vandals.

THIS prince reigned ſome years with the utmoſt reputation, eſteemed, beloved, and reſpected by all good men; but his reign was at length diſturbed by contentions, which aroſe between his ſons. Ambition had fired the breaſts of theſe young men, and had like to have proved fatal to the dutchy of *Sleſwick*; but as theſe tranſactions have no immediate relation with the Hiſtory of *Denmark*, it will be ſufficient to add, that the prudence of *Canute* triumphed over the headſtrong ambition of his children, whom he reconciled with a parental authority, as well as by the eſteem and awe with which his character impreſſed their minds [c].

IN the mean time, the king of *Sweden* dying, the *Oſtrogoths* choſe another king in his room; but the *Swedes*, believing that the right of election belonged only to themſelves, put to death the *Oſtrogoth* king, and choſe *Magnus*, the ſon of *Nicholas* king of *Denmark*. This prince marrying a daughter of the king of *Poland*, was by that means involved in a war with *Vratiſlaus*, prince of *Sclavonia*, into which he likewiſe drew his father *Nicholas*, not as an auxiliary, but a principal in the quarrel. *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Sweden*, being combined againſt *Vratiſlaus*, he found himſelf under the neceſſity

Denmark, Sweden, and Poland unite againſt the Sclavonians.

[b] PONTAN. l. v. MEURS. l. iv. [c] GRAM. ibid.

of making propoſals of peace extremely advantageous to the allies; but *Nicholas* would admit of no overtures until he had ſubdued the greater part of *Sclavonia:* after which he inſiſted upon the conquered prince's making his ſubmiſſion in perſon; and was weak and perfidious enough to break the parole of honour he had given for the ſecurity of *Vratiſlaus*, and retain him priſoner, until the remonſtrances of *Canute*, king of the *Vandals*, obtained his liberty. *Nicholas* afterwards thanked the generous *Canute* for this interpoſition, which, he ſaid, had ſaved his and the national reputation, which muſt have received an indelible ſtain from ſo notorious a breach of public faith. He then vented his indignation againſt the adviſers of ſuch unworthy and diſhonourable meaſures; yet, after all, his generoſity proved the ruin of the noble-minded *Canute*. His enemies increaſed in proportion to his virtue, and they were overwhelmed with ſhame and confuſion at his ſuperiority of character: far, however, from endeavouring to imitate his example, they laboured to remove this mirrour of true honour, that only ſerved to reflect with redoubled force their own diſgrace. They found means of inſinuating into the head of the credulous *Nicholas*, that ambition was the baſis and ſpring of all *Canute's* actions; that, far from being ſatisfied with the crown he wore, and with the dutchies of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*, he aſpired at a ſtill higher dignity; and that his popularity was paving an eaſy way for his aſcending the throne of *Denmark*. As his own children were in the number of accuſers, the weak *Nicholas* the more readily credited theſe ſlanders, equally falſe and inſidious, and only now watched a fair opportunity of robbing *Denmark* of its greateſt ornament and ſupport.

His virtues raiſe him a cloud of enemies.

In the mean time, *Nicholas* prepared to celebrate the nuptials of his ſon with a princeſs of *Poland*; for which purpoſe the nobility and vaſſals of *Denmark* appeared with all poſſible magnificence at *Ripen*, and among the reſt *Canute*, who eclipſed them all in ſplendor and pomp, as much as he did in merit. This circumſtance added fuel to the fire that was ſoon to conſume him. The king of *Denmark* was now convinced of the truth of all thoſe treacherous inſinuations that were daily whiſpered in his ear; while *Canute*, guarded only by his innocence, and unacquainted with the machinations carried on againſt him, gained the eſteem and affection of all worthy men. The plot was ready to break out againſt him, when a ſudden revolt in *Pomerania* called him to his own country, and for a time poſtponed his fate. Here he quickly ſubdued the rebels, and afterwards returned to *Denmark* to receive his ſovereign's applauſe; but how was he thunderſtruck

A conſpiracy againſt his life.

at the cold reception, nay, the ſtern aſpect of the ſilly *Nicholas*, on his approaching that throne, to which he added ſo much luſtre. Inſtantly he beſeeched his majeſty, to acquaint him with the cauſe of a conduct ſo different from what he flattered himſelf with; he offered to ſubmit his actions to the moſt minute ſcrutiny; he breathed nothing but loyalty and duty, and expreſſed himſelf with ſo noble but reſpectful firmneſs of mind, that queen *Margaret*, a woman of great prudence and virtue, eſpouſed his cauſe, and, during her life, fruſtrated all the attempts of his enemies. This excellent princeſs, however, falling into a dangerous malady, he ſoon loſt that ſtay of his hope and patroneſs of merit. On her death-bed ſhe ſent for *Canute*, and told him, "that his greateſt enemies were thoſe "whom nature and duty ought the moſt firmly to bind to his "intereſt. She recommended to him to eſtabliſh harmony and "tranquility at home; to gain the love and confidence of his "own children, which would be a certain barrier againſt all "the inſinuations of other enemies. They had, ſhe ſaid, the "king's ear, who allowed great weight to the allegations of "thoſe who were ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with the private "deſigns of their own father. She was now departing out "of life, and would die contented in the thoughts, that "this intelligence, the goodneſs of the Almighty, the juſtice "of *Canute*'s cauſe, and his own integrity, prudence, and "virtue would ſurmount all difficulties, preſerve *Denmark* "from the calamity of a civil war, and enable him to tri-"umph over all his adverſaries [a]". With which words this pious and noble-minded princeſs reſigned her laſt breath. *Canute* was moved no leſs with the death of ſo generous a friend than with the particulars of her dying words. He was ſhocked at the unnatural conduct of his own children, and greatly perplexed in what manner to execute the wholeſome advice of his queen. Before he had ſettled any plan of operation, his enemies, taking advantage of her majeſty's death, prevailed upon the king to have him ſolemnly cited before a general diet of the ſtates, where he was accuſed of heinous crimes, and particularly of a deſign upon the crown of *Denmark*; but ſuch was the eloquence of *Canute*, inſpired by conſcious innocence, that even now he baffled all his foes, and fully convinced *Nicholas* of his honour and loyalty [b].

The queen's ſpeech to Canute.

His enemies renew their attacks.

NOTWITHSTANDING this victory, it was not long before malice found means to renew the attack with redoubled vigour, after having drawn the young queen into their party, who ſoon wrought a change upon the mind of *Nicholas*, and per-

[a] SAXO, l. xiii. PONTAN. ibid. MEURS. l. iv. [b] Auctar. ibid.

ſuaded

ſuaded him that he could not expect *Magnus*, his ſon, ſhould ever ſucceed to his crown, while *Canute* enjoyed ſuch a ſhare of popularity as even affected himſelf, and made him totter in the throne. An accident added ſtrength to her ſuggeſtions; for *Nicholas* going to *Sleſwick*, the government of *Canute*, both kings had occaſion to appear with their royal badges at ſome public aſſembly, when *Nicholas* entering firſt, ſeated himſelf on his throne at one end of the hall, and was ſoon followed by *Canute*, who did the ſame in the oppoſite end, without remembering to pay the expected compliments at his firſt entrance. As ſoon as he recollected himſelf, he leaped down in the utmoſt confuſion to apologize for the omiſſion; but *Nicholas* conſtrued it into pride, and the queen, with her party, wreſted it into the moſt invidious ſenſe. In conſequence the king aſſembled, with the utmoſt privacy, the leading men of the faction, and, after having bound them to ſecrecy by an oath, declared his wiſh, that ſo dangerous a perſon as *Canute* might be taken off, in ſuch a manner as would not excite the clamours of the people, whoſe idol he was (A). The manner of the oath was unuſual, in order to render it more ſolemn; for it was taken neither in a kneeling, ſitting, or ſtanding poſture, but with their faces proſtrated on the ground. After this the manner of executing their deſign was committed to *Magnus*, who poſſeſſed the art of diſſimulation in the greateſt perfection. This perſon invited, according to the annual cuſtom, all the nobility of the kingdom to an entertainment on the *Chriſtmas-Eve*. *Canute* was not forgot, and he, deſirous of wiping off the late omiſſion, did not fail to obey the ſummons, that he might ſhew his reſpect for his ſovereign. He was treated by *Magnus* with the moſt extraordinary inſtances of eſteem. The perfidious friend told him, that the generoſity of his conduct, and ſteady adherence to virtue, had blotted out all ſuſpicions in the king's mind, and united the whole kingdom in one chorus of applauſe, and admiration of his great qualities. He ſaid, that intending a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he would requeſt it of *Canute*, as a proof of his friendſhip, that he would charge himſelf with the guardianſhip of his children, and ſuperintendency of his affairs during his

An oath of ſecrecy taken by the conſpirators.

The treachery of Magnus.

(A) *Grammaticus* ſays, that it was not the king, who could not be brought to conſent to the death of *Canute*, but his ſon *Magnus*, won over by the art and intreaties of his ſtepmother the young queen, that preſided at this clandeſtine meeting (1). Other hiſtorians mention the king as if perſonally there (2).

(1) *Gram. l.* xii. (2) *Meurſ. Hiſt. Dan. l.* iv.

abſence, as there was not a perſon of whoſe capacity and integrity he entertained ſo high notions. In a word, he ſaid every thing which could flatter, cajole, and confirm *Canute* in his opinion, that he was perfectly reconciled, becauſe he ſpoke truth, tho' it was for the baſeſt and moſt perfidious purpoſes. After he had ſufficiently lulled *Canute*'s ſuſpicions, he formed his plan, and hearing that he propoſed viſiting a ſiſter in the country, whither he would carry but few attendants, fixed upon this as the proper occaſion for his deſtruction. The day arrived, and *Canute*, who had no ſuſpicion of treachery, tho' his wife had ſent a meſſenger from *Sleſwick* to acquaint him of the conſpiracy, ſet out with no more than four attendants (B).

Canute falls a ſacrifice to the ambition and perfidy of Magnus *and the conſpirators.*

He was attacked in a little wood by *Magnus*, ſupported by a large body of conſpirators, and ſlain before he ſcarce had any ſuſpicion of the treachery of this artful friend, and with ſuch circumſtances of deep diſſimulation and ſavage cruelty, as render this ſtory one of the moſt pathetic in hiſtory, though our plan will not permit us to dwell upon particulars. Thus fell the generous, the great *Canute*, the ornament of *Denmark*, and the greateſt hero of his age. His virtues, which had raiſed him from a private ſtation to a throne, were now the cauſe of his death, by the hands of wicked conſpirators, who could not ſee, without envy, themſelves eclipſed in the eyes of the people by ſuch ſuperlative merit [a].

The whole kingdom in a tumult.

THE news of his death ſoon reached *Roſchild*, the then reſidence of the court, and the king himſelf could not help ſhedding tears at the loſs of this great man, tho' he was privy to the plot. The people were inconſolable, they poured out imprecations againſt the murderers, and nothing prevented an univerſal inſurrection beſides the conſideration, that now all their endeavours would only augment the public calamity, without being able to recal him to life. His friends ſolicited the king for leave to bury him with the pomp becoming his quality and merit, in *Roſchild*; but this he prudently declined, from an apprehenſion of the conſequences that might flow from ſo affecting a ſight as his mangled corpſe being expoſed to the

[a] SAXO GRAM. l. xiii. MEURS. l. iv. PONTAN. l. v.

(B) His wife *Ingeburga* receiving ſome intelligence of the plot, ſent a truſty meſſenger with the utmoſt expedition to inform him of his danger; but *Canute*, like a truly generous mind, ſlighted the intelligence as the effects of her love and fear, ſaying, that it was impoſſible *Magnus* could be ſuch a villain, and ſo mean a hypocrite (1).

(1) *Meurſ. l.* iv.

people. He was therefore privately interred at *Ringſtad*, without any other monument than what he had eſtabliſhed in the hearts of the affectionate *Danes*, who to this day adore his memory [a].

MAGNUS, after this infamous exploit, returned to *Roſchild*; but could with difficulty eſcape the vengeance of an enraged populace. His party however was ſo ſtrong, that he ſoon quelled all oppoſition, and began publicly to boaſt of what he had performed. He now looked upon himſelf as the immediate and ſure ſucceſſor to the throne, aſſuming, in all reſpects, the importance of the heir-apparent; but he could little foreſee how juſt and inſcrutable are the ways of Providence, which, ſooner or later, never fails to puniſh the wicked and unjuſt. *Ingeburga*, the wife of *Canute*, was delivered of a ſon about eight days after his murder: the infant became dear to the public, from the love they bore to his father. *Harold* and *Eric*, his uncles, were appointed guardians, and joined with the brave ſons of *Scialmond*, his couſins, to vindicate the cauſe of oppreſſed innocence, determining, at leaſt, that he ſhould ſucceed to the crown of the *Vandals*, the dukedom of *Holſtein*, and the government of *Sleſwick* (A). They held an aſſembly of their friends at *Ringſtad*, where they pathetically lamented the fate of the deceaſed, enumerated his qualities, and, in the manner of *Marc Anthony*, expoſed his rent and bloody cloaths to the view of the populace, craving their aid and aſſiſtance to avenge his memory, and ſupport his infant ſon. All were fired with the affecting ſight; they cried out for arms, and deſired to be inſtantly led againſt the barbarous and perfidious murderer, chuſing *Eric* for their general [b].

Canute's wife delivered of a ſon, and guardians appointed him.

THE king ſoon had intelligence of this tranſaction, and immediately conſulted *Aſcer* the primate, in whoſe fidelity and prudence he greatly confided, what ſteps ſhould be taken in ſo dangerous a conjuncture. After many propoſals it was determined, that *Magnus* ſhould be concealed, and that the king ſhould immediately proceed to *Ringſtad*, and there convoke the people. His edict was publiſhed, and when the day arrived, *Eric* made a ſpeech, adapted to inflame the minds of

An inſurrection of the people to revenge the death of Canute.

[a] MOLESWORTH, c. vi. [b] SAXO GRAM. l. xiii.

(A) The reader has ſeen that *Canute* had other ſons; but hiſtory takes no notice of them in the preſent caſe, probably becauſe *Eric*, *Harold*, and the people thought them among the number of the conſpirators, and therefore unworthy to ſucceed to their father's crown.

the

the populace; which had a violent effect, until the primate appeared, and by his winning manner and perſuaſive eloquence appeaſed the tumult, and determined the people to receive their ſovereign with becoming reſpect. While the primate was gone to introduce the king, *Eric*, ſeizing the opportunity, made a ſhort ſpeech, which ſoon rouſed them to their former ſentiments, and confirmed them in their reſolutions of revenge. On the king's arrival he was received with a ſullen murmuring, which ran through the whole aſſembly; upon which *Eric* again roſe, and told him, that the friends of *Canute*, and the nation in general, demanded that juſtice ſhould be executed on the murderers of that great man. He was ſupported by the whole aſſembly; and the king found it neceſſary to his own ſafety that he ſhould promiſe that *Magnus* ſhould immediately be ſent into perpetual exile, which was all he could obtain in his behalf from the people, who thought they had ſhewn great lenity in ſparing ſo unworthy a life [b].

Magnus baniſhed to appeaſe the people.

The king recals Magnus, *which occaſions an open rebellion, headed by* Eric.

In compliance with his oath, *Nicholas* ſent *Magnus* to *Oſtrogoth*, where, by his influence, he was created king; an inſtance of paternal affection againſt which the people ſhewed no reſentment: but, unhappily, he was perſuaded ſoon after, by thoſe who had been engaged with *Magnus* in the conſpiracy, to recal him to *Denmark*, as his heir apparent. This raiſed a ferment in the kingdom, and obliged *Eric* and *Harold* immediately to convene the people at *Ringſtad*. Here they ſet forth the king's perfidy and breach of vows, which, they affirmed, rendered him unworthy of the crown he wore; and obtained a reſolution of the aſſembly, that both he and *Magnus* ſhould be perſecuted as enemies to the nation: the aſſembly farther inſiſted upon *Eric*'s accepting the crown, which out of policy he refuſed, until he ſhould merit it by his ſervices, and ſome ſignal acts of valour. An army, however, was inſtantly raiſed, with which *Eric* marched directly to *Jutland*, where *Nicholas* at that time was, and would immediately have made him priſoner, had not the policy of *Truro*, biſhop of *Ripen*, diverted his intention. This prelate made uſe of ſuch ſpecious arguments in defence of the king's conduct, which he urged aroſe from neceſſity, rather than affection for *Magnus*; he related ſo many plauſible ſchemes, which he determined to execute as ſoon as opportunity offered, that *Eric*'s impetuoſity was checked; and he encamped in the place he then was, with a view to receive propoſals from *Nicholas*. His troops were ſuffered to forage, and wander round the country,

[b] Ibid. etiam PONTAN. l. v.

as he had no ſuſpicion of treachery in the prelate, who bore the reputation of great piety. This was the opportunity which *Nicholas* wanted, and he improved it to ſuch advantage, that attacking *Eric* unprepared, he totally diſperſed his army, after having made great ſlaughter in his camp. *Eric's* rage, at this freſh inſtance of his perfidy, was inconceiveable; and, indeed, the diſaffection of the nation roſe now to ſuch a height, as not to be ſatisfied with leſs than the lives and crown of *Nicholas* and *Magnus*. Another aſſembly was held, and *Eric* now accepted the ſceptre which he before refuſed: an army was raiſed with all expedition, and ambaſſadors were ſent to crave the aſſiſtance of the emperor *Lotharius*, in revenging the cauſe of *Canute*, for whom he had always profeſſed the ſtrongeſt friendſhip. *Lotharius* promiſed every thing to the ambaſſadors: he had, in fact, no other view than the extenſion of the empire,[a] which he thought might eaſily be effected by ſeizing upon the *Daniſh* provinces, bordering on his dominions, during the heats of a civil war. For this purpoſe he levied an army; and marching into *Holſtein*, he found *Nicholas* encamped with a ſtrong body of forces behind the wall of *Danewark*. Here, inſtead of giving him battle, he entered upon a treaty, created *Magnus* a prince of the empire, and then drew off his army. *Eric*, who had come to *Sleſwick* with a fleet to ſupport the emperor, was aſtoniſhed at his treachery; and, upbraiding him with perfidy and cowardice, told him, that *Magnus*, he doubted not, would return his favours with the ſame ingratitude he had done thoſe of *Canute:* a prognoſtic that was ſoon verified by the event; for *Magnus*, equally deaf to the dictates of honour and conſcience, fell upon the rear of the Imperialiſts, cut them off, and obliged *Adolphus*, who led that part of the army, to ſave his life by ſwimming[a].

Eric *defeated.*

The ingratitude of Magnus *to the emperor.*

In the mean while, *Eric*, having no hopes of aſſiſtance from the emperor, returned to *Zealand*, and there received ambaſſadors from the king of *Norway*, who demanded the infant ſon of *Canute* in marriage for his daughter. Pleaſed with the hopes of ſo powerful an ally, as this connexion would produce, he aſſured the ambaſſadors, that he was ready to enter upon a treaty with their king, and would with pleaſure embrace every opportunity of cultivating his friendſhip by the ſtrongeſt ties; to teſtify which, he immediately offered the king his niece in marriage, and gave pledges for the faith of his nephew.

Both parties now prepared for war; and *Nicholas* drew to his ſide all the biſhops of *Jutland*, and ſeveral of the principal

[a] Meurs. l. iv.

nobility of the kingdom, beſides the conſpirators, who all ſtrongly attached to his intereſt. In *Eric*'s army we brother *Harold*, with his two ſons, who could not eſpouſing his honeſt cauſe, though they were diſpleaſed a elevation in preference to *Harold* the elder brother, the b of *Roſchild*, and *Chriſtiern*, a nobleman of great influenc perſonal valour, to whom he gave the command of the f intended to oppoſe the king in *Jutland*, while himſelf the fleet ſhould attack *Magnus*. He ſoon came up wit antagoniſt, and, after a briſk action, totally deſtroye took his fleet, *Magnus* making his eſcape in a boat. Bu good fortune was counterballanced by a victory whicl king gained over *Chriſtiern* by land, who was made pri and carried to *Sleſwick*. Before *Eric* received advice general's defeat, he was ſo elated with his own good for that he entered the gut of *Alberg*, with intention of la his forces, joining *Chriſtiern*, and gaining an eaſy victor the king. This rendered him leſs rigid in point of diſci ſo that he permitted the ſoldiers to relax themſelves after confinement on board by ſtrolling round the country; a prudence which the king did not fail of turning to adva He attacked *Eric* in this ſituation, and defeated a grea of his army. Nor was this all his loſs; for *Harold*, hi ther, envious of his dignity, and perceiving the king's bore a better aſpect, deſerted him, and carried over a reinforcement to the king's army. Happily however for the winter came on, and prevented the king purſuin advantage, or even keeping the field [b].

Eric *defeats* Magnus.

Nicholas *defeats the land army of* Eric.

Harold *deſerts to the king.*

BEFORE the next campaign *Sweden* revolted, and c *Licerco*, a nobleman of high rank, ſovereign. He i diately aſſumed his independency by a very extraordinar which was no other than debauching *Uvilda*, wife to *Nicholas*, whom, for the more ſecurity, he had ſen *Sweden*. Early in the ſpring *Nicholas* took the field joined battle with *Eric*, greatly inferior to him in ſtr and obtained ſo complete a victory, that *Eric* was for fly into *Norway*, accompanied only by his wife, his n ſon *Suen*, and a few attendants. Here he was at firſt received, until *Nicholas* bribed the *Norwegian* king to pu to death, or deliver him into his hands; but *Eric* eſcap danger by means of the queen his niece, who privatel him notice of what was tranſacting. Upon this he inſ wrote to his friends in *Langland*, to ſend a ſhip to *Nor* carry him off. The ſhip arriving, he artfully contriv

Eric *defeated by the king.*

Eric *flys into* Norway.

[b] SAXO GRAM. l. xiii. PONTAN. l. ix.

eſcape from the caſtle, where he was confined under pretence of being ſecure againſt the machinations of *Nicholas*, by inebriating the guard. As the ſhip's crew were determined to hazard all for their king, he ſoon found himſelf as ſafe as ſo ſlender a force could make him, and wafted into the midſt of his friends in *Langland*. As they coaſted along the ſhore, they found ſeveral of *Magnus*'s ſhips intirely deſerted by the crews, who were making merry on ſhore; and to prevent their being again ſerviceable, they bored them through the bottoms, and ſunk or deſtroyed them, with all poſſible ſilence and expedition. The report ſoon ſpread that *Eric* was eſcaped; but *Magnus* was in no condition to purſue him, his fleet being wholly deſtroyed [a].

ERIC, having now got among his friends, reſolved to make one more attempt to revenge *Canute*'s cauſe, puniſh the perfidious *Magnus*, and eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, to which he was elected by the people. His firſt ſtep was to hang up *Ubbe*, whom *Nicholas* had made governor of *Langland*; an ignominious death he juſtly merited, as one of the principal conſpirators againſt the life of *Canute*. After this he made a deſcent with a ſmall fleet on *Schonen*, which he ſoon reduced, by means of the friends he had among the inhabitants, who only wanted an opportunity of declaring themſelves diſſatisfied with their preſent government. Early in the ſpring king *Nicholas* entered upon meaſures to ſtop the progreſs of his rival. He raiſed an army, equipped a fleet, aſſembled the biſhops and his moſt warlike vaſſals, and ſent a number of ſcouts abroad to examine into the ſituation, number, and condition of *Eric*'s force. It was not long before advice was received, that *Eric* was boldly marching to attack the king, though ſupported but with a handful of men. The ſcouts, who had probably been corrupted by *Eric*, further declared, that he appeared like ſomething ſupernatural, riding upon a white horſe that raiſed him into the clouds, and cut the air with incredible velocity. *Nicholas* perceived, that either fear or treachery had occaſioned this phænomenon; but his ſoldiers judged otherwiſe, and fled with great precipitation to the ſhips, from which they could hardly be prevailed upon to return. In this confuſion *Eric* attacked the king, and after making great ſlaughter of his troops, intirely defeated him, having ſlain *Magnus* in the field, who in this laſt act played the hero, chuſing rather to die honourably than eſcape by an ignominious flight [b].

Eric *makes one more effort to recover the throne.*

Eric *defeats the king.*

[a] Meurs. l. iv. Gram. l. 13. [b] Aut. citat. ibid.

This

THIS news reaching *Norway*, the king *Magnus* was ſo incenſed at his wife for the information ſhe had given *Eric*, by which he eſcaped, that he ſent her back to *Denmark*. As to king *Nicholas*, he eſcaped with *Harold* into *Jutland*, where he aſſembled a council of the nobles, and declared *Harold* the ſucceſſor of his ſon *Magnus*, not from any perſonal regard he had for him, but to render it his intereſt to oppoſe his brother *Eric* with all poſſible virulence and animoſity. His next ſtep was to go in perſon to *Sleſwick*, in order to reconcile the inhabitants to him, who were greatly incenſed at the murder of *Canute* their governor. His friends had done all in their power to diſſuade him from this meaſure; but he was obſtinately bent on it. There had always been an annual feſtival held at *Sleſwick*, all the members of which were obliged, previous to their admiſſion, to vow revenge againſt whoever ſhould injure any individual of the ſociety. *Canute*, while he lived, had been conſtantly preſident of this ſocial club, and by his affability, kindneſs, and generoſity, had intirely won their affections. On the king's arrival they inſtantly flew to arms; and in the ſpace of a few minutes the city-gates were ſhut, the walls ſurrounded with armed men, every thing in commotion, and all means of eſcape cut off from *Nicholas*; who now, when it was too late, perceived his error, but determined to ſupport the conſequences with the intrepidity of an hero. His friends adviſed him to take ſanctuary in *St. Peter*'s church; but this he refuſed, that he might not pollute the holy altar with his blood, and by that means aggravate the crime of his infatuated people. However, he endeavoured to ſeize upon the citadel; but was ſlain in the tumult that aroſe between his guards and the citizens, after he had reigned for the ſpace of thirty-five years, according to *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Meurſius*; though *Pontanus* and *Suaningius* place his death in the year 1135[c]; and all writers agree, that he aſcended the throne in 1107. When his friends repreſented to him the danger of his going perſonally to a city ſo ſtrongly attached to *Canute*, he told them, that majeſty had nothing to fear from ſhoemakers and taylors; yet did he fall by the hands of thoſe very citizens he affected to deſpiſe, leaving this uſeful leſſon to his ſucceſſors, that moderation, affability, and clemency, are the ſureſt guardians of the crown; and popular hatred the moſt dangerous enemy in a free conſtitution (A).

Nicholas declares Harold his ſucceſſor.

Nicholas put to death by the Sleſwickers.

ERIC

[c] PONTAN. l. v. SUAN. p. 76.

(A) With *Nicholas* ended the reign of *Sweno*'s fifth ſon, agreeable to the promiſe he had on his death-bed exacted from his

E R I C IV.

As ſoon as the burghers had executed their deſign upon the king, they marched in a troop to the priſon, in which *Chriſtiern* had been confined ſince his defeat, and ſet him at liberty. Their next ſtep was to proclaim *Eric* king, agreeable to a former election in a full aſſembly of the nobility and commons of *Zealand* and *Schonen*. *Eric* having as yet no intelligence of what had been tranſacted in *Sleſwick*, was making preparations for finiſhing the war. Accordingly he paſſed over with his fleet to *Jutlana*, and here was firſt made acquainted with the death of *Nicholas*. Though he greatly rejoiced at this event, yet believing that neither his own authority, or the public tranquility, could be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed while his brother *Harold* lived, and claimed the enſigns of ſovereignty, he reſolved to march againſt him. *Harold*, on the other hand, hearing of the king's death, and *Eric*'s approach, was greatly perplexed how to act. His force was very unequal to his brother's; and hazarding a battle would therefore be expoſing him to the moſt imminent danger: yet he had no other alternative than flying into baniſhment. His two eldeſt ſons continued faithful to *Eric*, and were now in his camp: *Harold* however perſuading himſelf, that probably they were not deſtitute of filial affection, though honour obliged them to remain firm to their engagements, reſolved to conſult them ſecretly in what manner he ſhould act in ſo dangerous a conjuncture. A truſty friend had acceſs to them, and they, without heſitation, requeſted that he would eſcape with all expedition to the king of *Norway*, aſſuring him, that reſiſting a battle would be attended with certain ruin. Thus they acquitted themſelves like faithful adherents to *Eric*, and like dutiful children to *Harold*; but the former, having ſome intimation of this ſecret correſpondence, had them ſeized; and, after a ſhort impriſonment, ordered them, at the inſtigation of *Chriſtiern*, to be drowned in the river *Sley*, into which they were plunged headlong[a].

Eric IV. *79th king.*

Harold *greatly perplexed.*

He flies into Norway.

As ſoon as *Eric* had ſettled the ſtate of affairs in *Jutland* and *Sleſwick*, he returned to *Zealand*, where he found *Harold* ſupported by a ſtrong body of *Norwegian* auxiliaries, and pro-

[a] Meurs. l. iv.

his nobles; a circumſtance rather glorious to his memory than fortunate in the iſſue, as each reign was afflicted ſucceſſively with ſome uncommon misfortunes, which the reader muſt have obſerved in the peruſal of the preceding pages.

claimed

Harold *returns with an army, and* Eric *has his ſix ſons put to death.*

claimed king of *Denmark* at a diet held in that iſland. On this intelligence *Eric* ſpeedily returned to *Jutland*, and ordered five of the ſix remaining ſons of *Harold* to be put to death, without remorſe or pity, for their innocence and affinity to himſelf. As for the youngeſt ſon *Olaus*, he made his eſcape in a peaſant's dreſs to *Sweden* [b].

Eric *ſubdues* Rugen.

In the mean while the *Vandals*, encouraged by the inteſtine diviſions in *Denmark*, made a ſudden irruption into *Holſtein*, and laid waſte with terrible deſolation every place through which they paſſed. To repreſs their inſolence, *Eric* got together a fleet of eleven hundred ſail, embarking in each veſſel four horſemen, with their proper accoutrements, beſides foot; with which armament he paſſed over into their country, and ſoon reduced it. From thence he went to the iſle of *Rugen* to puniſh the inhabitants, who had not only aſſiſted the *Vandals*, but renounced Chriſtianity, exerciſed the moſt abominable and prophane pagan ſuperſtition, and, what more immediately concerned the ſtate of *Denmark*, the moſt deſperate piracy on the high ſeas. Having ſubdued them, he compelled the whole iſland to baniſh idolatry, to eſtabliſh funds for the reſidence of a biſhop to inſtruct them in the duties of the Chriſtian religion, and to ſwear allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*. However, they did not long continue their ſubmiſſion; for *Eric* was ſcarce returned to *Denmark* before they reſtored their idols, and baniſhed the Chriſtian prelate. He was preparing to puniſh them with more ſeverity, when the return of *Harold*, as we have mentioned above, diverted his intention. Hiſtory relates, that he ſoon removed this rival brother by aſſaſſination; but we no where find the particular circumſtances mentioned [c].

Harold *aſſaſſinated.*

An inſurrection in Norway.

During *Eric*'s reſidence in *Denmark*, ſome diſturbances aroſe in *Norway*, that terminated in the ruin of king *Magnus*. *Harold*, who claimed the crown in conſequence of his affinity to the late royal family, had ſo engaged the hearts of the *Iriſh*, among whom he lived for a great number of years, that they ſent him to *Norway*, attended with a conſiderable body of troops. An inſurrection of the people immediately appeared in his favour; and they inſiſted, that *Magnus* ſhould receive him as his colleague. This he refuſed, gave battle to the rebels and auxiliary *Iriſh*, and defeated *Harold*, who took ſhelter in *Denmark*, where he was kindly received by *Eric*. The truth was, revenge and policy, not humanity to the diſtreſſed, were the motives of *Eric*'s conduct. He conſidered this as a favourable occaſion of puniſhing *Magnus* for his

[b] Gram. l. xiv. [c] Pontan. l. v.

treach-

treacherous attempts upon his life, in contempt of all the laws of hoſpitality. *Harold* ſolicited his aid, and *Eric* made no ſcruple of promiſing it as ſoon as he had put an end to the affair, in which the revolt of *Rugen* now involved him. Againſt theſe iſlanders he ſet out a ſecond time, and ſo totally ſubjected them, that he apprehended no other rebellion for ſome years; after which he applied himſelf to the performance of his obligations to *Harold*; he augmented his land and ſea-forces, and paſſed over to *Norway* with a very formidable army, attended by *Harold*. Here he took ſome ſea-port towns; but *Magnus* declining battle, he returned to winter in *Denmark*, reſolving to reſume his operations early in the ſpring [a].

NEXT year he returned with a ſuperior force, and coming to a deciſive action with *Magnus*, defeated his army, and took him priſoner. His victory he diſgraced by his cruelty; for, to prevent all attempts to reinſtate the unfortunate king, he put out both his eyes, deprived him of his virility, and after this barbarous caſtration, encloſed him for life in a monaſtery, raiſing *Harold* to the throne.

Eric's cruelty to Magnus, king of Norway.

HAVING finiſhed the war in *Norway*, he returned to ſettle the domeſtic œconomy of *Denmark*, which had fallen in great confuſion during the long ſeries of civil and foreign wars, in which the nation was for ſeveral years engaged. While his mind was thus uſefully employed, an unfortunate diſpute among the biſhops, about the archbiſhopric of *Lunden*, then vacant. *Eſchil*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, ſupported by the people, and *Rico*, biſhop of *Sleſwick*, for whom the king entertained a perſonal friendſhip, on account of his attachment during the civil war, were the candidates. *Eſchil* raiſed an army, and obliged the king and *Rico* to retire to *Jutland*. Here they levied forces, returned to *Zealand*, gave battle to the haughty prelate, and took him priſoner, keeping him in cloſe confinement, until he was releaſed at an exorbitant ranſom, and the ſtrong interceſſion of the moſt powerful of the nobility.

The biſhop of Roſchild raiſes an army againſt Eric, and is made priſoner.

THIS diſpute being for a time laid aſide, the king reſumed his attention to redreſs the grievances of his ſubjects, in which he met with numberleſs difficulties; for, in eaſing the burthen of taxes laid on the commons, he offended the nobility, and, in granting new honours and privileges to the latter, he only fretted the chains of the former. This ſoon raiſed a ferment in the nation, which could be compoſed only by his death; an event that was treacherouſly brought about, while he was publicly adminiſtring juſtice in full court, near *Ripen*, where he was ſtabbed by one *Plogus*, ſurnamed *Black*, a no-

[a] SAXO GRAM. ibid.

Eric *murdered by* Plogus.

bleman of great diſtinction in *Jutland*. Thus died *Eric*, after a reign of ſcarce four years, reſigning with his laſt breath a crown which he obtained by many valorous exploits, and dignified by ſuch acts of popularity and juſtice, as long endeared his memory to the commons of *Denmark*. He obtained, ſays *Pontanus*, the ſurname of *Emund*, from his courage and the dangers he had ſurmounted; and of *Harefoot*, from his agility and ſwiftneſs, according to *Meurſius* and other writers [b].

THE royal family being almoſt extinct in the male-line, great diſputes aroſe in the diet about the ſucceſſion. Some propoſed *Swen*, the natural ſon of the late king; others again ſupported the claim of *Canute*, ſon to *Magnus*, and grandſon to *Eric*; while a third party, headed by *Chriſtiern*, of whom we have made mention in the late civil war, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Valdemar*, the ſon of *Canute* king of the *Vandals*, by his wife *Ingeburga*. There were many reaſonable objections ſtarted againſt all the three candidates: the firſt was a baſtard ſon to a prince, who was himſelf the fruit of an illegitimate embrace: the ſecond was a minor, and the ſon of a prince deteſted by the people, on account of the murder of their favourite *Canute*, and baniſhed the kingdom by a ſolemn decree of the diet: and laſtly, the third was ſo young, that dreadful conſequences were apprehended from ſo long a minority as muſt enſue from his election. However, the influence and addreſs of *Chriſtiern* ſurmounted this laſt difficulty, as the people were greatly diſpoſed to favour the offspring of a perſon they had perfectly adored. He ſent privately for *Ingeburga*, and introduced her and her infant ſon to the people, with a pathetic ſpeech, reminding them of the noble virtues of his father. The effect was ſudden, and the diet, with one voice, proclaimed him king; but *Ingeburga*, aware of the dangers to which the child muſt be expoſed by this exaltation, would by no perſuaſions conſent to his election, until a regent ſhould be appointed. She farther inſiſted, that the regent ſhould actually enjoy the badges and authority of majeſty during his natural life; that his ambition might be gratified, and all cauſe for conſpiring againſt the life of her ſon, removed. This was a wiſe precaution ſuggeſted by maternal tenderneſs, that probably ſecured the crown afterwards to *Valdemar*. So ſtrenuouſly did ſhe maintain this point, that *Eric*, ſurnamed the *Lamb*, from the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, was choſen regent or rather colleague to *Valdemar*, and ſole king during the young prince's minority. He was the ſon of *Hacquin*, who

[b] Ibid. etiam PONTAN. & MEURS. loc. citat.

had married the late king's daughter, and related to *Eric the Good*, by the marriage of his ſon *Harold* (A).

It was his temper which gave riſe to his elevation; for his known moderation, and extreme love of peace and tranquility, cauſed no jealouſy, leſt ambition might tempt him to diſturb the public quiet [a].

ERIC V. *ſurnamed the* LAMB.

ERIC V. had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when the diviſions among the clergy broke out afreſh with redoubled vigour. *Eſchil*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, as ſoon as death had removed *Eric*, who was the greateſt obſtacle to his aſpiring views, went over to *Schonen*, and by the conſent, and even at the perſuaſion of the inhabitants, aſſumed the title and authority of primate, without obtaining, or indeed aſking the permiſſion of the new king. The people were enamoured of the late archbiſhop; and as *Eſchil* was his relation, they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted that the dignity ſhould be kept in the family. This induced *Eric*, ſurnamed the *Lamb*, to maintain the pretenſions of *Rico*, biſhop of *Sleſwick*, patronized by the late king, and likewiſe to curb the ambition and inſolence of *Eſchil*. Obſerving, however, the obſtinacy with which the whole province of *Schonen* eſpouſed his cauſe, and that degrading him would neceſſarily be attended with a civil war, he dropped the deſign rather than diſturb the tranquility of the kingdom. The diſpute about this archbiſhopric of *Lunden* was the firſt occaſion the kings of *Denmark* had to repent their having inveſted their turbulent prelates with temporal authority, and elevated them to ſuch a pitch of grandeur, as rendered them haughty, inſolent, and even dangerous to their ſovereigns. In ſome meaſure to gratify *Rico* for his diſappointment, *Eric* made him chancellor of *Denmark*, and gave him the biſhopric of *Roſchild*, vacant by the removal of *Eſchil* [b].

Eric V. *ſurnamed* the Lamb, 80*th king*. A. D. 1139.

Eccleſiaſtical diſputes renewed.

Amidst theſe tranſactions, *Olaus*, the ſon of *Harold*, who eſcaped the maſſacre in which his brothers periſhed, by order of the late king, now returned to *Sweden*, and publicly demanded his father's eſtate that had been confiſcated. This the king refuſed, pleading a law paſſed in the reign of *Frotho the Great*,

[a] Saxo, l. xiv. [b] Saxo, ibid. Pontan. l. v.

(A) *Grammaticus*, *Pontanus*, and *Meurſius*, make uſe of the word *conſanguineus*, to expreſs this affinity, though improperly, as the alliance aroſe by the marriage of *Eric*'s ſon, and not by any mixture of blood with *Eric* himſelf (1).

(1) *Vid. Auct. citat. ibid.*

by which the eſtates of all perſons who had taken up arms againſt their king and country, were forfeited to the crown. *Olaus* finding that he could not avail himſelf of intreaty, law, or force, had recourſe to plots and conſpiracies. He endeavoured one night to aſſaſſinate the king in his bed-chamber; but was prevented by the guards, from whom he eſcaped with difficulty, and fled a ſecond time into *Sweden*. Returning thence into *Schonen*, he levied forces, aſſumed the regal dignity, and prepared to invade the whole kingdom. *Eſchil*, notwithſtanding his quarrel with the king, raiſed forces to oppoſe him, and performed the part of a loyal ſubject, but unſucceſsfully; for being defeated in the field, he retreated to *Lunden*, and was there beſieged by *Olaus*. After defending the city, which was ſecured by no walls, with great bravery, he was at length, from the ſcarcity of proviſions, forced to ſurrender it upon honourable terms. Some writers ſay that he was taken priſoner, and diſmiſſed, after ſwearing allegiance to *Olaus*, which oath he broke as ſoon as *Eric*'s army came near enough to protect him. He offered his ſervices to this prince, and took it upon him to cruſh the rebellion, provided his majeſty would furniſh him with a ſuitable army, which was readily granted. As ſoon as the prelate found himſelf at the head of a formidable body of men, he went in ſearch of the enemy, who did not decline battle. Here he was a ſecond time vanquiſhed, and returned to the king with apologies that were eaſily admitted, as his misfortunes could not be attributed to want of loyalty, but to unſkilfulneſs in a profeſſion no way appertaining to the character of a dignified prelate [c].

Attempts on the king's life.

Eſchil *raiſes forces for the king.*

OLAUS, elated with his two victories, began now to aſſume the king in reality. He plundered all the effects belonging to *Eric* and *Eſchil*; depoſed the latter from his archbiſhopric, and placed another in his room; revoked all the decrees made in this and the laſt reign; and laſtly, ſending his army into winter-quarters, making *Lunden* the repoſitory of their arms, he went over to *Schonen* with only a few attendants, as if the war had been wholly ended, and himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne. This imprudent ſecurity would have wrought his deſtruction, had not fortune interpoſed for his ſafety; for *Eric* receiving intelligence of his total neglect of military duty, collected a ſmall body of forces, and paſſing over in the night, attacked the enemy juſt as their camp was ready to break up, and while every thing was in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder. The conſequence was a complete victory, having taking four of *Olaus*'s generals, diſperſed his whole

Eric *defeats* Olaus.

[c] MEURS. l. iv.

whole army, pillaged his camp, reduced *Lunden*, ſeized his arms and magazines, and put to death the new biſhop, appointed by *Olaus* in the room of *Eſchil*, or, as others imagine, *Eſchil* himſelf, for having traiterouſly ſuffered himſelf to be twice defeated in the field [a].

OLAUS eſcaped to *Sweden*, from whence he ſoon returned with another army, and gave battle to *Eric*, in which he was a ſecond time defeated at *Glimſtorp*. Nor did this deſtroy his hopes, or any ways diſpirit him; for we are told, that in the ſame campaign he fought no leſs than twelve obſtinate battles with *Eric*, in all of which he was unſucceſsful. He had indeed an admirable talent at accommodating himſelf to circumſtances, and retrieving the ſituation of affairs, after they had been given over as loſt by all other men; but he never ſtuck at the means, whether honourable or not: his whole object was ſucceſs in whatever manner it was obtained. Finding therefore that all attempts in *Schonen* would be vain, he paſſed over ſuddenly into *Zealand*, and was here defeated by *Rico*, biſhop of *Roſchild*. Determining however to have his revenge, he gave out that he had quitted the iſland, and concealed himſelf with a ſtrong party of deſperadoes in a wood adjacent to *Rico*'s palace. This he attacked furiouſly in the night; but finding the doors too ſtrong to be forced, he called out for fire to conſume the building. *Rico* upon this demanded a parley, which being granted, he was going to remonſtrate with *Olaus*, when he was treacherouſly ſlain by his order, before he had well paſſed through his own gate.

Olaus *a ſecond time defeated.*

AFTER this infamous action *Olaus* returned to *Schonen* before *Rico*'s death could be known there; but *Eric* took his meaſures ſo well, that he had almoſt put an end to the war by a ſudden attack on the enemy, in which *Olaus* narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner. This was only a ſhort reſpite from the fate which impended; for he was ſoon after defeated and ſlain in a bloody battle fought juſt as he was upon the point of quitting *Schonen* [b].

Olaus *ſlain.*

THIS dangerous rival being removed, *Eric* applied his attention to compoſing the ſtate of the kingdom, greatly diſturbed by this tedious war. He married the ſiſter of the biſhop of *Bremen*, remunerated the nobles with ſome beneficial grants of eſtates forfeited in the late war, for the zeal and fidelity with which they had ſerved him, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many acts of piety, juſtice, and popularity, until at length he fell into an inactivity and indolence, that greatly impaired his reputation. To redeem his character he fitted

Eric *falls into indolent and ſhameful meaſures.*

[a] SAXO GRAM. l. xiv. [b] MEURS. l. iv.

out a fleet againſt the *Vandals*, who reſumed their piracies; but a lazy humour had now ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed him, that loitering on the coaſt of *Zealand* without keeping proper watch, he was ſurpriſed by the enemy, and very nearly taken priſoner. It is ſuppoſed that his fondneſs for his young queen had totally emaſculated his mind, and rendered him indifferent to every conſideration but domeſtic felicity, which he indulged to an exceſs of weakneſs. He now returned home after his ſhameful flight, without again attempting to wipe off the diſgrace, or repreſs the inſolence of thoſe barbarians. Next year he was ſeized with a fever, of which he died, leaving the reputation of a prince endued with excellent natural qualities, were they not corrupted, and at laſt obliterated by a ſhameful indolence, the conſequence of too uxorious a diſpoſition. On his death-bed he was weak enough to put on a monk's habit, looking upon that as a ſure paſſport to the manſions of bliſs; and in this apparel aſſembled his nobility round him, delivering to them his ſcepter. Yet though he reſigned the badges of authority, he could not bear to have a ſucceſſor mentioned; for when that was propoſed by one of the nobility, in order to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the *Vandals*, he turned round in wrath, and expired with ſentiments of reſentment [c] (A).

[c] HELM. Chron. Slav. l. i. c. lxviii.

(A) It deſerves notice that *Helmode* affirms this prince's ſurname was *Spac* (intimating an authority ſomewhat inferior to the badges of majeſty) and not *Lamb* (1); though it is probable he might have received the former appellation after the death of *Eric*, and the other before.

(1) *Helm. Chron. Slav. l.* i. *c.* lxviii.

SECT. V.

Wherein the Hiſtory is brought down to the Acceſſion of Canute VI. *in the Year* 1182.

SWEN IV. *and CANUTE* V.

Swen IV. *and* Canute V.

ON the death of *Eric* V. the kingdom was divided among three perſons, each enjoying a ſovereign and equal authority. Theſe are the words of the *Daniſh* writers, though it appears in fact, that *Valdemar* was ſtill in his minority, and enjoyed no part of the ſupreme authority. The *Zealanders*, at the perſuaſion of *Steno*, a perſon of great influ-

ence

ence, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Swen*, ſon to *Eric Emund*, and choſe him for their king. The *Jutlanders*, however, favoured *Canute*, the ſon of *Magnus*, and accordingly elected him for their ſovereign, until *Valdemar* ſhould arrive at the age of maturity. Whether he was then to ſhare the authority with the young prince, or intirely to reſign it to him, is not clearly determined by hiſtorians; but certain it is from this, that *Valdemar* had no certain diviſion of the kingdom appropriated to him during his minority; nor did he at all enjoy either the enſigns or authority of a monarch. He was educated indeed as the prince apparent and immediate ſucceſſor to the crown, had a houſehold and liberal appointments, but bore no ſway in the adminiſtration [a].

THE conſequence of this partition of power was an immediate rupture between the rivals *Swen* and *Canute*, that again involved the nation in a civil war. The latter taking advantage of *Swen*'s abſence in *Schonen*, where he was levying an army, invaded *Zealand*, reduced it, and drew *Eſchil*, the archbiſhop, into his intereſt; whence it appears, that this prelate was not put to death in the former reign, as ſome hiſtorians alledge. Endeavouring to join *Canute* in *Zealand*, the primate was taken, and, by order of *Swen*, incloſed in a cage, and ſuſpended in the ſteeple of his own cathedral, expoſed to the deriſion of the populace, afterwards impriſoned, and at length diſmiſſed at the requeſt of the pope, who interceded for his ſon. *A war breaks out between* Swen *and* Canute.

As ſoon as *Swen* had completed his levies, he embarked his army for *Zealand*, determined to drive the enemy out of the iſland. Both armies willingly came to an engagement, fought with the utmoſt obſtinacy, and made terrible ſlaughter, until victory, long hovering in ſuſpence, at laſt embraced the cauſe of *Swen*, and brought him ſuch an advantage, that his rival was compelled to retire to *Jutland*.

POPE *Eugenius* this year publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly enjoining all Chriſtian princes to combine againſt the infidels, which brought about a temporary reconciliation between *Swen* and *Canute*, that ended in a confederacy and junction of forces againſt the *Vandals*, who ſtill adhered to their pagan idolatry. Scarce had the allies arrived on the enemy's coaſt, when they were joined by the *Saxons*, and now the fleet was divided into three ſquadrons, who were to make their ſeveral attacks. *Swen* was unfortunate; for the inhabitants of the iſle of *Rugen*, in alliance with the *Vandals*, deſtroyed a great part of his fleet by a ſudden ſally. Terrified with this loſs the *Danes* re- A. D. 1148. Swen *and* Canute *reconciled, and march againſt the* Vandals.

[a] SVANING. p. 77.

imbarked, and, without any farther attempt, returned ho
upon which the civil diſcord was again revived betweer
The civil war again breaks out. rival princes. *Swen*, by his late defeat, was now inferi
ſtrength to his enemy; which deficiency he determin
compenſate by all the precautions ſuggeſted by the art of
He ſet about fortifying *Roſchild* in the ſtrongeſt manner,
Canute reſolved to impede the work as much as poſſible,
maintain his ſuperiority. Accordingly he paſſed into *Zea*
attacked the city, took the governor, who commanded a
of the beſieged, and, after putting out his eyes, and plur
ing the city, he reimbarked for *Jutland*, to recruit his
and prepare for giving battle to *Swen* [b].

In a ſhort time he returned, and meeting his rival at
ſter, a bloody battle was fought, that terminated to th
Canute *defeated.* vantage of *Swen*. Now *Canute* was not only forced to a
don *Zealand*, but before his return to *Jutland*, was deſert
two of the chief nobility, whoſe weight and valour proved
utmoſt importance to his antagoniſt. To this loſs
the influence of young *Valdemar*, now of age, who,
hatred to the ſon of his father's murderer, declared in f
of *Swen*, and accepted from him the government of *Sle*
Valdemar that had formerly belonged to his noble father. Young
declares for *demar*'s natural vigour, the influence he poſſeſſed in conſeq
Swen. of the people's affection for his parent, and the forces he
together, enabled *Swen* to retaliate upon his rival, and,
turn, to project the invaſion of his dominions [c]. *Val*
was accordingly provided with a fleet, and ordered to m
deſcent on *Jutland*; the firſt expedition he had ever u
taken. His courage and ardour to ſignalize himſelf ſoc
fuſed a ſpirit of intrepidity in his troops, that made th
deſirous of battle as their young leader. The opportuni
fered, and *Valdemar* embraced it with a chearfulneſs that
Canute noſticated a happy event. *Canute* was totally defeated
again de- whole army taken, killed, or diſperſed, and himſelf ol
feated. to fly for ſhelter to his ſtepfather, *Suerco* king of *Sweden*

SWEN, being thus freed from all apprehenſions abo
rival, reſumed the war againſt the *Vandals*, who had b
more inſolent by the late repulſe they had given the *I*
and by the civil diſcord that rent this miſerable people.
petuoſity and fire, mixed with a certain diſſipation of mir
inconſtancy, diſtinguiſhed the character of *Swen*. This
dered the war in general unſucceſsful, though he ſucc
in all his attacks upon the barbarians. As he never foll

[b] SAXO GRAM. l. xiv. MEURS. l. iv. [c] PONTAN.

his ſtroke, they always again made head, and were as inſolent at the end of *Swen*'s hoſtile operations as before [a].

During theſe tranſactions, *Canute*, leaving the court of *Sweden*, went to *Poland* to ſolicit aſſiſtance, and from thence to *Saxony*; at both which places he met with fair promiſes, the uſual conſolation of the unfortunate; and at length to the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, who received him into his protection. This prelate, having been deprived of ſome privileges which he claimed in *Denmark*, vowed revenge, and aſſiſted *Canute* with all his power. He likewiſe ſent truſty perſons to ſound the inclinations of the *Jutlanders*, who all declared they would take arms in favour of their prince, the moment he appeared with a proper force to protect them, while they were forming their levies. They did not deceive him with falſe hopes; for the moment he arrived, incredible numbers flocked to his ſtandard; and *Swen*, finding himſelf inferior in the field, took all neceſſary precautions for ſtanding a ſiege in *Wiburg*. *Canute* pitched his camp before the city, laid cloſe ſiege to it, and in time reduced the garriſon to great ſtreights for want of proviſions. *Swen* reſolved, in this emergency, to riſque every thing, rather than fall into the hands of his rival. Accordingly, attended by young *Valdemar*, he ſallied out in the night upon the enemy's camp, when a briſk action enſued. The beſieged fought with the deſpair of perſons who had all at ſtake, and the beſiegers determined not to be diſgraced by a handful of men. Both *Swen* and *Valdemar* performed miracles of valour; but eſpecially the young prince, who was preſent wherever danger and glory called. Fortune ſeconded their brave efforts; *Canute*'s army was intirely defeated, his camp pillaged, the ſiege raiſed, and himſelf forced to fly with a few attendants into *Saxony* [b].

Canute again invades Denmark, and beſieges Swen in Wiburg.

In the mean time, the *Vandals* had invaded *Funen*, burning and deſtroying the country with all the fury of incenſed barbarians; but *Swen*, marching againſt them, drove them out of the iſland, after defeating them in a pitched battle. To prevent their future depredations, he granted, with the conſent of the nobility, the power of making repriſals to all his ſubjects, who had ſuſtained loſſes by their deſcents and piracies. Theſe privateers at firſt compoſed but a ſmall ſquadron; but their ſucceſs ſo encouraged others, that in a ſhort time they became a formidable armament, under the conduct of one *Vithemar*. Their power rendered them no leſs a grievance to *Denmark* than the *Vandals* themſelves; for wherever they met with a ſhip fit for their purpoſe, they thought

The Vandals defeated, and a law paſſed in favour of privateers.

[a] Meurs. l. iv. [b] Saxo-Gram. l. xiv.

them-

themſelves ſufficiently juſtified in ſeizing upon her, if they ſ paid down her value to the owner. Other abuſes had lik wiſe crept in, which rendered it neceſſary for *Swen* to comp a certain ſet of laws to regulate their conduct. What th were, hiſtory does not inform us: we are only told, that th proved extremely beneficial and ſalutary; notwithſtandi which it was long before the ſea-port towns reſumed th ancient ſplendor, and trade recovered its wonted vigour [c].

A third attempt by Canute.

CANUTE in the mean time was not idle: after uſi every art to induce the *Saxons* to ſupport him, he went *Embden*, where he met with ſome encouragement, from t eager deſire with which he found the people poſſeſſed of rec vering their uſual liberty, as they imagined they ſhould, reward of the ſervices they propoſed doing *Canute*, ſhould be ſo happy as to be reinſtated in the throne. A ſmall arm was ſoon raiſed; but there wanted a fleet to tranſport it in *Sleſwick*. A few ſhips were therefore obtained from th dutchy, and every thing threatened the nation with a ne civil war. Nor was *Swen* leſs diligent in taking the prop meaſures to ſuppreſs this inſurrection. He levied troops wi ſuch expedition, and marched them, with *Valdemar* at the head, with ſo much celerity, that *Canute* was attacked, an the rebellion ſuppreſſed, before it was believed that *Swen* cou have intelligence of the riſing; and thus the unhappy prin was once more driven into exile. After *Swen* had puniſhe with death the ringleaders, impoſed a fine upon the reſt, an ſettled the good order of the country, he returned to *Den mark*.

Canute *once more driven into exile.*

He engages the emperor in his ſervice.

CANUTE reſolved upon one more effort; and accord ingly went to the court of the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa* craving his aſſiſtance, and promiſing, if he ſucceeded, to hol *Denmark* as a fief of the empire: an argument which weighe ſo powerfully with *Barbaroſſa*, that he cited *Swen* to appea before him. *Meurſius* ſays, that he ſent a polite compliment deſiring that the king of *Denmark* would favour him with a meeting at *Stadtberg*, then called *Marberg*, in order to renew the ancient amity between their predeceſſors; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that only affairs of importance prevented him from going more than half way. This ambaſſy was extremely agreeable to *Swen*, as it flattered his pride, and raiſed his ſelf importance. Without heſitation he embraced the propoſal and ſet out on the journey, attended by *Valdemar*, contrary to the advice of the ſenate and moſt prudent perſonages of the nation. On his arrival at *Stadtberg* he was magnificently re

[c] MEURS. ibid. PONTAN. l. v.

ceive

ceived at the firſt congreſs; but, in the ſecond meeting, *Frederic* began to accuſe him of having driven the lawful heir to the crown of *Denmark* out of the kingdom, and uſurped his throne. Then the emperor propoſed, that he ſhould hold his crown upon the ſame terms offered by *Canute*, or run the hazard of his vengeance. He told him, that, if he accepted the firſt, it ſhould be his endeavour to prevail on *Canute* to lay down his arms, and renounce all pretenſions, accepting of *Zealand* as an equivalent, which he ſhould hold for his life: in the contrary, ſhould he prove refractory, he threatened to divеſt him (*Swen*) immediately of the ſovereignty, and confer it on his rival. *Swen* perceiving now, when too late, the ſnare into which he had fallen, deſired that the matter might be debated before the aulic council, or a diet of the princes of the empire, each of the parties chuſing an advocate, upon whom he ſhould reſt his cauſe. This propoſition ſeemed ſo equitable, that *Barbaroſſa*, aſhamed to refuſe it, deſired he would fix upon his advocate. Accordingly *Swen* choſe *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*; and *Canute* made choice of the archbiſhop of *Bremen*. The cauſe was debated with great warmth, and *Leo* was near carrying the point for his client, when *Barbaroſſa* put an end to the argument, by decreeing, that they ſhould hold an equal ſhare of the ſovereignty, as colleagues; a determination with which *Swen* was forced to appear ſatisfied, though the injuſtice of it was flagrant and notorious to all the world. In conſequence, he was permitted to return to *Denmark*; but had no ſooner arrived at the capital, than, aſſembling his nobles, he wrote a letter to the emperor, by their advice; in which he upbraided him for his perfidy, and violation of the laws of nations and public faith. He told him, that his conſent to his unjuſt verdict being extorted, he was determined not to abide by a ſentence ſo partial and iniquitous; and that as he had not only obtained the crown by the election and free choice of his faithful people, but likewiſe held it by right of conqueſt, it was his reſolution not to participate his authority with the man he had ſo frequently vanquiſhed; and either to live a king, or die in maintaining his right and crown [a].

Treachery of the emperor.

The diſpute between Swen *and* Canute *referred to a diet of the empire; but* Swen *refuſes to ſtand by the emperor's verdict.*

AFTER this he entered upon a treaty of marriage with the houſe of *Saxony*, in order the more ſtrongly to unite families already linked together by friendſhip, neighbourhood, and mutual good offices; but this connexion, ſays *Grammaticus*, was the bane of his reputation, and the ruin of the kingdom. *Swen* began to emulate the luxurious and expenſive manners

[a] Vid. Auct. citat. ibid.

of

of the *Saxons*. The ſimple homely coarſe dreſs of *Denma* was changed for the more ſuperb and coſtly ornaments of t neighbouring country. The minds of the nobility were em culated with foppery, their eſtates ruined with pomp a oſtentation, and the public treaſury exhauſted by frivol ſhew and mere gaudy external grandeur. With dreſs a equipage, every other article of living was changed for a mc expenſive method; and the manly ruſticity of their anceſt laid aſide for a refined delicacy, better becoming wom than a nation reſpected only for its valour, hardineſs, a rough boldneſs. *Saxony* was in thoſe days to *Denmark* wh another nation, celebrated for the politeneſs of its manne is at preſent to our own. The low condition of the tre ſury introduced a train of bare-faced corruptions. Honours a preferments were beſtowed, for a certain price, on the me and unworthy. Merit was eſtimated by wealth, and cou favour beſtowed only upon thoſe who could adminiſter ſo time to its prodigality. Religion fell into diſcredit, with t decline of the practice of morality: and it is indeed obſervab that they are ever inſeparable, whatever ſtreſs ſome enthuſia may lay upon the merits of an implicit faith, in which, a cording to them, conſiſts true religion [a].

In this condition ſtood the kingdom on the eve of a w with *Sweden*, from which the pope's nuncio did all in h power to divert *Swen*. The motives for it were, a groſs a front put on the nation by the brutal conduct of *John* th ſon of *Suerco* king of *Sweden*. This young prince had vic lently carried off the wife of the duke of *Halland*, raviſhe her in the moſt ſavage manner, and then diſmiſſed her with a poſſible marks of ignominy. What the reaſons were for t brutal a conduct we are not told; but certain it is, th the whole kingdom of *Denmark* was fired with the deſire revenging ſo barefaced an injury; for however corrupted t minds of the nobility might be, the nation in general w not loſt to a ſenſe of public honour.

Swen invades Sweden.

In the beginning of the winter *Swen* led his army int *Finland*, where it was ſupplied with all neceſſaries by the vc luntary contribution of the inhabitants, who chearfully o fered a part of their ſubſtance to avoid being plundered the whole, and have their country laid in aſhes by the fu of the *Daniſh* ſoldiers. Croſſing the gulph he made a deſce on the coaſts of *Sweden*; and the inhabitants flying for ſhe ter into the mountains, were ſoon reduced by the pinchin cold and hunger to hazard a battle, in which they were d

[a] Saxo, l. xiv. Meurs. l. iv.

feated

d; after which they ſubmitted at diſcretion. Such was conſternation into which his arrival had thrown the e kingdom, that he would have found it an eaſy con-, but that the inclemency of the weather rendered it ffible for him to keep the field, and the badneſs of the , ſhut up by the hard froſts, prevented his penetrating the country to any diſtance from the ſea-coaſt.

VEN was ſcarce returned to *Denmark* with his army, an inſurrection in *Schonen* required his preſence. Not ng to exert force where gentle meaſures might prove ly efficacious, he demanded a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and e until he could hear the grievance. As ſoon as the r ſecurities were paſſed, the king, attended with a few of fficers, went over to the rebels, and harangued to very effect; for they grew more inſolent by his lenity, at-ing to fear what was really the reſult of his indulgence clemency. Preſently he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by armed and his life in imminent danger; but finding that all pts to eſcape would be vain, he again waved his hand, ignal that he wanted to be heard: but before he had a ſyllable, they began pelting him with ſtones; upon h *Tocho*, a man of quality in his train, called out to them rbear; for he himſelf would take it upon him to redreſs grievances, and, if the king ſhould oppoſe it, would be firſt man to lead them on to his deſtruction. Perfectly ied with this aſſurance, the tumult ceaſed, the mob diſ-d, and every man returned peaceably to his own home, e infinite ſatisfaction of the king, who was brought into critical circumſtances by theſe headſtrong peaſants [a].

Swen *almoſt murdered by an inſurrection of the peaſants in* Denmark.

s ſoon as the king was ſet free, he ſhewed his reſentment his impudent attack upon his life, by deſtroying the whole ntry, which he burnt to the ground, reducing the unhappy ves to the moſt extreme miſery. He permitted the ſol-s to indulge themſelves in every kind of exceſs, and to mit the moſt ſhocking barbarities: a conduct not to be fied, even by the cauſe of his reſentment. But his uſage *Tocho*, who had been the immediate inſtrument of his ſafe-admits of no apology or palliation: it was the baſeſt in-titude, and what alone ſufficiently ſtigmatizes his me-y to the lateſt poſterity. This honeſt courtier, moved h the diſtreſſes of the deplorable ſufferers, and with ſeeing ocence involved indiſcriminately in the ruin of the guilty, tured to intercede for them; a piece of humanity which king conſtrued into treachery, for which he ordered him

Swen's *ingratitude.*

[a] PONTAN. l. v.

to be put to death, as a perſon who had connived a fomented the rebellion [a].

Valdemar *eſpouſes the cauſe of* Canute.

THIS laſt action was ſo unpopular, that all men be ſwerve from their affection, and even *Valdemar* himſel licly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Canute*, rather than ſee a headed tyrant ſporting with the lives and felicity of h jects. *Canute*, the more ſtrongly to attach a prince o qualities to his intereſt, prevailed on *Suerco* king of to give him his daughter *Sophia* to wife, who was li ſiſter by the ſame venter to *Canute*. As *Valdemar* d ſeem very inclinable to the match, as the lady poſſeſſ dowry in *Denmark*, *Canute* willingly made over to him a of all he ſhould acquire, if fortune proved favourable. terms were accepted, and the marriage concluded, by of which theſe two princes were connected in the ſame by treaty, affinity, and intereſt, the moſt powerful ties [b].

THIS affair being concluded, they both returned to *land*; and *Canute*, leaving *Valdemar* to make prepara there, went himſelf to *Jutland*. *Swen*, having intelligen theſe proceedings, tried every meaſure to recal to his int young *Valdemar*, to whoſe courage, prudence, and pop rity, he was no ſtranger. For this purpoſe he went to at *Ringſtadt*, and expoſtulated with him on his breach truſt, and the perfidy of uniting himſelf with *Suerco*, avowed enemy of *Denmark*. He then produced a ſo anonymous letter wrote to him, with a view of diſſua *Valdemar* from engagements replete with diſſimulation villainy, contrived for his ruin. *Valdemar*'s apprehenſion quick, and immediately penetrated into the artifice of king. Upon which he gently upbraided him for contri ſo mean a piece of cunning, vindicated his own conc and lamented the meaſures which had forced him for public good to relinquiſh his engagements to his maj concluding with a ſhort recapitulation of his own ſervices the return they met with. *Swen*, full of reſentment at young prince's freedom of ſpeech, ordered him to be rounded by the ſoldiers, and carried off priſoner; but they refuſed out of reſpect to *Valdemar*; upon which king returned in a fury to *Roſchild*, and the prince jo his aſſociate in *Jutland*.

They invade Denmark.

Swen's *treachery*.

HIS relation of this tranſaction to *Canute*, had ſuch an e on the *Jutlanders*, that they all called out for arms to rev the indignity; but *Valdemar*, whoſe courage was equ

[a] MEURS. ibid. [b] PONTAN. l. v.

by his prudence and patriotism, endeavoured to assuage their passions, by representing the horrors of a civil war, in terms so pathetic, that they left the conduct of their affairs wholly to him. It was his intention to compromise their differences, and procure a partition of the sovereignty without shedding the blood of the subject. Accordingly he met *Swen* a second time, each being attended with a number of troops, and the issue was, that *Denmark* should be divided between *Swen*, *Canute*, and *Valdemar*; but we are not acquainted with the provinces assigned to each, only that the *Jutlanders* and *Slesswickers* insisted upon being governed by *Valdemar* [b]. Valdemar's moderation, and a partition made of the kingdom.

Public tranquility being established upon this footing, *Swen* attacked the *Vandals*, who during the late troubles had made a descent on *Zealand*, and penetrated to the gates of *Roschild*. They had also invaded *Funen*, *Falstria*, *Laaland*, and the smaller islands, which they entirely reduced, carrying off a prodigious booty. There was no security of property on any of the coasts of *Denmark*, while these freebooters moved about the sea at pleasure, and carried terror and desolation wherever they came. *Swen* checked them for a time, by a slight defeat they met with; but finding every part of his dominions insulted, he called in *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, to his assistance, promising him a subsidy of fifteen hundred pounds of pure gold, if he would co-operate in suppressing the barbarians. *Henry* first demanded the money, which being paid with great difficulty, he intirely neglected his engagements, and applied himself wholly to promote pomp, luxury, and pleasure at his court, at that time the most brilliant in *Europe*. The people were so enraged at *Swen*, that they wished for the opportunity of deposing him. They exclaimed that he had dishonoured the nation, by purchasing with immense sums of gold that tranquillity their ancestors used to demand by arms [c]. Vandals invade Denmark, and defeated by Swen.

SWEN, imagining that the disaffection of his subjects was fomented by *Valdemar* and *Canute*, neglected the *Vandal* war, in order to have his revenge on them. He could have but little dependence upon the force of arms, and therefore chose to have recourse to dissimulation and treachery, as the least dangerous method. Intending a visit to *Conrade*, his father-in-law, who resided in *Saxony*, he proposed to *Valdemar* to accompany him as far as *Slesswick*, the government of which he had obtained. *Valdemar*, though he knew the treachery of his disposition, yet generously accepted the pro- He lays a trap for Valdemar.

[b] Saxo Gram. l. xiv. [c] Meurs. l. iv.

posal,

poſal, believing that no man would be ſo diſhonourable as to be guilty of ſo flagrant a breach of hoſpitality and faith. On their arrival at *Stadt*, *Swen* ſent to *Conrade* to give him notice of his purpoſe, and deſiring he would take meaſures to ſecure the perſon of *Valdemar*; but *Conrade* honourably declined the buſineſs, ſaying, that he had rather himſelf, his ſon-in-law, and daughter, ſhould ſuffer the moſt ignominious and excruciating death, than commit an action which would render them unworthy to live. *Valdemar*, eſcaping through the integrity of *Conrade*, went immediately to *Canute* in *Jutland*; and, finding there was no reliance on the promiſes of *Swen*, began to levy forces. It was now that he firſt aſſumed the badges of majeſty, and not until he was forced to it in ſelf-defence. *Swen*, hearing of their preparations, began to enter upon meaſures to ſubdue them by force: perceiving, however, that the affections of the people were wholly alienated, he retired firſt with his wife and ſon to *Falſtre*, and then to *Saxony*, contrary to the advice of all his friends [a].

Valdemar *eſcapes the ſnare.*

CANUTE and *Valdemar*, who were yet unacquainted with the king's flight, tranſported their army into *Zealand*, where, meeting with no reſiſtance, they aſſumed the ſame ſovereignty they had done in *Jutland*, and received the allegiance of the people. In the ſame manner they obtained poſſeſſion of the reſt of the kingdom, while *Swen* lived an exile with his father-in-law in *Saxony*; after whoſe death he went to the court of duke *Henry*, and made him the moſt liberal offers, if he would aſſiſt to re-eſtabliſh him in his throne.

Swen *abdicates the throne.*

In this manner three years elapſed from his firſt abdication; but now *Henry*, excited either by his large promiſes, or emulous of the honour of reſtoring an unhappy exile, gave orders to the *Vandals*, who obeyed his authority, to equip a prodigious fleet, and invade *Denmark*; himſelf determining to march at the head of a *Saxon* army, and body of auxiliaries ſent by the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, by land. *Hathwick* likewiſe, in hopes of recovering a paternal eſtate which he claimed in *Denmark*, joined him in perſon, attended by a conſiderable body of troops. *Swen* was to pay him a ſum of money when the army ſhould advance to *Danewark*, the ſtrong wall raiſed acroſs the neck of land that ſeparates *Sleſwick* from *Denmark Proper*. Accordingly *Henry* marched through *Holſtein*, without offering any injury to the inhabitants. On his arrival at *Danewark* he found it ſtrongly garriſoned, and the officer determined to diſpute his progreſs; but, imagining that money would effect what force could not, he offered the *Dane*

Endeavours to recover it by means of the Saxons

[a] Gram, ibid.

he ſit

ribe too conſiderable to be reſiſted, and was ſuffered to paſs; ret, his buſineſs being done, he refuſed the traitor his reward, and even had him ignominiouſly put to death, ſhewing thereby his contempt of perfidy, and deteſtation of treaon, however convenient a tool the traitor might be. Thence *The Saxe* marched to *Sleſwick*, and took it by capitulation, after the *ons take* ity had ſtood a ſiege of ſome weeks, at length ſurrender- *Sleſwick.* ng for want of proviſion. His ſucceſs here enabled *Swen* o perform his engagements to *Henry*, and pay the ſoldiers heir arrears; for, ſeizing upon all the merchandize in the arbour, the booty was prodigious. The city, indeed, was uined by it, and the credit of a port which had been the mporium of the *Baltic* trade, and frequented by ſhips of all ations, who never again returned after this violence done to ommerce [b].

In the mean time a rebellion appeared in *Sweden*, which ad ſome influence on the affairs of *Denmark*. *Magnus*, a obleman of diſtinction, aſpiring at ſovereignty, procured the aſſaſſination of *Suerco* by one of the gentlemen of his bedhamber; then taking arms againſt his ſon *Charles*, was deeated and ſlain by him in battle. *Canute* was called thither by he queen his mother-in-law; upon which he devolved the whole care of the *Daniſh* monarchy on *Valdemar*, who prepared with all ſpeed to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the *Saxons*. His march was ſo rapid, that the *Saxon* army was ſeized with a panic, and even *Henry* himſelf with certain emotions of terror, which determined him to retreat with more precipitation than he had advanced. His excuſe was, that Lent now approaching the army might be ſtraitened for proviſions, ſince it would not be poſſible to ſupply ſuch a number of ſoldiers with the quantity of fiſh that would neceſſarily be conſumed, when they were confined to this diet; yet it appeared that fear was the chief motive of his flight, for ſuch it might truly be called, conſidering the vaſt quantities of baggage and proviſions he left behind. Certain it is, that he marched back the *The Saxe* ſame ſpace in two days that had employed the army for fif- *ons re-* teen in their progreſs to *Denmark*; a circumſtance that irri- *treat.* tated *Swen* beyond all meaſure, as he had now advanced the body. However, to ſatisfy him, *Henry* joined the *Vandal* fleet with a ſtrong ſquadron, gave the command of the whole to an experienced officer, and directed him to land *Swen* in *Denmark*, and ſupport him by every poſſible method. This *Swen* method promiſed more ſucceſs; for the fugitive king being *makes a ſe-* landed in *Funen*, all the inhabitants ſubmitted without reſiſt- *cond attempt.*

[b] PONTAN. l. v.

ance, and acknowledged him their ſovereign. Immediately he went to the city *Otho*, where he was received with the utmoſt joy, perſons of both ſexes flocking to him in crouds, and offering their lives and fortunes for his ſervice.

VALDEMAR ſent to *Canute*, then in *Sweden*, and both princes marched with an army to give battle to *Swen*; but *Valdemar*, deſirous to avoid the ſpilling of *Daniſh* blood, propoſed a ceſſation of arms, and a congreſs, juſt as the armies were ready to engage. *Swen* embraced the propoſals with an inſidious view, and the appointment was made in *Laaland*, where the nobility of the kingdom were to attend. Numberleſs were the attempts which *Swen* made upon the lives of his rivals, previous to this meeting; but they were all fruſtrated, the congreſs ſat, and the following terms were aſſented to by all parties. 1ſt. That *Swen* ſhould enjoy the title and authority of a king: 2dly, That an act of oblivion ſhould be paſſed: 3dly, That *Swen* ſhould be ſole ſovereign of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*: 4thly, That *Jutland* ſhould be the property of *Valdemar*: and, 5thly, That *Zealand*, *Funen*, and the neighbouring iſlands ſhould form the dominions of *Canute*; both the latter princes enjoying the badges and authority of monarchs within their ſeveral juriſdictions. This, in fact, appears to be the partition which ſome writers affirm was made immediately after the death of *Eric*. It was ratified by the diet, and each prince bound himſelf by an oath ſolemnly to obſerve it (A).

A new partition of the Daniſh *dominions.*

IT was not long before *Swen* ſhewed his diſlike to this partition; being upbraided it ſeems by his wife for accepting a third of the ſovereignty, which he ought to enjoy alone. In order to recover it he employed the moſt infamous means, which were no other than aſſaſſinating his colleagues by the hands of deſperate ruffians, while they were entertaining him with the utmoſt hoſpitality. His ſtrength and valour ſaved *Valdemar*, who made his eſcape after he had killed two of the ruffians who attacked him; but *Canute* fell by their hands. This event happened, according to *Eric* of *Pomerania*, in the year 1156, in the month of *Auguſt*; but *Albert* abbot of

Swen's *attempt againſt* Valdemar's *life.*

(A) There are writers who alledge, that *Valdemar* left *Swen* to chuſe what province he thought proper, which ſeems not only improbable, but contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Meurſius*. Theſe writers ſay, that the kingdom was thus divided, from the experience the two other princes had of *Swen*'s treachery in order they might always be at hand to lend mutual aſſiſtance (1).

(1) *Saxo, ibid. Meurſ. l.* x.

Stra-

Siadt places it on the ſame month in the year following. A. D.
He was a prince of a character very oppoſite to his father's, 1157.
and would have filled the throne with great reputation, and felicity to his ſubjects, but for the unhappy civil wars which neceſſarily attended ſuch a number of claimants [a].

VALDEMAR got in a ſmall boat to *Jutland*, and immediately on his arrival aſſembled a diet of the ſtates at *Wiburg*, relating before the whole people the late tranſaction at *Roſchild*: he ſhewed them the wound he received in the thigh, while he was ſtruggling with the villain *Thitleff*, who had deſcended from the rank of a nobleman to the character of an aſſaſſin. At ſight of the wound the whole aſſembly cried out with one voice for revenge, and offered their lives and fortunes to bring to condign puniſhment *Swen*, the moſt perfidious of all men: upon which *Valdemar* thanked them for their attachment, and aſſuring them that he would take up arms, not ſo much with a deſire to avenge his own private injury, as the public inſult, diſmiſſed the diet [b].

Now *Denmark* was again thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, before the people had well breathed from the hardſhips of the late civil war. Nothing was to be ſeen but the tumult of war, or heard but the din of arms. *Valdemar* well knew that *Swen* would not ſtop with this abortive attempt upon his life; he therefore made all poſſible preparations to oppoſe him. On the other hand, *Swen* uſed all his endeavours to reduce *Zealand*, and the other dominions of the deceaſed *Canute*, which he ſuddenly beſieged with his fleet, cutting off all intercourſe between the iſlands, in hopes of obliging them to ſurrender up *Valdemar*, who, he doubted not, lay concealed in ſome of the remote skirts of the iſlands. The more effectually to prevent his eſcape, he ordered all the boats and veſſels on the coaſts to be perforated at the bottom and ſunk. Afterwards he had all the fens, woods, and caves, diligently ſearched, but without meeting with *Valdemar*, who was now at the head of a powerful army, ready to march and puniſh his perfidy. *Swen* had even the preſumption to order proclamation to be made, that *Canute* and *Valdemar*, in defiance to all the rights of hoſpitality, had laid a ſnare for his life; but this palpable and notorious falſity ſerved only to render him more odious to the people, already too well acquainted with his character [c].

Another civil war breaks out.

FINDING that *Valdemar* had eſcaped to *Jutland*, he made a deſcent on that coaſt, but found it ſo well defended that he was forced to retreat. Next year he was invaded in his turn;

[a] MEURS. l. iv. [b] PONTAN. l. v. [c] SAXO GRAM. l. xiv.

Swen *defeated and ſlain.*

firſt his fleet was defeated, afterwards *Funen* taken, and then the two armies coming to a general action, he was defeated and ſlain in the purſuit, endeavouring to conceal himſelf amidſt the ruſhes which bordered a lake near *Granthead*, the place where this victory was obtained. Among the priſoners was *Thitleff*, who could not eſcape the ſoldiers vengeance, and was executed upon the ſpot; a puniſhment too ſlight for the villainy of his attempt baſely to murder two princes of ſublime merit.

THUS ended all the plots and machinations of *Swen*, in the month of *October* in the year 1157, by means of which *Valdemar* came to the ſole poſſeſſion of the crown of *Denmark*, after the kingdom had been continually involved in civil wars for upwards of ten years. It would be unneceſſary to ſum up the character of *Swen* after what has been related. Sufficient it is, that he was poſſeſſed of talents which might have perpetuated felicity to himſelf, had he known how to apply them. A fickle diſpoſition, a falſe heart, and a head bent on contrivances and ſecret plots, in which he employed the moſt infamous tools, characterize him from every other prince who had ſat on the throne of *Denmark*, and tranſmit his memory to poſterity with ſuch indelible ſtains of diſhonour as time can never efface (A).

VALDEMAR I.

Valdemar I. *82d king.*

VALDEMAR, now aſcending the throne of all *Denmark*, began his reign with ſeveral acts of clemency to his enemies, and among them *Magnus*, natural ſon to the late king *Eric*, one of the ſtrongeſt adherents of *Swen*. Thoſe only he puniſhed who committed actions worthy of death, had they been his friends. He blamed no man for acting according to principle and inclination, provided he fought like a generous enemy; it was vice, without regard to party, that felt the ſcourge of his diſpleaſure [a].

Valdemar *grants an amneſty.*

HE next turned his attention to the barbarians, who had never ceaſed, from the firſt riſe of the civil war, to harraſs the

[a] SAXO GRAM. l. xv. PONTAN. l. vi.

(A) *Meurſius* relates, that his name was held in ſuch deteſtation, that the diet came to a reſolution never to elect a king of his name, and all future kings have, for that reaſon, been careful to avoid it in baptizing their children (1). By his wife *Adelheida*, daughter of *Conrad*, he left a ſon, an only child, whoſe name we are not told (2).

(1) *Meurſ. l.* v. *p.* 97. (2) *Saxo, ibid.*

coaſts

coaſts and ſhipping of *Denmark*. He prepared a fleet to invade the *Vandals*; but the expedition was laid aſide by the advice of the ſenate, and on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions.

In this as in the former reigns ſharp diſputes aroſe among the clergy about the ſee of *Roſchild*, now vacant by the death of *Rico*, whom *Meurſius* falſely calls *Aper*. Theſe feuds cauſed an inſurrection of the burghers, who deſpiſing the king's authority, inſolently attacked and beat his procurator. The incenſed *Valdemar* entered the city, at the head of a body of troops, and would have ſeverely puniſhed their temerity, had they not made their ſubmiſſion, and voluntarily mulcted themſelves in a large ſum of money. After this he ordered four of the principal clergy, the moſt celebrated for learning and piety, to be choſen candidates, among whom was *Abſalon*, his old friend and ſchool-fellow. One of theſe was to be elected by ballot; and upon a ſcrutiny it appeared, to the great ſatisfaction of *Valdemar*, that *Abſalon* was raiſed by univerſal aſſent to this high dignity.

The Vandals invade the ſmall iſlands.

Having thus, by his prudence, terminated the eccleſiaſtical diſputes which had often, particularly in the former reign, been carried to an open rupture, he reſumed his intention of puniſhing the *Vandals*. Juſt as he was preparing to invade them, they anticipated him, by making a deſcent on the ſmaller *Daniſh* iſlands, from whence they were quickly driven. After this they ſpread themſelves over the coaſts of *Jutland*, and over-run the iſland *Falſter*, before a proper number of troops could be got together to oppoſe them. At length a fleet of light ſhips was ſent out under the conduct of *Abſalon*, biſhop of *Roſchild*; or, according to *Grammaticus*, under the king in perſon, who reconnoitred the enemy in the harbour of *Lunden*, and found their armament greatly ſuperior to his own, and conſiſting of two hundred and ſixty ſtout ſhips. This made him defer fighting until a reinforcement arrived, before which time his fleet was diſperſed by a ſtorm. The ſame misfortune happened to the ſecond fleet he equipped, *Valdemar* very narrowly eſcaping the fury of the waves. Towards the end of the year, however, he came to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeated them, being greatly aſſiſted by *Periſlove*, ſon to *Nicotes*, prince of the *Vandals*, who embracing Chriſtianity, ſought refuge with *Valdemar*, and was by him made governor of the ſmall iſles [b]. This victory was obtained off *Rugen*, which iſland the king plundered and deſtroyed (B).

Vandals *defeated.*

Re-

[b] Meurs. l. v.

(B) This iſland is ſituated in the *Baltic*, on the coaſt of *Pomerania*, and at preſent does not exceed nine leagues in length,

A. D. 1161. RETURNING home laden with ſpoils, in order to repair his fleet and renew the war, he was followed by the *Vandal* ambaſſadors, who ſupplicated peace with ſuch ſubmiſſion, that the good king, laying aſide his juſt reſentment, granted their requeſt. Their unbridled inſolence, however, drew down upon them that vengeance next year from which their ſervile obedience ſaved them at this time. It would appear that only a ceſſation of arms was granted by *Valdemar*; for *Grammaticus* ſays, that the *Vandals* ſent back *Domboro*, their former ambaſſador, to conclude the treaty, and demand hoſtages for its performance; his directions being beſides, to accept of no terms but ſuch as were honourable. *Domboro* firſt applied himſelf to *Abſalon*, who he knew had the king's ear, and told him, that the firſt article of his inſtructions was to demand hoſtages; to which *Abſalon* replied, that the *Danes* were not accuſtomed to grant ſuch terms to their inferiors whom they had vanquiſhed. He then acquainted the king with the purport of the embaſſy, with which he was ſo offended, that he ordered *Domboro* to quit his dominions, without giving him any anſwer.

A. D. 1162. IMMEDIATELY he prepared for war; but his fleet was ſo long wind-bound, that, fearing the conſequences of a long delay, he endeavoured to prevail on *Henry* of *Saxony*, to chaſtiſe the *Vandals*. Induced by a large ſubſidy, and the hopes of extending his dominions, *Henry* accepted the propoſal, and agreed to attack the enemy by land, while the king ſhould diſtreſs them by ſea. In conſequence the *Vandals* were reduced to great extremities, having loſt a battle which they hazarded with the *Saxons*, and their king, who was ſlain fighting with great intrepidity, amidſt heaps of his ſlaughtered enemies, and diſdaining to turn his back, though he was deſerted by all his army beſides a few faithful guards. His head was fixed on a pole by the *Saxon* ſoldiers, carried triumphantly to their duke, and ſent by him to the king juſt at the time when he was at ſupper with *Periſlove*, the ſon of the deceaſed. That prince, after he had paid the tribute due to nature, and ſhed tears over the head of his parent, ſaid with more than ſtoical hardneſs, "that he thanked God for thus puniſhing impiety," diſclaimed the brave *Niclotes* for his father, and diſ-

The king of the Vandals *ſlain.*

Unnatural conduct of his ſon.

length, though it is confidently aſſerted, that its dimenſions were formerly larger, being joined with the little iſland of *Ruden*, now ſeparated by an arm of the ſea. It formerly had the ſtrong town of *Arcona* for its capital, ruined in the year 1168 by *Valdemar*, as we ſhall ſee (1).

(1) *Vid. Baudrand Voc.*

tinguiſhed

tinguiſhed himſelf a true barbarian by his want of filial affection, a principle ſo ſtrongly and wiſely implanted in the human breaſt. *Valdemar* himſelf ſeemed diſpleaſed at this overſtrained Chriſtianity, gently rebuked the young prince for his impetuoſity and want of natural feeling, and ordered the head to be buried with the honours due to the valour of the deceaſed [a].

NOTWITHSTANDING the death of their king, the *Vandals* ventured to engage the *Daniſh* fleet, which they ſurrounded in a ſhallow creek, whither they had been driven by a ſtorm. Here the *Danes* fought to great diſadvantage, their large ſhips being intirely uſeleſs; but, animated by the preſence of their king, and, encouraged by his example, they not only repulſed the enemy, but obtained a complete victory. This, with two other defeats they ſuſtained, compelled them to ſue for peace in the ſame abject manner they had done before; to which the king acceded upon the terms he thought fit to impoſe, in order that his preſence in *Denmark* might appeaſe ſome tumults occaſioned by *Eſchil*, archbiſhop of *Lunden*. Vandals *ſue for peace.*

DURING the conteſt between *Alexander* and *Victor*, about the papal dignity, the biſhop of *Sleſwick* dying, one *Occo* was ſubſtituted by *Victor*, with *Valdemar*'s approbation, in his room. This promotion was diſagreeable to the archbiſhop *Eſchil*, who eſpouſed the cauſe of *Alexander*, and declared the election void, prohibiting *Occo* from the uſe of fire and water, after having firſt excommunicated him. What increaſed the prelate's fury was the loſs of a large ſum of money ſent to him from *France*, which he imagined had been ſeized by the king's order at the inſtigation of *Occo*. This made him ſend a haughty meſſage to *Abſalon*, deſiring him to acquaint *Valdemar*, either to return the treaſure or prepare for war. *Abſalon* was ſhocked with the inſolence of this meſſage, and declined informing the king of the expreſs terms uſed by the proud prieſt, though he told him enough to raiſe his indignation, and make him threaten to puniſh the archbiſhop. *Eſchil*, upon reconſidering the matter, began to opprehend the effects of the royal vengeance, and ſought an apportunity of appeaſing it, without diminiſhing his own dignity. With this view he withdrew to a remote part of the country, from whence he propoſed to accommodate the breach: but *Valdemar* collecting a body of troops, laid ſiege to *Lethra*, a ſtrongly fortified city which *Eſchil* had built in the midſt of a moraſs. The ſiege was tedious, but at length the city was forced to ſurrender for want of proviſions, but chiefly by a ſtratagem which *Valdemar* con- Eſchil *rebels againſt the king.*

[a] SAXO, l. xv. MEURS. l. v. PONTAN.

trived. *Gerhard*, the governor, had before demanded a parley, and promiſed to ſurrender the place within a limited time, if *Eſchil* did not come to its relief, and, as a pledge of his faith, he put the archbiſhop's grandſon into the king's hand, and immediately acquainted *Eſchil* of what he had done. The prelate's anſwer was to defend the town to the laſt extremity, for he valued it far above the life of his grandſon. Upon this hoſtilities recommenced, and the king forged a letter, in which he makes *Eſchil* retract his former ſentiments, expreſs great concern for his grandchild, and order *Gerhard* to deliver up the city rather than let his life run any hazards. The more ſtrongly to enforce this letter which *Valdemar* pretended to have intercepted, he ordered a gibbet to be erected before the walls, in which he threatened to hang up the hoſtage if the keys were not ſent to him within an hour; and the governor finding him peremptory, and his maſter's orders expreſs, complied. Here he left a garriſon, and paſſed over to *Schonen*, reducing all the ſtrong holds within the dioceſe of *Lunden* [b].

Eſchil's *ſubmiſſion.*

THE king's rapid progreſs obliged the proud *Eſchil* to ask peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms; but upon this mortifying condition, that the archbiſhop ſhould reſtore to his majeſty all the donations of former kings to the ſee of *Lunden:* thus the primate fooliſhly incurred the diſpleaſure of a prince, who always expreſſed a high regard for the clergy; leſſened his own dignity; loſt the baſis of his power, his ſtrong-holds, and involved his dioceſe in calamities, which, during his life, it never recovered, and for which he was blamed by all degrees of men. Still, however, the prelate continued his machinations againſt pope *Victor*; nor could he be drawn from his attachment to *Alexander*, though he had like to involve the nation in freſh commotions, and ſubject his ſovereign to the diſgrace of being kept a priſoner at the court of the emperor, who had laid a ſcheme for that purpoſe.

Snare laid for Valdemar.

VALDEMAR, having by his vigour and penetration eſcaped all the ſnares placed for him, determined more ſtrongly to fortify his dominions on the *German* ſide, and to build ſtone baſtions at *Danewark*, which before conſiſted intirely of wood. While he was thus employed an ambaſſy came from *Norway*, offering him that crown, provided he would drive out *Erling*, who had invaded the kingdom. *Valdemar*, that he might not raſhly embark in a foreign war, took care to ſound the ſentiments of the people before he made any reply; and finding they were ſtrongly affected to him, promiſed

[b] MEURS. l. v.

ſpeedy

y aſſiſtance. Croſſing over with an army, he was joy- *The Nor-*
received; and traverſing the country to *Tonſberg*, was in *wegians*
city crowned king of *Norway*, in a full aſſembly of the *offer him*
s; though it was obſervable, that not a ſingle biſhop or *the crown.*
te clergyman was preſent, notwithſtanding their great
ence in *Norway*. A ſcarcity of proviſions, however,
ed him to return to *Denmark*, attended with a great
ber of the *Norwegian* nobility, who choſe to live in exile,
r than ſubject themſelves to the indignation of *Erling*.
prince ſtill continued with a ſmall army in *Norway*;
now, taking advantage of the king's retreat, made a
nt on *Jutland*, and ruined and deſtroyed the *Daniſh* fleet
rode at anchor on the coaſt, returning laden with ſpoils
enmark. It was, indeed, a great overſight in *Valdemar*,
he did not make it his buſineſs, while he was in *Norway*,
deavour to drive out *Erling*, inſtead of ſpending his time
lling aſſemblies of the ſtate, which muſt ever be ſubject
e ſtrongeſt military power [a].

RLING was married to *Chriſtina*, couſin to *Valdemar*, a A. D.
of prudence and valour ſuperior to her ſex. She, finding 1163.
if the war was protracted, her huſband muſt neceſſarily
under the weight of *Valdemar*'s power, took the reſolu-
of going in perſon to the king, and endeavouring to
a reconciliation. Having provided herſelf with a paſſ- Erling
ſhe croſſed the ſeas, and was kindly received by *Valde-* *king of*
who was pleaſed with her good ſenſe and ſpirit, and Norway
ured her with a great many audiences. When ſhe *comes over*
ed ſhe had ſoftened his reſolution, ſhe detached a meſ- *to* Den-
r to *Erling*, who ſuddenly joined her, and preſented mark, *and*
elf before the king, telling him, "See, *Valdemar*, the *ſubmits to*
nfidence I place in your generoſity, thus to put myſelf Valdemar
to your hands, even without your word for my ſecurity:
at I know the greatneſs of your ſoul, and though your
nemy, have no apprehenſion of being treated as ſuch
hile I am your gueſt." To this *Valdemar* replied, "You
ay ſafely confide in me: it is not my cuſtom to abuſe the
nfidence repoſed in my hoſpitality." Upon which *Er-*
approaching reſpectfully, kiſſed the king's hand, and
ined peace, upon condition that he ſhould himſelf remain
ſtage in *Denmark*, and *Eſbern* be ſent to govern the king-
n of *Norway* in quality of viceroy for *Valdemar*; who, in
rn, conferred upon *Erling* ſeveral dignities and lands of
ſiderable value for his ſupport [b].

[a] PONTAN. l. vi. [b] SAXO GRAM. l. xv.

No

No ſooner was the tranquillity of *Norway* eſtabliſhed than new inſults from the *Vandals* occaſioned a renovation of the war; and that it might be carried on with vigour, *Valdemar* entered into a freſh alliance with the duke of *Saxony*; and the more firmly to cement their friendſhip, a contract of marriage was executed between *Canute*, prince of *Denmark*, and *Gertrude*, an infant, the daughter of *Henry Leo*, the duke. The plan of operations was ſettled, and *Henry* ſent a body of horſe into the enemy's country, while himſelf followed with ſlower marches at the head of the infantry; the king blocking up the ſea-ports, and oppoſing the *Vandal* navy. An ambuſh was laid for the *Saxon* horſe, by which they were at firſt defeated, till *Guncelin*, a *Saxon* general, rallied them, and renewed the fight with ſuch intrepidity, that the enemy, intent upon plundering, were driven out of the field, and victory wreſted out of their hands. Notwithſtanding this, *Henry* was ſo much incenſed at the repulſe his troops had met with, that, entering *Pomerania*, he carried terror and deſolation wherever he marched.

A. D. 1164. *Alliance between* Denmark *and* Saxony.

On the other hand, *Valdemar* finding the *Vandals* had drawn their forces from the fleet, the better to oppoſe the *Saxons*, landed his troops, and marched to the city of *Vologaſt*, or *Wolgaſt*, the capital of *Swediſh Pomerania*, then the country of the *Vandals*, which he found deſerted by the inhabitants. They, however, dreaded that he would ſet fire to the city, and ſent ambaſſadors to aſſure him of their allegiance, provided he would reſtrain his ſoldiers from plundering and deſtroying their houſes. The propoſal was accepted, on condition that *Rugen* ſhould pay a tribute, and give hoſtages that the inhabitants would ſhut up the mouth of the river *Pene*, which was a neſt for pirates; that, dividing the city into three parts, they would obey *Toliſlaw*, *Caſimir*, and *Priſlaw*, as governors anſwerable for their conduct to the king of *Denmark*; and laſtly, that the duke of *Saxony* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all his conqueſts in *Pomerania* [b].

Rugen *ſubmits to* Valdemar

This treaty of peace did not hold long; for next year the citizens of *Wolgaſt*, diſliking the adminiſtration of *Caſimir*, entered into a ſecret alliance with the people of *Rugen*; in which, indeed, *Henry* of *Saxony*, the good ally of *Valdemar*, was a party, and began new depredations upon *Denmark*. *Valdemar* was incenſed more at the perfidy of *Henry* than the inconſtancy of the *Vandals*. Without delay he invaded *Rugen*; and by the conduct of the faithful *Abſalon*, who, though a biſhop, ſhewed the capacity and courage of a ſoldier, reduced

[b] Meurs. l. 5.

any of the moſt important places; after which he to his own dominions, to refreſh his ſoldiers. After day he again came back, and laid ſiege to the ſtrong *Arcona*, well fortified by nature and art. Such were difficulties he met with from the ſituation of the place, ur of the beſieged, that, breaking up his camp, he to the interior part of the country, which he laid . The *Vandals*, terrified at the deſolation he made, o *Henry Leo* for the promiſed aid; but being put off arious pretences, they once more received the yoke, d a peace at a heavy price, and gave hoſtages for rity of payment. They likewiſe agreed to abjure and embrace the Chriſtian religion, which *Valdemar* preliminary article to the treaty.

AT this time it was that *Valdemar* laid the foundation ity of *Dantzic*, ſo famed for its opulence and freedom. it was compoſed of the huts of poor fiſhermen; but r conferring certain privileges and immunities, it came a flouriſhing place of trade, and not the leaſt t of that glorious reign. Some writers indeed affirm, city owes its origin to *Sobiſlaw*, prince of *Pomerania*; *Daniſh* hiſtorians, and the accurate *Crantzius*, with e attribute the honour to *Valdemar* [c]. Dantzic *built*. A. D. 1165.

he king's return from this expedition, the diet taking ideration the danger to which the kingdom would be , ſhould any misfortune befal him in the wars in which conſtantly engaged, humbly propoſed, that his ſon then but four years of age, ſhould be taken as his , and conſequently his ſucceſſor in the throne. The who was by no means diſpleaſed with their requeſt, y complied, and *Canute* was accordingly proclaimed *Denmark*, conjointly with his father, by univerſal ; without we except *Buriſius*, young *Canute*'s kinſ- who had himſelf ſome deſigns upon the crown, and e refuſed his vote at the election. *Valdemar* put up e affront for a time, but did not forget it: he ſaw the views of *Buriſius*, and reſolved not only to fruſtrate ut to puniſh the author, as ſoon as a fit occaſion ſhould).

NEXT

[c] L. ii. Hiſt. Saxon.

We muſt obſerve, that *Pomerania* is the only who denies that *Canute* is year made an aſſociate in the government. He affirms, on the contrary, that in the year 1177, or twelve years afterwards, when he was fourteen years

NEXT year great preparations were ſet on foot f ſuch a blow to the *Vandal* power, as ſhould for a wh pacitate them to diſturb the peace of *Denmark*, if not t ſtroy the ſtate. Almoſt all the inhabitants of *Schonen*, and *Funen*, fit to bear arms, went forth under the c *Abſalon*, *Magnus*, ſon to *Eric Lamb*, and *Chriſtopher*, ſon to the preſent king. They entered the enemy's and without mercy ſet the whole in a flame; but did to any action with their main army. Next year th tion was repeated, in which the *Danes* had the good f deſtroy part of *Arcona*, the capital, and ſtrongeſt hold i

A conſpiracy formed againſt Valdemar

WHILE *Valdemar* was gathering laurels againſ enemies, he received a letter from *Henry* duke of *Sa* quainting him with the impending danger from dom *Buriſius*, his brother *Ormos*, and *Erling* of *Norway*, cretly conſpired againſt his life, and concerted a making themſelves maſters of *Jutland*, which was p an intercepted letter from *Norway*. They had engag of the nobility in the plot, and had taken their m well, that nothing but this early intelligence could h *Valdemar*. The king immediately ſeized upon ſuc traitors as were within his reach, and ſent *Abſalon* wi to intercept *Erling* and *Ormos* in their return for *Abſalon* obeyed his orders, and defeated their fleet; not the good fortune to take *Erling*, who eſcaped vour of a dark night. *Buriſius* was already a priſo authors differ about the nature of his puniſhmer *Grammaticus* ſays, that he was confined for life i *Eric* of *Pomerania*, that his eyes were put out; *Albe* of *Stadt*, that he was ſtrangled; and others, that ſmothered under a feather-bed [a]. Nor are they le about his name, the former writers calling him *Bur* the abbot, *Borcius*, placing it among the tranſactio year 1173, though on what authority we are left t ture.

A. D. 1167.

ABOUT this time it was, that *Abſalon* built the *Stegelburg*, afterwards called *Exelhuſia*, then *Hafnica*, the celebrated port and city of *Copenhagen*. The int

[a] Vid. apud PONTAN. Notæ ad Hiſt.

years of age, he was made king of *Halland* and *Schonen*, in order to eaſe his father of the load of ſo extenſive dom (1).

(1) *Vid. Eric. Pom. apud Meurſ. l.* v. *p.* 105.

this caſtle was to awe the pirates, and afford a ſafe protection to the *Daniſh* ſhips of commerce, and fleets.

NEXT year was uſhered in with preparations for attacking *Erling*; but from this *Valdemar* was reſtrained by certain advice, that *Henry Leo* duke of *Saxony* had entered into a ſtrict alliance with *Bogiſlaus* prince of the *Vandals*, who had ſought his protection againſt the *Danes*, and received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſupport. There could be nothing more abſurdly inconſtant than the conduct of *Henry*: ſometimes forming alliances with *Valdemar*, cementing them with the ties of blood, and proving his friendſhip by diſcovering to him the machinations of his enemies, at other times, and perhaps within the ſpace of a few months, contracting alliances with his inveterate enemies, contriving ſchemes with them for *Valdemar*'s deſtruction, and ſhifting diametrically oppoſite to the ſentiments he had lately eſpouſed. The truth is, *Henry*'s profuſion and magnificence always rendered him neceſſitous, and every tie of honour and affinity yielded to his wants. Money was the actuating ſpring of all his conduct, and the firſt and largeſt ſubſidy confirmed his friendſhip. *Valdemar* was not ignorant of this diſpoſition; but he diſdained purchaſing alliances at the expence of his people, except when emergencies required it. The preſent occaſion might well be reckoned ſuch; for *Denmark* was hardly ever in a more critical ſituation, or beſet with more enemies. On the one ſide were the *Vandals* and *Saxons*; on the other, *Erling* and the *Norwegians*; ſo that *Valdemar* had reaſon to dread a deſcent from the while he was acting againſt the other, unleſs his ſtrength were ſufficient to guard againſt both at the ſame time. His firſt care, therefore, was to fortify the coaſt of *Zealand*, the ſuperintendance of which he committed to *Eſburn Snare*, who built a number of ſtrong caſtles and towns in the moſt commodious places. He next employed *Gondeſcal*, a man of high diſtinction, that had paſſed the firſt years of his life among the *Vandals*, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of their manners and language, to break the league between them and *Henry* of *Saxony*; which buſineſs he chearfully undertook, and effected with ſuch conſummate addreſs, that the *Vandals* taking arms, drove all the *Saxons* out of their garriſons and country [b].

A. D. 1168. Henry Leo *breaks his alliance.* Denmark *ſurrounded with enemies.*

HENRY was terrified with this very extraordinary and hidden change in their councils, for which he could aſſign no cauſe, the *Daniſh* agent having come over with ſuch privacy, that not a ſyllable tranſpired to the public. Dreading leſt

[b] MEURS. l. v. GRAM. l. xvi. PONTAN. l. v.

Valde-

Henry Leo *ſues for peace.*

Valdemar ſhould ſeize this opportunity of puniſhing his ry and fickleneſs, he ſent ambaſſadors to him to apolo his conduct, and promiſe meaſures more ſteady and c for the future. As his eldeſt daughter, betrothed t *Canute*, was dead, he offered the younger ſiſter in r upon the ſame terms; requeſting, at the ſame time terview at *Bremen* with the *Daniſh* monarch, in orde the laſt hand to the propoſed treaty.

A new alliance between Leo *and* Valdemar *againſt the* Vandals.

THE princes met, and it was agreed they ſhould jo againſt the *Vandals*, *Henry* marching to *Demin*, and *V* to *Wolgaſt*. The devaſtation they made was terril unbecoming Chriſtian princes, were it not abſolutely r to repreſs thoſe barbarians by cruel methods, that ou to be uſed againſt a people more civilized, and who fo regulated laws of war. This conduct had the effect; *Vandals*, perceiving nothing but deſtruction before th from ſo ſuperior a foe, purchaſed peace with a large money, and gave hoſtages for the ſecurity of the paym

HAVING finiſhed matters on the ſide of the *Vanda demar* turned his arms againſt *Norway*; but afte fruitleſs attempts to bring *Erling* to a battle, he r home with his fleet. The ſoldiers had begun to c of long confinement on board, in ſearch of a fugiti eluded all their endeavours; a ſcarcity of proviſions b prevail in the fleet; and the winter was now appro when he would be in danger of being frozen up. circumſtance which contributed to his return, before done any thing deciſive, was inteiligence, that the had again revolted, notwithſtanding the low eſtate t he had lately reduced them. He now determined full tirpate this perfidious and obſtinate people, and for t poſe formed an alliance with *Bogiſlaus*, prince of *Po* After ravaging different parts of the iſland, he ſat dow

Arcona *beſieged and taken.*

Arcona, the ſuburbs of which had been deſtroyed in the war. Nature never, perhaps, formed a ſtronger than this place, itſelf ſtanding on a high promontor the eaſt, north, and ſouth ſides defended by ſteep a precipices, inacceſſible to men; and the weſt by a w feet high, proportionably thick, and ſecured by a d broad ditch. Undiſmayed by the difficulty, he ſet ab ſieging it, and carried on his operations with ſuch ſ perſeverance, that the garriſon was forced to ſurrend the conditions he thought fit to impoſe. One in pa was, that the *Rugians* ſhould deſtroy a temple they had to St. *Vitis*, and deliver up the vaſt treaſure of this god, which he had amaſſed by a tax on the conſcience

ſolved to withdraw from his alliance: a meaſure which
o diſturbance to the *Daniſh* monarch, who had now ac-
ſhed his buſineſs.

E beginning of this year was employed in acts of piety A. D.
father's memory. He ſent an ambaſſador to *Rome*, to 1169.
im canonized; and on the day of his return, with the
aſſent, he convoked the people at *Ringſtad*, and ſolemnly
med his ſon *Canute* an aſſociate in the throne, and his
or: an event which has greatly perplexed hiſtorians,
eſpect to the chronology, as we have already ſeen. His
are was the firm eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in *Rugen*,
ich place a number of the clergy was ſent, to inſtruct
rude barbarians in the truths of the goſpel; and the ſu-
endency of the whole was committed to *Abſalon*, his fa-
e prelate[b].

IESE acts of piety were conſiderably diſturbed by the *The* Cour-
es of the *Eſthonians* and *Courlanders*, againſt whom he landers
a fleet under the conduct of *Abſalon*, ſtrictly enjoining *ſubdued.*
o beware of their ſnares and ambuſhes. *Abſalon* how-
was entrapped, and a great part of his army, which he
iſembarked, cut off. This loſs he ſoon retaliated upon
nemy, whom he blocked up in port; and at length,
ing them to an action, totally vanquiſhed.

ON after this tranſaction, the ſucceſſion was ſtrengthened
e birth of a ſecond prince, whom the king called after
wn name; and, to augment the general joy, ambaſſadors
d from *Erling* to ſue for peace, and obtain leave that he

A. D. 1170. *Conditions of the treaty.*

ſeem hard. 1ſt, That *Valdemar*, the new-born prince, youngeſt ſon to *Valdemar*, ſhould be educated at the expence of *Norway*, and enjoy the title of duke of that country: 2dly, That this young prince ſhould ſucceed to the throne of *Norway*, provided that he (*Erling*) and his ſon *Magnus*, died without male iſſue. 3dly, That *Erling* ſhould ſerve in *Valdemar*'s wars as a vaſſal of *Denmark*, and have ſixty ſhips ready to put to ſea on the firſt notice. 4thly, and laſtly, That not only *Erling*, but all the nobility of *Norway*, ſhould ratify and confirm theſe conditions by oath, and a written inſtrument, ſigned with their hands, and ſealed with the great ſeal of the kingdom, as well as the private ſeals of individuals (A).

Deſign formed by the Vandals *againſt* Valdemar

PEACE being concluded in this quarter, the king found it neceſſary to repel ſome freſh inſults, committed by the reſtleſs and barbarous *Vandals*, who could neither ſupport war nor peace. While the king and his general *Abſalon* were taking their towns, and ravaging their country, a deſign was concerted by *Caſimir*, *Henry Leo*, and *Bogiſlaus*, for giving a deciſive blow to the *Daniſh* power, by ſurrounding the king, and obliging him to ſurrender with his whole army at diſcretion. Their deſign was diſcovered and fruſtrated by *Valdemar*'s reſolution, and the prudence of *Abſalon*, who had raiſed himſelf a number of enemies, by the ſhare he poſſeſſed of the royal confidence. They now accuſed this brave prelate of having betrayed them to the enemy; but the king knew his merit, and was too diſcerning not to penetrate through the thin veil of patriotic diſſimulation. Committing, therefore, the whole care of extricating the *Danes* out of this difficulty to the biſhop, the event anſwered his hopes. *Abſalon* took ſuch precautions, and made ſo good a diſpoſition, that *Caſimir* found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of retreating or fighting upon unequal terms. He choſe the former; the *Danes* were delivered, and the character of *Abſalon* raiſed above envy. In a word, ſo glorious was this expedition, that the power of *Caſimar* and *Bogiſlaus* was intirely broke; the deſigns of the fickle but ambitious *Henry Leo* fruſtrated; moſt of the towns in *Pomerania* obliged to give hoſtages for their future quiet behaviour; and the *Vandal* princes ſo exhauſted and reduced, as to oblige them to ſeek protection in *Saxony*.

The Vandals *defeated.*

(A) It is difficult to aſcertain with exactneſs the date of this tranſaction. *Pontanus* in one place ſeems to refer it to the year 1172; but he afterwards acknowledges, that his account is taken from an old chronicle which places it in the year 117 or four years after the firſt attempt (1).

(1) *Pont. l.* vi. *p.* 256.

ADVICE of this being received in *Denmark*, *Valdemar* made another deſcent on *Pomerania*, and laid ſiege to *Stetin*, then the beſt fortified city in all that country. With ſuch vigour did he carry on his attack, that *Wratiſlaus*, the governor and kinſman to *Caſimir* and *Bugiſlaus*, was driven to extremities, and forced to capitulate (A). A. D. 1172.

A COTEMPORARY writer, cited by modern hiſtorians, ſays, that *Valdemar* made but little progreſs in his approaches, and muſt have raiſed the ſiege, had not the garriſon been diſtreſſed by famine. This produced a conference between the king and *Wratiſlaus*; they were ſtruck with each other's qualities, and entered into a ſtrict friendſhip, after which the king had beſtowed the city upon the governor as his own property, and he, in return, promiſed fealty to the crown of *Denmark*.

VALDEMAR was wholly employed in ſettling the affairs of *Pomerania*, and the *Vandal* country, till the year 1177, which produced a conference between him and *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, for adjuſting their mutual rights and claims. Authors however are not agreed about the nature or end of this congreſs: we are only told, that in conſequence of it, another expedition was undertaken againſt the *Vandals*, in which *Abſalon* gathered freſh laurels, *Valdemar* great addition of glory, and the whole kingdom of *Denmark* an increaſe of wealth, by the prodigious quantity of rich booty brought home. But we know not, whether this expedition was entered upon in conſequence of an agreement between *Valdemar* and *Henry*, or whether the latter bore any part in it. Certain it is, that next year they acted as enemies; the guardians of the young duke of *Holſtein* levying ſoldiers in *Saxony*, in order to make war upon *Denmark*. His uſual good fortune attended *Abſalon*; the enemy were defeated, and the *Danes* again permitted to enjoy the fruits of this victory. A. D. 1177.

Diſturbances in the Lower Saxony.

BUT the repoſe conſequent on theſe advantages were ſoon again diſturbed by freſh commotions in the dutchy of *Bremen*, and other parts of the circle of *Lower Saxony*. The *Saxons* highly reſented the late diſgrace of their countrymen, and, fired with the deſire of revenge, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner in order to march againſt *Abſalon*; but being met by the fugitives, who eſcaped from the late defeat, their courage

(A) As our only guides thro' the period of the *Daniſh* hiſtory, ſubſequent to *Valdemar*'s reign, are *Pontanus* and *Meurſius*, who is here a mere copier, it may be ſufficient that we refer the reader to the laſt book of *Saxo Grammaticus*, the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth books of *Pontanus*, and the third book of the ſecond part of *Meurſius*, without quoting every particular page.

was ſomewhat repreſſed by the relation they received of the extraordinary proweſs of *Abſalon*'s army, and the good conduct of the general. *Olimar*, a *Vandal* prince, on whom the command was beſtowed, finding that all his endeavours would only ſerve to haſten his own ruin, went over to *Valdemar*, and obtained peace from that generous conqueror.

A. D. 1178. *Conference between* Valdemar *and* Leo *of* Saxony.

NEXT year was introduced by a new conference between *Valdemar* and *Henry Leo*, now elated by his conqueſts in *Bavaria*. *Henry* propoſed this meeting, in order to ſettle the differences between them, and thereby ſecure his frontiers againſt the incurſions of the *Danes*, during his neceſſary attendance at the diet, and the emperor's court. The banks of the *Eyder*, a river emptying itſelf into the *Baltic*, between the dutchies of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*, was the place fixed on for the congreſs; but ſuch was *Henry*'s pride, that he refuſed croſſing the bridge, or going to the oppoſite ſide where the king was. *Valdemar* only ſmiled at the ridiculous dignity, and went half way over the bridge to meet this haughty ſovereign prince. Here matters were adjuſted to their mutual ſatisfaction, *Valdemar* yielding points of no conſequence in order to obtain others of real benefit, conducting himſelf throughout the whole congreſs with the ability of a ſtateſman, and the moderation of a great king and conqueror.

SUBSEQUENT to this treaty concluded between *Denmark* and *Saxony*, were a variety of incurſions, tumults, and rebellions, among the fickle, unſteady, and predatory *Vandals*, who were neither able to oppoſe the power of *Valdemar*, or to reſt ſatisfied under his dominion, though he exerted the rights of conqueſt with all poſſible mildneſs and lenity. The recital however of ſuch unimportant and unintereſting events would be tedious to the reader. Suffice it, that they were conſtantly defeated, conſtantly ſuing for peace, and no leſs conſtant in taking up arms again upon every opportunity. In a word, nothing ſeemed capable of ſecuring *Denmark* on this ſide, but the total extirpation of ſo perfidious, barbarous, and warlike a people. This ſcheme had often been reſolved upon by *Valdemar*, at the inſtigation of his faithful counſellor *Abſalon*; had frequently made large ſtrides towards its final execution, but ſome freſh difficulties intervened, or the clemency of the diſpoſition was always wrought on by the ſupplications of the vanquiſhed.

A conſpiracy diſcovered.

DURING the *Vandal* war, a conſpiracy ſet on foot by *Canutus*, ſon to *Eric the Lamb*, was happily diſcovered. The young prince had ſided with *Swen*; and being made priſoner in the laſt battle, was ſet at liberty and kindly treated by *Valdemar*, at a time when he expected the moſt ſevere

niſhment. Unmindful of this inſtance of goodneſs, he joined with *Canute* and *Charles*, nephews to *Eſchil*, in a plot to deſtroy the king. Some of the conſpirators, who were gone to *Holſtein* upon buſineſs, chanced to lodge an evening in the hut of an old hermit, by whom they were kindly accommodated. After they were in bed they began to talk upon the important ſubject in hand, expreſſing among other things their aſtoniſhment, that the king ſhould, for ſo long a time, eſcape the machinations of *Canute*, *Charles*, *Magnus*, and other conſpirators, who had vowed his deſtruction. The hermit, ſeparated from the ſtrangers only by a wicker partition, overheard their diſcourſe, and next morning communicated it to the abbot, with his requeſt that it might be inſtantly tranſmitted to *Abſalon*. By means of this accident, *Valdemar* was informed of his danger, and by ſuch unaccountable and trivial circumſtances are the moſt important diſcoveries and hazardous deſigns, frequently laid open through the wiſdom of Providence, who purſues her great ſcheme in a manner inſcrutable to men. *Valdemar* immediately conſulted with *Abſalon* the means of avoiding the impending ſtorm; and for this purpoſe it was agreed, that the guard ſhould be doubled with as much expedition and privacy as poſſible, and every other meaſure taken that could enforce the king's ſecurity; yet, without diſturbing the public tranquility, or uſing violence upon the conſpirators, until more ample proofs could be procured. It was not long before ſome letters wrote by *Magnus* were intercepted. In theſe a full account of the conſpiracy was contained; and *Valdemar* openly producing them in the aſſembly of the ſtates, confronted him with his own hand and ſeal. At firſt he pretended to deny the hand-writing, affirming it to be an impudent forgery; but ſuch circumſtantial proofs appeared, that in the utmoſt confuſion he fell upon his knees before the king, confeſſed the whole, excuſed himſelf by ſaying that he had been led away by the ſubtile policy and ambition of *Charles* and *Canute*, and concluded with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of loyalty and fidelity, if his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly to pardon this paſt offence. The good and merciful king, moved with his repentance, granted his requeſt, and impoſed no other puniſhment on his ingratitude and treachery, than forbidding him the court for a certain time. *Chriſtiern*, ſon to *Canute*, who likewiſe enliſted himſelf with the conipirators, was pardoned, on condition that he would immediately leave the kingdom.

When the aſſembly broke up, *Eſchil* and the relations of *Canute* and *Charles*, made all poſſible intereſt with the king to paſs an act of oblivion, in which all the conſpirators, without

The endeavours of the nobility to get an act of amneſty paſſed.

exception, ſhould be included. They had even found means to engage *Abſalon* in this requeſt; but *Valdemar* was inexorable, thinking it neceſſary to make ſome examples, and believing very juſtly, that too much lenity and indulgence would only tempt them to a repetition of their crime, eſpecially as they ſaw themſelves ſupported by ſo powerful an intereſt. *Eſchil* was ſo chagrined with his diſappointment, that he reſigned his mitre, and retired to a private convent in *France*. The event proved the wiſdom and prudence of the king's opinion.

Magnus *makes freſh attempts.*

Magnus was no ſooner at liberty than he began a ſecret correſpondence with *Charles* and *Canute*, in order to make a ſecond attempt on *Valdemar*'s life. The meſſenger between them was taken up, the plot diſcovered, and *Magnus* ſeized and cloſely impriſoned: but before his trial a freſh war broke out with the *Vandals*.

A. D. 1179.

We are told that the occaſion of this war was their ſeizing upon the portion of a daughter of *Denmark*, which was ſent by the ambaſſadors of *Henry Leo* into *Saxony*. From hence it would appear, that a treaty of marriage had been executed between the families of *Denmark* and *Saxony*, though we are informed expreſly of no ſuch marriage. On the contrary, all the *Daniſh* writers we have ſeen mention, that a daughter of *Valdemar*'s had married towards the cloſe of the year 1178, a prince, whoſe name is not known, which ſeems the more extraordinary, as *Grammaticus* wrote his hiſtory either in this or the following reign, and might, on that account, be ſuppoſed perfectly informed of ſo public a tranſaction. Be that as it will, *Valdemar* entered into an alliance with *Saxony* againſt the *Vandals*. The inhabitants of *Rugen* were, on this occaſion, ordered to take up arms, as their ſervices it was thought would greatly promote the deſigns of the allies, from their perfect knowledge of the country. As ſoon as the troops could be aſſembled, and tranſports got ready, the *Vandals* were aſſailed on one ſide by the king, who deſtroyed the ſtrong fortreſs in *Wollin*; and by *Henry Leo*, who attacked *Demin*. The ſiege of this place he carried on with great aſſiduity, but little progreſs, and at laſt was forced totally to abandon it. The king, on his ſide, was more ſucceſsful; for after deſtroying *Wollin* he laid ſiege to *Coſcoa*, and having reduced it to extremities, burnt the town to aſhes. Then laying the ſurrounding country under heavy contributions, he puſhed his march to *Wolgaſt*, which he beſieged ſo vigorouſly, that the inhabitants were glad to be relieved from the diſtreſs to which he reduced them, by paying a large ſum of money, and reſtoring to him prodigious magazines of plunder, that had been depoſited there by the pirates.

An alliance between Saxony *and* Denmark *againſt the* Vandals.

Anne

AFTER theſe exploits *Valdemar* returned to *Denmark*; but having received ſome freſh inſults, he determined to puniſh the *Vandals* with ſtill more ſeverity, and accordingly ſent a fleet and army againſt them, under the conduct of his ſon *Canute*, *Abſalon*, and *Frederic* biſhop of *Sleſwick*. The young prince, for the firſt time, appeared in the field to be initiated in the art of war by the prudent and ſucceſsful *Abſalon*. *Frederic* periſhed in a ſtorm before he had any opportunity of ſerving his maſter, or exerciſing his proweſs: but notwithſtanding this loſs, *Canute* and *Abſalon* purſued their courſe with ſuch aſſiduity and diligence, that they ſurpriſed many of the enemy in their houſes, who expected not ſo ſudden a viſit. They laid waſte the country, ſet fire to a number of towns and villages, beſieged *Wolgaſt*, and forced the brothers *Caſimir* and *Bugiſlaus*, to ſue for peace, and purchaſe it upon terms very advantageous to *Denmark*. Beſides repaying the marriage portion of which the ambaſſadors had been robbed, they agreed to lay down in money, the ſum of two thouſand talents, together with preſents of an hundred pounds of ſilver, to *Canute* and *Abſalon*. Having thus finiſhed the war in one campaign, the generals returned to *Denmark*, and were graciouſly received by *Valdemar*, with very extraordinary marks of approbation and favour.

Young Canute takes the command of the army.

THEY reſided but a few days at court, enjoying their repoſe, when the affairs of the ſtate again called them into the field. The rebels *Canute* and *Charles*, who had fled to the governor of *Gothland*, had by his means, and their intereſt with the people, got together a conſiderable body of troops, with which they invaded *Halland*. Here they expected to be joined by crowds of the peaſants; but finding themſelves diſappointed, and the whole country firm in its allegiance to the king, they retired to a large wood that forms a frontier to *Gothland* and *Halland*. Here they hazarded a battle, in which they were defeated, and the rebel army totally ruined, ſuffering the juſt puniſhment inflicted by heaven upon conſpirators, ſo tenacious of treaſonable principles, a vicious ambition, and diſaffection to one of the beſt of princes.

The rebels defeated.

NEXT year *Henry Leo*, who was put under the ban of the empire by *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, took ſhelter with *Valdemar*, and was treated with the diſtinction due to his rank. His pride was now humbled, and he readily croſſed the bridge over the *Eyder*, which, but two years before, he had refuſed to do out of punctilio and a ſcrupulous regard to his dignity. *Valdemar*, to whoſe generous diſpoſition misfortune was the ſureſt recommendation, promiſed him all the aſſiſtance in his power, without abſolutely breaking with the emperor; but the re-

queſts of *Henry* were of ſo extraordinary a nature, that he found it impoſſible to comply with them, without being unjuſt to the people and clergy, whom he governed and was bound to protect.

A revolt in Schonen.

WHILE this tranſaction was on the carpet, a revolt appeared in *Schonen*; to appeaſe which the king immediately diſpatched *Abſalon*. The people of *Schonen* were tumultuous and inexorable; they believed themſelves oppreſſed, and would hear of no terms but a poſitive compliance with their remonſtrances, and redreſs of their grievances; upon which *Abſalon* returned to *Zealand*, and laid their complaints before the king and ſenate, or rather council of the nobility. Although *Abſalon* was perhaps the moſt concerned of any other, yet with a noble ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs, he pleaded ſtrongly, that the firſt article of their remonſtrance ſhould be redreſſed. Foreigners, and among the reſt himſelf, had long enjoyed the lucrative poſts and places belonging to this province, while the natives were excluded, and the principal nobility of *Schonen* forced to live in indolence on their eſtates, without any ſhare in the adminiſtration. This was a grievance inſupportable to a free ſpirited people, and ſimilar to ſome complaints we have lately heard from a neighbouring country. *Meurſius* indeed affirms, contrary to *Grammaticus*, that *Abſalon* ſtickled hard for the royal prerogative of chuſing whatever officers the king thought fit, knowing that thereby he was promoting his own intereſt. But the firſt opinion is not only more conſiſtent with the character of this patriot miniſter, and with the event, but is atteſted by the beſt cotemporary writers of *Daniſh* affairs. *Abſalon*'s ſentiments were, however, over-ruled by a majority, and, inſtead of redreſſing the grievances of the diſaffected, a letter filled with promiſes, ſoothing, and cajolings, on the one hand, and dreadful menaces on the other, was ſent to the malcontents. This more and more incenſed a people already irritated, and inflamed them to ſuch a degree that they broke out into open acts of rebellion. They refuſed to pay the uſual taxes, and particularly the biſhop's tythes, and reſtored to the inferior clergy their antient privilege of marriage. The ſtroke was levelled at the biſhops, and particularly at *Abſalon*, the primate of all *Schonen*. They inſiſted that the ſuperior clergy were only an unneceſſary load upon the people, fattening upon the ſpoils of the land, while their flocks were left to find heaven in their own way, or by the aſſiſtance of the inferior clergy, who were not rewarded in proportion to their ſervices, or, in ſuch a manner as to render their ſituation eaſy and independent.

PERCEIVING

PERCEIVING they were not to be wrought on by gentle means, *Valdemar* reſolved upon uſing force. The troops were aſſembled at *Helſenburgh*, the van led by the king in perſon, and the rear by *Abſalon*. In their march the latter was groſly inſulted by a mob of fiſhermen, who flocked together in a tumultuous manner, and preſumptuouſly flung ſtones at the good prelate, even while he commanded a ſtrong body of troops. His majeſty was enraged at ſo bold an inſult, and determined to puniſh the offenders with the utmoſt ſeverity; but was perſuaded by the moderate and prudent *Abſalon*, to let it paſs as an ebullition of that noble ſpirit which characterized this people. He then again exerted all his influence with the king to liſten to their complaints. He inſiſted, that people ſo tenacious of their freedom, muſt be bold and intrepid, and of conſequence the beſt ſupports of the regal authority duly adminiſtered: in a word, he uſed ſuch prevailing arguments, that *Valdemar* determined to avoid bloodſhed. All thoſe perſons who were obnoxious to the malcontents were removed from their places; *Abſalon* reſigned his biſhopric, and accepted of one greatly inferior in power and profit, and the province was in a fair way to be ſettled, when ſome of the more turbulent, who found their own intereſt in the public diſturbance, ſpirited up the people ſtill to refuſe payment of the biſhop's tythes, or, in other words, inſiſted upon the abolition of this order of eccleſiaſtics. *Abſalon* himſelf now loſt all patience, and, with the king's leave, laid the inſurgents under ſevere interdiction. For a while they perſiſted in their obſtinacy, but were at length tired out by the firm conduct of *Abſalon*, and the clergy, whom he had gained over to his intereſt. The inſurrection was not, however, terminated without blood. Two battles were fought, in both of which the malcontents were defeated, and at length reduced to the neceſſity of obeying, upon the king's terms, which were more reaſonable and mild than they could expect. *The tumult ſuppreſſed.*

ABOUT this time *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, reſolving to deprive *Henry* duke of *Saxony* of every friend capable of ſupporting his cauſe, endeavoured to draw off *Valdemar* from his attachment to him, by ſome propoſals equally honourable and advantageous to *Denmark*. Theſe were a double alliance by marriage; propoſing that the king's two daughters ſhould be matched with his two ſons, one of whom was to ſucceed to the imperial diadem, the other being already duke of *Suabia*. The *Daniſh* nobility eaſily perceived, that theſe overtures were made rather from enmity to the duke of *Saxony*, than friendſhip for *Valdemar*; and the king, joining with them in opinion, profeſſed no great eagerneſs for the alliance: but his

queen interfered, and used all her influence to prevail on him to accede to proposals which might render her daughter queen of the *Romans* and empress of *Germany*. In compliance with her humour a grand fleet was equipped, and *Valdemar* went to meet *Barbarossa* at *Lubec*. He was met on the banks of the *Trave* by a great body of the *German* nobility, who conducted him with all imaginable pomp to the imperial quarters. Here he was treated by *Barbarossa* with every possible mark of respect: his person and address were the admiration of the *Germans*, who could not avoid making public comparisons between the monarchs, no way to the advantage of *Barbarossa*, whose appearance and aspect were mean. After visits had passed, business at length was brought on the carpet, when *Barbarossa*'s demands in point of fortune appeared so extravagant, that *Valdemar* and the *Danes* began to question his sincerity. The king positively refused the portion he asked for his eldest son; but at length consented to what was demanded for the duke of *Suabia:* upon which the treaty was concluded, sworn to, and guarantied by *Bela* III. king of *Hungary*.

Conference between the emperor and Valdemar

MATTERS being thus finished, the king went on board the fleet that waited for him, with intention to sail the first wind; but next morning he was surprised by a visit from the emperor in person, escorted only by a few of the nobility. Immediately the two princes retired from company, and *Barbarossa* earnestly requested the king, that he would permit him to bestow the dignity of dukes of *Pomerania* on *Casimir* and *Bugislaus*, in order the more easily to reduce *Henry Leo* to his obedience. *Valdemar* did not deny this favour; and accordingly those two princes were installed in the usual manner, the king assisting at the ceremony. Before the king of *Denmark*'s departure his eldest daughter was betrothed, with the emperor's approbation, to *Sigefred*, landgrave of *Thuringia*; and soon after the nuptials were celebrated at *Slefwick* (A). On this occasion it was, that *Barbarossa* invested *Valdemar* with the title of duke of *Holstein*, and annexed the country in perpetuity to the crown of *Denmark*.

Valdemar *invested with the dutchy of* Holstein.

IN the beginning of the following spring *Valdemar* receiving advice, that the *Vandals* began to fortify some places that had

(A) *Thuringia* is a country in the circle of the *Upper Saxony*, erected in the year 1130 into a landgraviate by the emperor *Lotharius* II. At present it is divided among a great number of different sovereigns and princes, as the houses of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Hesse*, *Saxe-Weymar*, *Mentz*, &c. (1).

(1) *Vid. Baudrand sub voce. p.* 947.

been

been diſmantled at the laſt peace, ordered *Abſalon* and his ſon *Canute* to levy an army, and proceed againſt them; but the *Jutlanders* refuſed to inliſt themſelves under ſuch generals, deſpiſing the prince on account of his youth, and hating the miniſter, for no other reaſon than that the king loved him, and that his influence was great; though he ſtudied popularity, and was conſtantly the mediator between the king and the people. *Valdemar* was incenſed at their refuſal; and determined, notwithſtanding his ill ſtate of health, to command the expedition in perſon. The ill uſage of his ſubjects increaſed his diſtemper, and in a few days confined him to his bed; yet would he not relinquiſh his deſign. At length, by the tears and intreaties of his nobility, he was prevailed on to commit the war to his generals, and his own perſon to the care of his phyſicians at *Wortenburg*. *Valdemar falls ſick.*

WHILE the fleet was detained in port by contrary winds, the *Jutlanders* began to mutiny, to complain of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and inſiſted upon a releaſe from the ſervice. *Homer*, biſhop of *Ripen*, a man greatly eſteemed for his character and eloquence, harangued them for a long time to little purpoſe; and at length ordered one of the ringleaders to be ſeized and bound. Inſtead of quieting, this increaſed the tumult to ſuch a degree, that the officers were conſtrained to diſmiſs the ſoldiers, and permit them to return home. *Valdemar* obſerved them from his window diſperſed over the fields, judged the cauſe, and was ſo afflicted, that his diſtemper increaſed, and his life was deſpaired of. The art of all his phyſicians was foiled; upon which the nobility prevailed on him to call in the aſſiſtance of a certain abbot, an empiric, whoſe impudence and boaſting had raiſed him to a high degree of credit. His fatal noſtrum was adminiſtered, and the king breathed his laſt, while he was left alone to take that repoſe which the quack inſiſted would reſtore his health.

THUS died *Valdemar*, a prince reſpected more than any of his predeceſſors for the qualities of his mind and perſon, at the age of forty-eight, and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, from the death of his aſſociate. His piety, juſtice, prudence, and clemency, rendered him no leſs the idol, than his bravery, conduct, and ſucceſs, the admiration of his people and of neighbouring ſtates. His diſpoſition was equally fitted for war and peace; but the latter he choſe to cultivate, and never entered upon the former but to ſupport the honour and dignity of his crown. His conqueſts were leſs brilliant, but more uſeful and neceſſary than thoſe of former kings. He ſubdued *Rugen*, annexed it to his crown, and confirmed the iſlanders in the true principles of religion, the Chriſtian faith. He overcame *His death and character.*

came *Wratiſlaus*, duke of *Stetin*, and made him a vaſſal of *Denmark*. *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, a powerful, fierce, and fickle prince, he thrice obliged to ſue for peace in the moſt abject manner. Twice he defeated *Erling* and the *Norwegians*, and often overthrew the *Vandals*: but his behaviour to the conquered added more to his fame than all the great talents by which he became a conqueror. In a word, he is extolled by all cotemporary and ſubſequent writers as the greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the beſt monarch, who had hitherto filled the *Daniſh* throne [a].

[a] SAXO GRAM. l. xv. MEURS. l. v. p. 1118.

SECT. VI.

Containing all the public Tranſactions until the Reign of Eric V. *ſurnamed* Plog-Penning.

CANUTE VI.

A. D. 1182. Canute VI.

AS ſoon as the remains of *Valdemar* were honourably interred, *Canute*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, repaired to *Jutland* to hold an aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to redreſs thoſe grievances which occaſioned the late tumults. In his father's life-time he had been declared the immediate heir with all the ſolemnities of a coronation, ſo that he now entered upon the prerogatives of majeſty without form or ceremony.

A new revolt in Schonen.

THE province of *Schonen* ſtill perſiſted in its diſaffection, and was now on the king's death grown more inſolent and licentious. The malcontents were ſpirited up to freſh attempts by ſome artful perſons, who encouraged them to wipe off the diſgrace of the late defeats they had ſuſtained. *Abſalon*, the faithful miniſter of *Valdemar*, applied all the remedies in his power to bring them to a ſenſe of their duty; but in vain. Nothing is more blindly obſtinate and provokingly inſolent than a mob, and this the biſhop found; for his good offices were returned with abuſe, and the groſſeſt inſults. On pretence of defending their liberties, they moved the aſſembly to another place, and met all in arms, as if they were marching againſt an enemy. *Abſalon* retired to *Zealand*; and now the faction, having no one to reſtrain them whoſe authority they dreaded, or whoſe character they reſpected, broke out into the moſt ungovernable and riotous behaviour. They ſet fire to the houſes of the nobility, ſeized upon all the place-

men and officers of the court, and committed the moſt daring and open acts of rebellion. Obſerving that their faction preſerved no order, and could have no ſtability without laws of ſubordination, they elected one *Harold* their general; a man who, though deſcended from the royal ſtem, was deficient in every quality of a king and leader. Elated with his new dignity, *Harold* aſſumed the title of king, ſet up the royal ſtandard, and had crouds of peaſants daily flocking to him. *The rebels chuſe a king.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this rage of diſaffection, which had ſeized the minds of the common people, the nobility, gentry, and placemen remained ſteady in their loyalty, and by their vigorous endeavours drew together a body of forces to oppoſe the malcontents. The ardour expreſſed by both ſides to come to an engagement is inconceivable. Paſſion and prejudice, void of all reaſon and principle, actuated both; and the cloſer their connections of neighbourhood and friendſhip were before, the more violent was their animoſity now. A battle was fought with ſuch blind fury, as deprived them of the power of deſtroying each other; and after half a day ſpent in the moſt tumultuous and irregular fight ever known, where hurts and bruiſes were given inſtead of mortal wounds, *Harold* was defeated, the rebels diſperſed, and the royaliſts left maſters of the field, with the glory of a bloodleſs victory. *The rebels defeated.*

BUT the malcontents ſoon recovered their ſpirits after this repulſe, and began a ſecond time to make head, though deſerted by *Harold*, who, in a cowardly manner, had fled into *Sweden*. The approach however of *Abſalon*, with a body of forces, ſoon reduced them to order: upon which he called an aſſembly, revived ſeveral laws that had fallen into neglect, obliged the peaſants publicly to abjure *Harold*, whom they proclaimed king, and reſtored the former tranquillity of the province. The malcontents would indeed have been more ſeverely handled by *Canute*, who now entered the province, and propoſed giving the diſtrict of *Froſtherret* to be plundered by the ſoldiers, had not *Abſalon* interpoſed in their favour.

NEXT year *Canute* received a ſolemn ambaſſy from the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, complimenting him upon his acceſſion, and deſiring the continuance of that alliance which ſubſiſted during his father's reign between the Imperial and *Daniſh* courts. The intention, however, of all theſe ſpecious profeſſions of friendſhip, was no other than to obtain ſome conceſſions in favour of the *Vandals*, and to perſuade *Canute* to attend the aulic council in perſon, as a vaſſal of the empire. His majeſty, penetrating into *Barbaroſſa*'s views, returned a modeſt refuſal to theſe requeſts: upon which the emperor ſent a reply filled with menaces, and commanding him, A. D. 1183. *The inſidious conduct of* Barbaroſſa.

him, in a haughty ſtrain of authority, to obey. His threats having no effect, he ſent *Sigefred*, and his wife, who was *Canute*'s ſiſter, to *Roſchild*, in order to move him by their influence; but *Canute*, by *Abſalon*'s advice, remained firm in his reſolution to preſerve the independency of his crown. To have his revenge, *Barbaroſſa* ſpirited up *Bugiſlaus*, now ſole prince of the *Vandals*, ſince the death of *Caſimir*, to begin a war with *Denmark*, promiſing him liberal ſupplies of men and money. But the *Vandal* prince, dreading the conſequences of an open war with ſo potent a kingdom, and unwilling to diſobey the emperor, began firſt to tamper with *Jarimar* his uncle, then governor of *Rugen*, and the vaſſal of *Canute*. Diſappointed in this attempt, he ſought an occaſion to quarrel with him. *Jarimar* immediately diſpatched an ambaſſador to acquaint the king with theſe tranſactions; and *Bugiſlaus*, pretending that nothing could be more agreeable to him than ſubmitting the diſpute to the deciſion of *Canute* and a general diet, ſent ambaſſadors to court to plead his cauſe. While he was amuſing *Canute* with negotiations, he privately raiſed a great army, and equipped ſo powerful a fleet, that he ſent to acquaint *Barbaroſſa*, that now he had it in his power to oblige *Canute* to ſubmit to the terms his imperial majeſty ſhould think fit to preſcribe. But his treachery and boaſting ſoon received the juſt puniſhment, through the vigilance of *Abſalon*, that ſkilful and hardened veteran. No ſooner was the miniſter made acquainted with *Bugiſlaus*'s proceedings than he publiſhed an edict, obliging all men within the *Daniſh* iſlands, who had attained a certain age, to aſſemble under arms at an appointed rendezvous. The king was abſent in *Jutland*, and the emergency of the occaſion would not admit of the delay which would neceſſarily attend waiting for his inſtructions. A fleet was equipped with amazing expedition, the troops were embarked, and under ſail in queſt of the enemy, before *Bugiſlaus* imagined that his intention was diſcovered. *Abſalon* had diſperſed directions among the officers of the fleet, regulating the manner of engaging, and exhorting them to perform their duty, and maintain the reputation of their country, by defeating once more thoſe barbarians they had ſo often vanquiſhed. His inſtructions were obeyed; he came upon *Bugiſlaus* while he lay at anchor, at ſome diſtance from *Rugen*, feaſting, carouſing, and waiting for the emperor's orders in what manner to diſpoſe of *Denmark*. He dreamt not of *Abſalon*'s approach, and was attacked, defeated, and diſperſed before he had time to recollect himſelf, to iſſue out one ſingle order, or make the ſmalleſt ſhew of reſiſtance.

He excites the Vandals *to a war with* Canute.

Abſalon *defeats the* Vandal *prince.*

BARBA-

BARBAROSSA was ſo diſappointed in his high expectations, that he gave up all thoughts of reducing *Canute* to the neceſſity of ſtooping to his will, and receiving the inveſtiture of his kingdom from the hands of the emperor; for this *Pontanus* mentions as the principal object which *Barbaroſſa* had in view. Nor did *Abſalon* content himſelf with this victory: he puſhed his good fortune, attacked and took *Wolgaſt*, *Wollin*, and ſeveral other towns and cities, which he gave up to be plundered by his ſoldiers.

NEXT year the king in perſon marched into the *Vandal* country, traverſed and laid waſte ſeveral provinces, without making any reſiſtance; the people indulging themſelves in gluttony and drunkenneſs, as if in the midſt of profound peace, the laſt reſources of deſpair. Inflamed with the deſire of rich plunder, the troops deſired to be led from *Grotzwin* into *Pomerania*, diſregarding all the difficulties of a march through a barbarous and mountainous country, while ſatiating their avarice was the object. But proviſions failing, and the infantry being quite ſpent with fatigue, the king brought back the army to *Wollin*, where, in a briſk ſkirmiſh, he defeated *Bugiſlaus*, and had near taken him priſoner, at the very time he was laying in ambuſh for the *Danes*. This action, according to *Pontanus*, happened near the city *Camin* in the *Upper Saxony*, in conſequence of which *Canute* laid ſiege to it, but was prevented from purſuing it, by the intreaties and ſupplications of the prieſts and other religious perſons, who had come out of the city to deprecate his wrath. A. D. 1185. *The country of the Vandals ſubdued.*

BUGISLAUS perceiving nothing but ruin and deſtruction around him, went in perſon to *Jarimar* and *Abſalon*, to beg their interceſſion with the king to procure him a peace; but *Abſalon* imagining his profeſſions were not ſincere, replied, that the ſoldiers were not yet ſufficiently rewarded with plunder for the fatigues they had undergone, nor the *Vandals* puniſhed enough for their perfidy. This anſwer determined *Bugiſlaus* to obtain peace upon any terms, which at length was granted, on condition that he would pay a prodigious ſum of money ſpecified, as a fine for his ill conduct, and indemnification for the expences of the war; and that he would hold his title of duke at the hands of the king of *Denmark*, and acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of that crown. This treaty he confirmed by hoſtages; after which he was ſumptuouſly entertained by *Abſalon*. Before his departure he performed homage to the king, and proſtrated himſelf before him on the ground, proteſting, that he held all his dominions by the bounty and clemency of *Canute*, and was willing to ſurrender them at his pleaſure. This was a voluntary act of humiliation, Bugiſlaus *ſues for peace.*

A. D. 1186. them at his pleaſure. This was a voluntary act of humiliation, which *Canute*, from a ſpirit of generoſity, endeavoured to prevent, but in vain. *Bugiſlaus* was as mean in adverſity as inſolent in proſperity, and the king equally merciful and moderate to the vanquiſhed. Thus the *Vandals*, who had coſt *Valdemar* ſo much toil, treaſure, and blood, were at length totally ſubdued by his ſon, and their country annexed as a fief to the crown of *Denmark*. *Bugiſlaus*, during his life, remained firm to his engagements, and on his death-bed ſtrongly recommended it to the guardians of his children, to be intirely directed by *Canute*, in the partition of his dominions.

A. D. 1187. *A ſet form of worſhip eſtabliſhed in the* Daniſh *church.*

BEFORE the king returned to *Roſchild*, *Abſalon* perceiving a great afflux of clergy from all parts of *Europe* to this part of *Germany*, with the king's conſent, convoked a general ſynod, and among other ordinations paſſed one decree, that the ſame form of divine ſervice ſhould be uſed in all the pariſh churches within the *Daniſh* dominions, the ſame pſalmody and chantings performed; and for this purpoſe certain forms of prayer and public worſhip were drawn up, in which *Abſalon* was aſſiſted by a great number of other learned biſhops and divines (A).

A. D. 1188.

ABOUT the beginning of the following year *Bugiſlaus* died, and his dukedom was divided between his ſons *Caſimir* and *Bugiſlaus*. A freſh conteſt likewiſe aroſe between *Canute* and the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*. The emperor ſent an ambaſſy to invite the king to the celebration of the nuptials of his ſiſter and the duke of *Suabia*, and to demand the remainder of her portion which *Valdemar* had promiſed, but hitherto remained unpaid. *Canute* ſuſpecting ſome treachery, and recollecting the ſnares laid by *Barbaroſſa* for his father, the late enemy he had raiſed by his intrigues againſt himſelf, and his ſevere conduct to the duke of *Saxony*, anſwered the ambaſſadors, that as to what related to the nuptials, he ſhould be glad they were celebrated with all poſſible pomp; but that he muſt not go upon ſuch an occaſion out of his own dominions. As to the portion, it was unuſual, he ſaid, to pay the whole be-

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus*, a truly claſſical, eloquent, and entertaining hiſtorian, concludes his hiſtory with the tranſactions of this year. No writer has ſo ſtrongly characterized the antient manners of this people, as *Saxo*, who has carefully preſerved all their traditions, fables, and the very genius of the times, in his beautiful tranſlations of the ſongs and narratives of the *Daniſh* bards (the only hiſtorians of the earlier ages) and the martial atchievements of thoſe glorious barbarians, who were the conquerors of a great part of *Europe*.

conſummation; and he therefore hoped the emperor
l excuſe his not complying with a demand ſo extraordi-
and unreaſonable. *Barbaroſſa* was enraged at this con-
: of his authority, and ſent back the princeſs, *Canute's*
, with her portion and virginity, attended however with
ndid retinue, after ſhe had lived ſeven years at the im-
l court.

EXT year the cruſade was preached up in *Germany*; and A. D.
mperor, ſeized with the ſpirit of holy atchievements, de- 1189.
ined upon an expedition to the Holy Land, in order to
er *Paleſtine* out of the hands of *Saladin* and the infidels.
revent any diſturbances during his abſence, he found it
ary to reconcile the differences between him and the
s of *Denmark* and *Saxony*. *Henry Leo* was recalled from Henry
hment, and reſtored to a part of his dominions; but we Leo *recal-*
ot find any account of the negotiations between him and *led from*
te; only it is ſaid in general terms, that the emperor and *baniſh-*
terminated all their differences. *ment.*

ROM henceforward until the end of the year 1192, *Den-*
enjoyed profound peace, notwithſtanding the diſtur-
es raiſed by the ambition of *Henry Leo*, in *Holſtein*, and
neighbouring continent. Now at length the public repoſe A. D.
broke by the conteſts between *Valdemar*, biſhop of *Sleſ-* 1192.
, and the king. This prelate was the ſon of *Canute*, *Diſputes*
by *Swen* at the public entertainment he made for him and *between*
late king *Valdemar*, at *Roſchild*. He now claimed not *the king*
his patrimony, but a ſhare in the regal authority, as the *and the*
of *Canute*, the grandſon of *Magnus*, and great grandſon *biſhop of*
ing *Nicholas*. Perceiving that all his arguments were vain, Sleſwick.
s backed with power, he applied for aſſiſtance to *Adol-*
earl of *Holſtein*, *Bernard* duke of *Saxony*, and *Otho* mar-
of *Brandenburg*, all of whom agreed to attack *Canute* by
l, while the biſhop invaded his coaſts by means of a fleet.
render his meaſures more ſecure, the prelate went in per-
to *Norway*, and with magnificent promiſes engaged the
g, or, as others affirm, his ſon *Hacquin* in his cauſe, ob-
ing from him thirty ſhips of war, well equipped, and
y way fitted to put to ſea.

BEFORE *Valdemar* entered upon action, he was told it
uld be for his intereſt to make an overture of referring his
ſe to the king, and a general diet of the ſtates. Hence it
s not doubted but rather than hazard the loſs of all his domi-
ns, *Canute* would conſent to a partition of his kingdom;
at leaſt, agree to give the biſhop ſome honourable and
rative government. Theſe monitors, beſides, hinted the
conſiſtency of his being at the ſame time a king and a

biſhop. *Valdemar* imprudently lent an ear to their admonitions, referred his cauſe to the diet, and was in the mean time ſeized and impriſoned, where he continued for the ſpace of fourteen years, until he was diſcharged in the next reign by king *Valdemar* II. Thus ended this terrible ſtorm, that threatened deſtruction to *Canute*; though ſome writers, if we may credit *Pontanus*, relate, that the biſhop was taken priſoner in a ſea fight off the coaſt of *Norway*. His allies, ignorant of the prelate's fate, marched in a hoſtile manner to the frontiers of *Denmark*; and, pitching their camp on the banks of the river *Eyder*, waited the arrival of *Canute*, ſays *Pontanus*; though we rather imagine they here expected to confer on the operations with the biſhop. After they had waited for ſeveral days, forage and proviſions growing ſcarce, they determined to return home; all beſides *Adolphus*, who entered the *Daniſh* territories, and laid the country waſte as far as *Sleſwick*. But the news that his allies had actually retreated, that the biſhop was made priſoner, and, above all, a repulſe he met with from the king's forces, obliged him to purchaſe peace, at a great expence, to prevent their cutting off his retreat.

The biſhop is ſeized and impriſoned.

A. D. 1193. Canute's *ſiſter marries* Philip II. *of* France.

THIS year *Philip* II. of *France*, ſent ambaſſadors to *Canute*, to demand in marriage his beautiful ſiſter *Ingeburga*, called by *French* writers *Gelberga*. The propoſals were accepted, four thouſand marks in pure ſilver paid down for her portion, and a fleet equipped to conduct her with all poſſible pomp into *France*, where the nuptials were celebrated, and *Ingeburga* proclaimed queen, in the year 1194; or, as other writers relate, in 1195. This princeſs the king divorced the following year, under a variety of pretences which it would be unneceſſary to recite in this place; and, among others, on account of a fœtid breath, which he pleaded, from ſome of the *Byzantine* writers, was a ſufficient cauſe. Her brother *Canute* applied to the pope, inſiſting, that *Philip* ſhould part with the wife he had married ſince his ſeparation from his ſiſter, and take back the injured and repudiated *Ingeburga*, who was confined in a ſtrong caſtle (A). But the *Daniſh* hiſtorians mention nothing concerning the event of this application to his holineſs.

She is divorced.

(A) One reaſon given by *Philip* for repudiating *Ingeburga*, was their near conſanguinity, though by the genealogical table of *Pontanus* it appears, that ſhe was at leaſt ten ſteps removed; and beſides, that there had been a breach in the right line, about three generations before (1).

(1) *Pontan. l.* vi. *p.* 289.

THIS

THIS year *Canute* ordered a muſter to be made of all the men fit to bear arms in his dominions, and each province to fit out its proportion of ſhipping, every way equipped to put to ſea, and enter upon action. The whole force of the *Daniſh* marine appears, from the eſtimate given by *Pontanus*, to have conſiſted of ſix hundred and ſeventy ſhips of war, beſides the ſquadrons ſupplied by vaſſals, tributary ſtates, and allies. When this powerful armament was ready to put to ſea, then *Canute* declared his intention of attacking once more the *Vandals* and *Pruſſians*, who had abjured Chriſtianity, and reſtored their idols and falſe gods, after having ſo long received the light of the goſpel. *Wolgaſt*, *Stetin*, and other towns and cities, opened their gates to a force they found themſelves unable to reſiſt; and thus the enemy were reduced to obedience as ſoon as *Canute* appeared. A. D. 1195. *The power of* Denmark.

NEXT year he made an expedition to *Livonia*, with a view to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity among theſe northern barbarians, who as yet remained in the ignorance and obſcurity of paganiſm. Some attempts to effect this had been made by *Valdemar* and others of his predeceſſors; but for want of proper regulations among the miſſionaries, they all proved abortive. This is the reaſon aſſigned by the *Daniſh* writers for this expedition; tho' we think it probable that *Canute* had in view the putting a ſtop to the conqueſts of the *Teutonic* knights (an order eſtabliſhed a few years before) who had almoſt ſubdued the whole country, without regard to the right which the kings of *Denmark* claimed over ſeveral of the more northern provinces. Concerning the event of this affair, the *Daniſh* hiſtorians are ſilent. A. D. 1196.

ABOUT the year 1198, *Otho* marquis of *Brandenburg* made an incurſion into *Pomerania*, and ſeized upon ſeveral caſtles and fortreſſes, which he claimed as his property. *Canute*, on the contrary, believed them to be his right, and accordingly determined to regain them by force of arms. Other reaſons likewiſe concurred in lighting up this war, and among the reſt a grudge, which *Canute* bore the marquis on account of the late aſſiſtance he had given to *Valdemar*, biſhop of *Sleſwick*. A fleet was equipped, and the command given to *Peter* biſhop of *Roſchild*, and his brother *Torbern*. They were ordered to enter the river *Warnow*, while the king took up his reſidence in the iſland of *Mona*, to obſerve their operations, and wait the event. Here they were joined by the *Pomeranians*, *Vandals*, and *Mecklenburgers*, the ſubjects or allies of *Canute*; notwithſtanding which the biſhop was defeated, made priſoner, and the *Daniſh* army obliged to fly with precipitation to their ſhips. *Torbern* was killed in the battle, and A. D. 1198. *Quarrel between* Canute *and* Otho *of* Brandenburg.

the biſhop kept for two years a cloſe priſoner, eſcaping at laſt by the connivance of the marquis, who was unwilling to be at the expence of maintaining a captive of ſuch diſtinction.

GROWN more bold by his good fortune, the marquis entering into an alliance with *Adolphus* earl of *Holſtein*, made incurſions into *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, and the country of the *Vandals*. He laid waſte a great part of the government of *Jarmaric*, and propoſed entering the territories of *Rugen*, and invading the iſland of that name, had not the approaching winter ſtopped his progreſs.

Canute obliges the enemy to beg peace.

IN the enſuing ſpring *Canute* commanded his army in perſon, and entering *Holſtein*, laid the territories of *Adolphus* waſte. He was too ſecurely encamped for the enemy to venture upon attacking him; and without paſſing beyond the *Eyder*, he obliged *Adolphus* to ſue for peace. After this the king returned to *Denmark*, to be preſent at the laſt obſequies of his queen's mother, who died in his abſence.

A. D. 1199.

THE ſpring of the year 1199, was uſhered in by a breach of the late peace. *Adolphus*, diſliking the conditions impoſed upon him, had again recourſe to arms, and the king committed the care of the war to his brother *Valdemar*. This young hero now firſt appeared at the head of an army, and by his conduct gave ſtrong prognoſtics of his future greatneſs. With inferior forces he met *Adolphus*, engaged and defeated him, with a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, *Adolphus* himſelf very narrowly eſcaping out of the field. Almoſt all the *Holſteiners* were either killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. *Adolphus* took ſhelter in *Hamburgh*, which was immediately inveſted by the conqueror, and taken, the unfortunate duke eſcaping at a poſtern gate. *Valdemar* purſued his victory, and in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of all the fortified towns in *Holſtein*, over-ran and totally ſubdued the principality of *Swerin*, took *Lubec*, after a briſk ſiege, and, in a word, annexed a great part of the *German* continent to the dominions of *Denmark*, without meeting with one repulſe during the glorious courſe of the two campaigns.

Young Valdemar defeats Adolphus, and makes a ſucceſsful campaign.

WHILE *Valdemar* was traverſing theſe countries, *Adolphus* found means to repoſſeſs himſelf of *Hamburgh*; upon which the *Daniſh* prince immediately croſſed the *Elbe*, and a ſecond time laid ſiege to this city, which had not then attained to that height of power and opulence to which it afterwards arrived. The ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour, that the citizens, diſtreſſed for proviſions, were obliged to capitulate. This brought on a conference between *Valdemar* and *Adolphus*, who waited on the prince in his camp. As ſoon as the inhabitants of *Dithmarſh*, then ſerving under *Valdemar*, were informed

formed that *Adolphus* was in the camp, they ruſhed ſword in hand to his tent, in order to revenge the ravages he had committed in their country. Their fury was ſuch, that *Valdemar* and the guards could hardly reſtrain them from putting him inſtantly to death. At this meeting it was agreed, that the citadels of *Hamburgh* and *Lawenburg* ſhould receive *Daniſh* garriſons, and be put wholly into the hands of *Valdemar*, he ſtipulating on his part, that the citizens ſhould remain in the full poſſeſſion of all their liberties, immunities, and property. But *Adolphus* ſoon attempted to break his engagaments, upon which he was ſeized and committed to the fortreſs of *Seburg*, where biſhop *Valdemar* was kept a priſoner.

THIS year died the brave, the honeſt, and the pious *Abſalon*, archbiſhop of *Lunden*, the faithful ſervant of the crown, and patron of the people; the ſcourge of his country's foes, the protector of letters, the encourager of learned men, the rewarder of merit, and, in a word, the greateſt ornament of *Denmark*. Poſterity owes to him this peculiar obligation, that he firſt perſuaded *Saxo Grammaticus* to undertake his hiſtory, and generouſly countenanced and ſupported him while he was engaged in that work, which will tranſmit the memory of both with honour to the moſt diſtant ages. *Andreas Swen*, chancellor of *Denmark*, ſucceeded him in the archbiſhopric. According to ſome authors, *Saxo Grammaticus* died about this time, and a few months after his patron; though, from the manner in which he ſpeaks of *Valdemar* I. in his preface, addreſſed to the new archbiſhop, we have reaſon to think he lived only a few years after that prince's acceſſion to the throne [b]. A. D. 1201. *Death and character of* Abſalon.

VALDEMAR having greatly enlarged the *Daniſh* boundaries by the total reduction of *Holſtein*, *Stormar*, the diſtricts of *Lubec* and *Hamburgh*, the country properly and antiently called *Nordalbingia*, but now included under the general name of *Holſtein*, and within the limits of that dutchy, together with ſeveral other principalities, dutchies, and earldoms, was adviſed to ſtrengthen his alliances and the royal line by marriage. He choſe *Ingeburga*, ſiſter to *Otho* duke of *Brunſwick*; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Hamburgh* with great magnificence, king *Canute* attending in perſon, and preſiding at the entertainment. *Valdemar* had, for ſome years, enjoyed the government of *Sleſwick*; and now his power was conſiderably encreaſed by his conqueſts, all which *Canute* annexed to the dutchy of *Sleſwick*. The king returned to *Denmark*, and A. D. 1202.

[b] Præfat. ad Hiſt. p. 2.

Death and character of Canute.

ſoon after was ſeized with a malady which carried him of a few days, and ſo ſuddenly, that ſome perſons ſuſpected was poiſoned, though by whoſe means remains a profc ſecret. He is celebrated as a prince of great piety and m ration, extremely chaſte and temperate, but no great v rior. The conqueſts made during his reign are ſolely t attributed to *Abſalon* and *Valdemar*; but we cannot but c mend the judgment of *Canute*, in chuſing ſuch miniſters generals, and placing ſo entire a confidence in them, withſtanding the obloquy and detraction of their nume and powerful enemies. *Canute* is ſaid to have paſſed very wholeſome and neceſſary laws during his reign, par larly one with reſpect to murder, by which it was ordai that only the perſonal effects of the murderer ſhould be co cated, his real eſtate deſcending to his heirs and relations, the innocent might not be involved in the puniſhment of guilty.

VALDEMAR II.

Valdemar II. A. D. 1203.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of *Canute* his brother, *demar* was inveſted with all the badges of regal authority; unanimouſly choſen to ſucceed to the throne of *Denm* Upon the firſt advice of the king's illneſs he ſet out for *child*, and arrived there before he breathed his laſt, thoug was then ſpeechleſs. *Valdemar* was received by the nol and commons with the utmoſt joy. He was the ſon and image of their favourite king, *Valdemar* I. His military ploits had gained him great reputation, and augmented wealth and power of his country; and his private conduct ſecured to him the eſteem and affections of all to whon was perſonally known.

WITH theſe advantages *Valdemar* entered upon the gov ment of a kingdom, to preſide over which he was equally titled by birth and merit. The uſual oath of allegiance taken by the whole kingdom, with uncommon alacrity; excepting the newly-conquered provinces. He began his with enacting, by the conſent of a general aſſembly, a va of ſalutary laws, which the reader will find ſpecified in *tanus* and the *Saxon* Chronicle.

Valdemar *paſſes ſome very ſalutary laws.*

NEXT he entered upon a treaty with *Adolphus* duke of *ſtein*, then his priſoner, by which it was ſtipulated, that *phus* ſhould be ſet at liberty, provided he renounced all c to the dutchy of *Holſtein* and the citadels of *Hamburgh Lawenburg*; for we find that this laſt ſtill remained in hands of his adherents. By what means they got poſſe

of it, after it received a *Daniſh* garriſon, we are not informed; the fact, however, is aſſerted by *Pontanus*[a].

VALDEMAR paſſing then into *Schonen*, held a diet, and framed a number of laws for the good regulation of the province.

THIS year it was that biſhop *Valdemar* was releaſed, after an impriſonment of fourteen years, on condition that he would never ſet foot again in any part of the *Daniſh* dominions; a hard ſentence, which was ſoon mitigated at the interceſſion of the queen, the biſhops, and ſeveral of the nobility. He even obtained, through the influence of his friends, the means of being choſen biſhop of *Bremen*, in the room of *Hartwic*, lately deceaſed. This election cauſed great diſturbances in *Bremen*, *Hamburgh*, and wherever the juriſdiction of this ſee extended; but the ſteady prudence of *Valdemar* ſurmounted all difficulties, annulled the election, and got *Bucher* choſen archbiſhop. A. D. 1206. *The biſhop of* Sleſwick *releaſed.*

THIS year produced inſurrections and tumults among that people called *Sujons*, inhabiting part of *Gothland*, *Sweden Proper*, and *Bothnia*, which communicated the flames of war not only to *Denmark*, but almoſt to all the kingdoms of the North. *Swercher*, at preſent, ſwayed that ſcepter in conſequence of an agreement, that the poſterity of the kings *Eric* and *Charles* ſhould alternately reign. But *Charles*'s iſſue getting poſſeſſion, they either proſcribed or ſlew all the children of *Canute*, ſon to *Eric*, except *Eric* the youngeſt, called after his grandfather. This prince fled into *Norway*, and there concealed himſelf during the perſecution carried on againſt his family; but making ſtrong friends among the nobility and people, he now returned home, and laid claim to the crown. He ſucceeded ſo happily in alienating the affections of the people from *Swercher*, that he was already at the head of a ſtrong party. *Swercher* perceiving the danger, left no ſtone unturned to draw *Valdemar* into his quarrel. He made large promiſes, uſed ſupplications, ſent preſents, and at length prevailed ſo far, that *Valdemar* ſent a ſtrong body of *Danes* and *Bohemians* to his aſſiſtance (A), under the conduct of *Peter*, ſurnamed the *Elder*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, who had been unfor- A. D. 1208. *A ſhort view of the affairs of* Sweden.

[a] L. vi. p. 297.

(A) His firſt queen *Ingeburga* dying without iſſue, *Valdemar* ſoon after married *Dagmar*, daughter to the king of *Bohemia*. The nuptials were celebrated at *Lubec* in the year 1205. By this means he became connected with *Bohemia* (1).

(1) *Pontan. l.* vi.

tunate in a battle againſt the *Vandals*. Joining forces with *Swercher*, they gave battle to *Eric*, and after an obſtinate conflict were totally defeated, with prodigious ſlaughter. The number of officers and ſoldiers which the *Danes* loſt was ſo great, that this was the moſt complete victory and memorable battle which had ever been known in theſe parts.

The Daniſh *auxiliaries defeated.*

SWERCHER collecting his ſcattered troops, made head for ſome time againſt the victorious *Eric*, and at length came to a deciſive engagement near *Giſtlebrow*, more unfortunate than the former; for here his army was overthrown, and himſelf killed. Upon this *Eric* aſſumed the regal authority, and *Valdemar* did not chuſe to diſpute it, imagining that he had already been ſufficiently puniſhed for maintaining the unjuſt cauſe of an uſurper and murderer. In this war it was ſuppoſed, that not leſs than fifteen thouſand *Danes*, beſides *Bohemians*, periſhed.

A. D. 1209.

VALDEMAR applied himſelf now to the fortifying his frontiers on the continent, and improving the new-acquired dominions on that ſide. He demoliſhed *Wittenburg*, and greatly enlarged *Hamburgh:* after which he threw a fine bridge from north to ſouth over the *Elbe*. But, in the midſt of theſe employments, *Lubec* was intirely burnt down by an accident, only five houſes eſcaping the flames; and this part of the town went, in the days of *Pontanus*, by the name of the *Five Houſes*.

Lubec *burnt to the ground.*

A. D. 1210.

NEXT year *Valdemar* went upon an expedition againſt ſome pagan nations, inhabiting the banks of the *Viſtula*, with a view to eſtabliſh the Chriſtian religion in thoſe barbarous parts. What ſucceſs he met with we know not; but he was ſoon recalled, to be preſent at the birth of his eldeſt ſon *Valdemar*, who was born this year, and at the nuptials of his ſiſter with king *Eric*, whom but a little before he held as an enemy to the kingdom.

Stralſund *founded.*

A. D. 1211.

ABOUT this time was laid the foundation of the city of *Stralſund* in *Pomerania Royal*, oppoſite to the iſle of *Rugen*. *Valdemar* intended it both as a fortreſs and commercial town; nor were his expectations diſappointed; for it became ſo frequented by the *Saxons*, and other nations, that it ſoon roſe to eminence. An attempt was made the following year by *Caſimir* and *Bogiſlaus* to deſtroy it; but they were repulſed by *Jarimar* and the inhabitants of *Rugen*, aſſiſted by a body of *Danes*. This year the queen, after being delivered of another prince named *Canute*, died, loudly lamented and ſincerely regretted, both by the king and people. In memory of her the caſtle of *Droningholm* was built, that name importing the *Queen's Iſland*.

IN

IN the year 1213, *Valdemar* determined upon an expedition againſt the *Pomeranians*; and with that view arrived in *Demin*, the citadel of which he rebuilt, and fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner. A. D. 1213. Valdemar *goes in perſon againſt the* Pomeranians.

ABOUT this time *Valdemar* ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate the new emperor *Frederic* II. on his acceſſion, and procure his inveſtiture of the countries he had lately conquered in *Germany*. This was a compliment which *Valdemar* prudently choſe to pay, rather than have his right diſputed, though it was what his father ſo poſitively refuſed to *Barbaroſſa*. His requeſt was granted; a formal inſtrument, confirming him in his right, was made out; and the ambaſſadors diſmiſſed, after many diſtinctions conferred on them.

IN the mean time the *Daniſh* forces and fleet were making ſome progreſs on the coaſt of *Pomerania*. After laying waſte a great part of the country, *Stetin* was beſieged in form, and taken, together with a number of other cities, towns, and fortreſſes. Upon this occaſion the earl of *Swerin* paid homage to *Valdemar*, and took an oath, that, when the king required it, he ſhould always have a body of forces ready to march at his command.

BURCHER archbiſhop of *Bremen* dying this year, *Gerhard Oſnaburgh* was put in by the pope in his room. This election being diſagreeable to the people, they ſent to biſhop *Valdemar* to aſſure him, that, if he could procure a proper and ſufficient force to ſupport him, they were ready to receive him as their archbiſhop, and would even join him with all the power they could raiſe, to expel *Gerhard*. Immediately on this notice the biſhop applied himſelf to *Otho*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, then highly offended with king *Valdemar*, becauſe his fleet had lately taken ſome forts which he claimed as his right. In conſequence of this he lent biſhop *Valdemar* a numerous corps of auxiliaries. He was likewiſe aſſiſted by *Otho*, depoſed from the imperial throne by the pope, and deſirous of ſeeking his revenge in this oppoſition. *Henry Palatine* joined in the confederacy, and was the chief inſtrument of fixing *Valdemar* in the ſee of *Bremen*, and depoſing *Gerhard*. A. D. 1214. *Diſputes between the king and biſhop of* Sleſwick *renewed.*

THE pope and king *Valdemar* were fired with reſentment at this tranſaction. The one anathematized, and the other reſolved to puniſh *Valdemar* and the confederates by more effectual means. Equipping a fleet with all poſſible expedition, he entered the *Elbe*, and laid ſiege to *Stade*; the citizens having, contrary to their oath of allegiance, received biſhop *Valdemar*. *Henry Palatine*, brother to the emperor *Otho*, lay at ſome diſtance with a conſiderable corps, with which he

annoyed the beſiegers, and relieved by all poſſible means the garriſon.

A. D. 1215. *OTHO*, the depoſed emperor, believing that now a proper opportunity offered of invading *Denmark*, forgetting all his obligations to king *Valdemar*, raiſed an army, and marched to *Hamburgh*, to which he laid ſiege, in conjunction with his brother *Henry*. Preſſed hard with the vigour of the beſiegers, the garriſon capitulated, notwithſtanding ſpeedy relief was expected from the approach of king *Valdemar* and the emperor *Frederic*, the former having with him an army of ſixty, or, as others relate, of forty thouſand men. *Otho*, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in *Hamburgh*, quitted it with his army in a precipitate manner, not chuſing to come to an action with *Valdemar*; and perceiving himſelf deſerted by the *German* princes, relinquiſhed his claim to the imperial diadem, and retired into a private ſtation, in which he died about three years after.

A. D. 1216. Valdemar *invades the* Lower Saxony. THE winter came on before *Valdemar* had made any great progreſs in the war; only *Stade* received his troops: but early in the ſpring he invaded the *Lower Saxony*, and ſubdued all the country belonging to *Henry Palatine*. Next he marched againſt *Hamburgh*, which he cloſely inveſted, while the garriſon reſolved upon making a vigorous reſiſtance. New works were raiſed to annoy the beſiegers; but the courage and obſtinacy of the garriſon and burghers were at length ſubdued by the perſeverance of *Valdemar*, and the conſequent famine, which obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion, after the loſs of all their principal officers, and incredible hardſhips ſuſtained.

A. D. 1217. RETURNING then to *Denmark*, he held a general diet in the iſland of *Samſoe*, at which his ſon *Valdemar* was unanimouſly choſen ſucceſſor to the throne. Thence he paſſed into *Jutland*, where the general diet was no leſs unanimous in granting him whatever he required; and, to crown the felicity of the year, his third queen *Berengaria* brought him a young ſon, whom they baptized by the name of *Eric*.

A. D. 1218. THE following year this young prince was crowned and proclaimed king, by the name of *Valdemar* III. to obviate all diſputes about the ſucceſſion. The coronation was performed at *Sleſwick*, in preſence of an infinity of people of all ranks, who flocked from every quarter of the kingdom to behold the ſolemnity.

Valdemar's *expedition to* Livonia. ABOUT this time *Valdemar* received advice, that the *Livonians*, aſſiſted by the *Muſcovites*, *Lithuanians*, and other northern barbarous nations, had driven from their habitations all thoſe who had embraced Chriſtianity, and taken an oath of allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*. Fitting out a powerful

ful fleet, he immediately ſet ſail for that country, with a reſolution to puniſh this infraction of the treaty ſubſiſting between the two nations. He was no ſooner landed in *Livonia* than his troops were ſeized with a panic, at the ſight of ſuch a powerful army of ſavages as they ſaw aſſembled on the mountains. It is ſaid that the king himſelf was ſomewhat diſmayed, at ſo unuſual and horrible a ſpectacle as a prodigious army cloathed in ſkins, and more reſembling wild beaſts than the human ſpecies; but, encouraged by the biſhops of *Lunden* and *Arbuſen*, who aſſured him of victory while he was fighting the cauſe of *Chriſt*, he made a ſhort ſpeech to the ſoldiers, ordered public prayers to be read between the ranks, and then marched with intrepidity againſt the enemy. After a warm conflict the *Daniſh* ſtandard was loſt; a circumſtance that diſpirited the troops, and made them give way; until heaven, ſays *Pontanus*, was pleaſed to ſend down another ſtandard. Upon this they rallied, attacked the confederate barbarians with aſtoniſhing reſolution, and, notwithſtanding their prodigious numbers, overthrew them with incredible ſlaughter. The hiſtorians of theſe times, and after them *Pontanus*, recite a variety of marvellous circumſtances which attended this battle. Among others, they relate, that *Andrew* biſhop of *Lunden* retired during the action to an adjacent hill, where, with uplifted hands, he poured forth prayers to the Almighty for *Valdemar*'s ſucceſs. While his hands were held up to heaven, and the fervency of prayer continued, the enemy conſtantly gave way; but on the leaſt remiſſion of the biſhop's devotion, they in their turn puſhed the *Danes*; both armies fluctuating backward and forward, like the waves, ſays our hiſtorian, on the ſea-ſhore, according to the prelate's fervour and zeal in petitioning the Supreme Being [b].

He defeats the Muſcovites and their allies.

THIS ſignal victory was obtained near the fortreſs of *Valdemar*, ſo called from *Valdemar*, in memory of this glorious event, by which the goſpel was once more reſtored among this rude and ignorant people (A).

How potent and flouriſhing the kingdom of *Denmark* was at this time, appears from a kind of eſtimate of the revenues ariſing from the tributary provinces, or thoſe countries con-

[b] PONTAN. l. vi. p. 309.

(A) We will not ſpend time with *Pontanus* in examining into the truth of the celeſtial ſtandard, and the effects of the biſhop's prayers: theſe are the traditions of ignorance, and pious frauds of the churchmen, which it would be unneceſſary to expoſe in this more enlightened age.

quered

An eſtimate of the revenue and force of Denmark.

quered by *Valdemar*, and of the ſtanding forces of the whole kingdom. This curious account *Pontanus* extracted from *Witfeld*, a writer of theſe days, who copied it exactly from a parchment regiſter kept by *Nicholas Bilde*, a ſort of ſteward to *Valdemar*. From the provinces were daily ſent in twenty-four laſts of oats, twenty-four laſts of rye, and half the quantity of wheat; together with thirteen talents of cheeſe and butter, nine of honey, twenty-four oxen, three hundred ſheep, two hundred hogs, and ſix hundred marks of coined money. This was the certain revenue; to which was added near an equal ſum from adventitious circumſtances; ſuch as fines, forfeitures, taxes on law-ſuits and pleadings, with a variety of other contingencies; the whole amounting to an hundred thouſand marks a day, or twenty-three millions ſeven hundred and thirty thouſand pounds *per ann.* a ſum ſcarce credible in theſe days, and which obliges us to think, that we have either taken the mark at too high a value, or that *Witfeld*'s regiſter greatly exaggerates the account [c].

WITH this revenue were kept for conſtant ſervice fourteen hundred great and ſmall ſhips for the king's uſe, each of which, at a medium, carried one hundred and twenty-one ſoldiers, making the total of ſtanding forces, beſides garriſons, amount to one hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand four hundred fighting men. Such was the prodigious wealth and potency of this kingdom in the reign of *Valdemar* II. if we are to credit the accounts of cotemporary writers; and yet we muſt obſerve, that at this time it was greatly fallen from its former ſplendor, when the crowns of *England*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, were annexed to that of *Denmark* (B).

A. D. 1223. FROM the year 1218 to the preſent year, nothing memorable happened, beſides a remarkable comet, which our author calls a malignant ſtar, that foreboded many calamities to the North, in which quarter it appeared. The riſe of theſe is variouſly related: *Crantzius* ſays, that *Henry* earl of *Swerin*, whom we have called *Henry Palatine*, deſirous of effecting a perfect reconciliation with *Valdemar*, obtained a paſſport, and went to wait on the king at *Roſchild*; that *Valdemar* granting terms which he deemed too hard and unreaſonable, he took the reſolution of putting him to death, or ſpiriting him off, for which purpoſe he had kept a veſſel, ready to hoiſt ſail at a

[c] PONTAN. l. vi. p. 306.

(B) This eſtimate was made in the year 1221, and is of ſo extraordinary a nature, that we cannot expect the reader's implicit faith in it, though we think it ſo curious as to deſerve a place in our hiſtory.

minute's

minute's warning; that his majeſty, being one day hunting, was met on his return by *Henry*, whom he invited to his tent, pitched in the fields, for a rural refreſhment, which opportunity the treacherous gueſt ſeized of carrying him away, gagged and bound, putting him on board ſhip, and ſailing ſtrait to *Germany*: and laſtly, that, after firſt expoſing this great prince to public deriſion, he ſhut him up a priſoner in the caſtle of *Danebergh*. Valdemar *treacherouſly carried into captivity.*

WITFELD aſſigns a different cauſe for *Henry*'s reſentment. He ſays, that *Henry*, going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, left his beautiful wife and children under the protection and care of *Valdemar*. The king, now a widower, was ſtruck with the perſonal qualities of *Henry*'s wife, and accordingly debauched her: however, *Pontanus* aſſigns a variety of reaſons why greater credit is due to the former relation. In this confinement the great *Valdemar* continued for three years, according to the moſt authentic documents of theſe times; though, from a monody quoted by *Pontanus*, his impriſonment would ſeem to have laſted for upwards of eight years. All this time *Denmark* was in the moſt diſtracted ſituation. *Valdemar* was equally beloved and eſteemed by his ſubjects, who would have releaſed him by force, did they not apprehend the cruelty of *Henry*, ſhould ſuch meaſures be followed. The higheſt ranſoms were offered for his liberty; but that treacherous prince was inexorable. At length the biſhops, nobility, and people, joined with one voice in petitioning the interceſſion of the emperor *Frederick* II. A diet of the imperial ſtates met of conſequence; and *Valdemar* might have been ſet at liberty, if he could have been brought to relinquiſh his late conqueſts. But to this he would give no ear: his life, he ſaid, was only valuable while it was uſeful to his people; and ſhould he conſent to part with conqueſts which had coſt ſo much blood and treaſure, his ſubjects would have little reaſon to wiſh for his liberty at the price of ſuch an indignity to the crown of *Denmark*. At length, however, this noble obſtinacy was overcome by the intreaties of his ſubjects and children, who repreſented the calamitous ſtate of the kingdom; the opportunities offered to ambition and treaſon; the loſſes conſequent on the vacancy of the throne, infinitely more pernicious to the people than the ſevereſt terms the enemy could impoſe; with a variety of other arguments, which operated on the mind of this great prince, becauſe they had the appearance of public good. The terms were hard, but they were the beſt that could be procured. *Valdemar* was ſet at liberty for a prodigious ranſom in money, for relinquiſhing *Holſtein*, *Swerin*, *Hamburgh*, and the other towns and fortreſſes *The conditions of his releaſe.*

treſſes on either ſide the *Elbe*; and laſtly, for ſwearing
lemnly to maintain this compulſive contract, and never
enter on any meaſures to puniſh *Henry*, or any of the oth
A. D. princes who had ſo treacherouſly combined againſt him. T
1226. treaty was ſigned on the twenty-fifth of *March*, 1226, acco
ing to *Pontanus*; after which the king returned home diſco
ſolate, enraged, but more than ever beloved by his ſubje
who now became better acquainted with the ſublimity of
virtues, by this trial of adverſity.

PREVIOUS to the king's releaſe, the lords of thoſe diſtri
which he had conquered before and ſince the late king's dea
were buſied in recovering their rights, which they had co
pletely effected before they ventured to ſet him at libe
Albert earl of *Orlemund*, *Valdemar*'s lieutenant in theſe pa
endeavoured to oppoſe them, and for that purpoſe raiſe
number of forces, with which he gave battle to the ener
but with a fortune no way proportioned to his zeal and fi
lity. After this victory they eaſily recovered the whole co
try they had loſt, and obtained an oath of allegiance from
inhabitants.

SUCH was the ſituation of the *Daniſh* provinces in *Germ*
at this time; but *Valdemar*'s misfortunes were not yet at
The city of Lubec *revolts.* end. The *Lubeckers*, fired with the imaginary freedom wh
the neighbouring ſtates had recovered, entered upon a ſec
negotiation with the emperor *Frederick*, about throwing off
Daniſh yoke. Their meaſures were taken ſo prudently, t
the citadel was ſeized, and the *Daniſh* garriſon made priſon
before they had the leaſt intimation of the intention of
citizens, who aſſembled under pretence of chuſing new m
giſtrates on the uſual day. In order to protect them agai
the conſequences of this revolt, they had firſt ſigned a tre
of alliance with *Albert* of *Saxony*, and all the neighbouri
princes, who engaged in this confederacy at the inſtance
the emperor, then upon bad terms with *Valdemar*, and ea
to extend the influence of the imperial crown. All theſe c
cumſtances, together with the diſputed election of *Nich*
Stigoth, choſen biſhop of *Roſchild*, much againſt *Valdem*
inclination, determined him to look about for means to
engage himſelf from theſe ties and incumbrances, ſo irkſo
to a prince of his ſpirit. The method in which he had been
rited away into captivity was infamous; the conditions u
which he was releaſed, oppreſſive; the oath he had taken
to ſeek revenge, altogether compulſive; the revolt of the
beckers, a freſh provocation; and this election of the biſ
of *Roſchild*, a flagrant indignity and open defiance of his
thority. Without having recourſe to what was thought
ſupre

ſupreme power, inveſted by the Almighty in the pope, to abſolve from oaths and engagements, it would be no difficult matter to acquit *Valdemar* upon the principles of reaſon, for a breach of a contract ſo iniquitous and ſhameful. This at leaſt may be ſaid, that if ever prince was excuſable for an infraction of a ſolemn treaty, confirmed by oath, *Valdemar*'s conduct may certainly admit of ſome palliation. He applied to the pope, was abſolved from his engagements, raiſed a great army, and entered *Holſtein* with all the reſentment of a prince highly injured. Seizing upon *Idſhoa*, and other places in this dutchy, he gave them up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, and then laid them in aſhes. Leading his army back to *Bornholm*, he was met by the biſhop of *Lubec*, the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, the duke of *Holſtein*, the earls of *Swerin*, *Oldenburg*, and *Mecklenburg*, with ſeveral other *German* princes, at the head of a prodigious army. A battle was fought with incredible fury, and with ſuch terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, that the ſhields and helmets of the ſoldiers, to uſe an expreſſion of our author, floated in blood. The event was long doubtful, until *Valdemar* unhappily received a wound in the eye, which forced him to leave the field. His troops diſpirited, without the preſence of their monarch, gave way, and at laſt a total rout enſued, chiefly owing to a ſtrong reinforcement of freſh troops, which the *Lubeckers* brought up to ſupport the enemy.

Valdemar *is defeated.*

In this unfortunate engagement *Valdemar* loſt an eye; his beſt troops were deſtroyed, and his moſt experienced generals killed or taken priſoners; but he was not diſmayed. On the contrary, he returned to *Denmark*, collected his ſcattered army, and began making new levies with ſo much vigour, that by next ſpring he took the field with a more formidable power than before. Both armies encamped on the oppoſite ſides of the *Elbe*; but the remembrance of the laſt battle made them equally dread a freſh trial of courage. *Valdemar* laid ſiege again to *Idſhoa*; but the enemy's approach obliged him to relinquiſh it. He then entered the country of *Dithmarſh*, which he laid waſte, and rendered a perfect deſart. Returning then through the *Northern Holſtein*, he ſet fire to the whole country, and retired to *Denmark*, with intention to augment his power, and end the war by ſome deciſive ſtroke.

During his abſence, *Albert* of *Saxony* ſeized upon *Ratzburg* and *Molna*, and laid ſiege to *Lawenburg*, which the garriſon defended with ſuch obſtinacy, that duke *Albert* was forced to enter upon a negotiation with them. He propoſed, therefore, ſetting *Albert* earl of *Orlemund* at liberty, who was for many years detained a priſoner in *Swerin*, provided they would

Lawenburg *ſurrenders to the enemy.*

would ſurrender the town; but the brave garriſon would cept of no terms without the conſent of their king; and that purpoſe ſent to *Valdemar* for inſtructions. The king eager to procure the releaſe of earl *Albert*; he was like apprehenſive that the garriſon could not hold out until he in a condition to relieve them: it was therefore his ad that they ſhould capitulate on the beſt terms in their po

A. D. 1228. Accordingly *Lawenburg* was ſurrendered, the garriſon mar out with military honours, and *Albert* of *Orlemund* was liberty, after a long impriſonment, in which he was tre with the moſt cruel ſeverity (A).

AFTER this tranſaction *Valdemar* would ſeem to have all intention of purſuing revenge. For the two ſuccee years, we find no warlike preparations going on; nor yet there any treaty ſet on foot for a general peace. It is

His ſon Valdemar killed by an accident. ſible that the unfortunate death of his ſon *Valdemar*, ſhot cidentally at a party of hunting, might have broke his re tions; and, indeed, this is the cauſe aſcribed by hiſto for his indolence, though it did not happen until the year 1

As ſoon as the public grief was in ſome meaſure ſub for the death of a prince ſo amiable as the young *Valdem* diet aſſembled for fixing the ſucceſſion. *Eric* accordingly, ſecond ſon, was choſen by unanimous conſent; and his ronation performed with the ſame ſolemnities obſerve that of his brother. Immediately upon this proviſion made for all the other male children, by aſſigning t certain governments, with a kind of ſupreme autho *Abel*, the ſecond ſon, was created duke of *Southern land*, and *Canute*, the third ſon, held *Bleking* with the titles and authority. No ſooner was *Abel* inveſted with enſigns of his place, than he began aſſiduouſly to cult the friendſhip of *Adolphus* duke of *Holſtein*, by mar his daughter, without any regard to the injuries he done his father, and the quarrel ſubſiſting between t Ambition was the motive for this alliance: he reſe the preference given to his brother *Eric*, and reſolv

(A) To this *Albert* it was that the king had given the government of *Hamburg*, which city he ſold to the inhabitants when he found himſelf deſerted by the *Danes*, and hard preſſed by the duke of *Holſtein*. This event they call the æra of their liberty, though with little ſon, as *Hamburgh* has ſince forced to acknowledge th vereignty of the dukes of *ſtein*. Beſides, it may be u that *Albert* had no right t poſe of a city of which he only governor (1).

(1) *Pont. l.* vi.

ſtreng

ſtrengthen his own intereſt, with a view to claim the crown at his father's deceaſe. *Eric* and his friends were aware of his deſigns, and, in order to counteract them, propoſals of marriage were made to a daughter of the duke of *Saxony*, to whom *Eric* was married in the year 1237 (A). Either marriage was diſpleaſing to *Valdemar*, the fathers of both ladies having long been his bittereſt enemies; and he prognoſticated the effects which muſt neceſſarily attend alliances ſo unnatural. Hatred, however, to the *Lubeckers* made him enter into a treaty with *Adolphus*, who had quarrelled with them. The king not only reinforced him with a ſtrong body of land-forces, but likewiſe ſent a fleet up the *Trave*, blocked up the mouth of the river with ſtrong chains and booms to prevent any ſuccours being ſent into the city, and engaged *Adolphus* to lay cloſe ſiege to it by land, while his fleet inveſted it on the ſide of the river. The particulars of this ſiege we know not, only that the *Lubeckers*, finding themſelves hard preſſed for want of proviſions, were buſied in altering the channel of the river, when a large fleet of their merchantmen arriving ſeaſonably with a fair wind, broke the chains, ſupplied the garriſon, and was probably the occaſion of raiſing the ſiege; although the *Daniſh* hiſtorians aſcribe it to ſome other views, upon which *Valdemar* and *Adolphus* retired. What theſe deſigns were we are not told; though we are left room to conjecture, that a war which happened between *Denmark* and *Norway*, about this time, was the occaſion of *Valdemar*'s withdrawing his forces. But of this war we neither know the cauſe, the particulars, or the event.

Lubec *beſieged.*

KING *Eric*, in his Annals of *Denmark*, takes notice of a great war carried on by *Valdemar* this year in *Livonia*, in which a prodigious army of *Muſcovites* was defeated, a number of towns taken, and almoſt the whole country ſubdued under the dominion of the crown of *Denmark*. The royal writer is, however, ſo conciſe in his relations, that we know little more than that there was a war, which terminated fortunately to *Valdemar*.

A. D. 1239.

HAVING put an end to theſe foreign tumults, which had ſo drained the kingdom of men and money, the king now applied himſelf to the framing of laws, encouraging induſtry,

(A) The abbot of *Stade* calls this lady a daughter of the duke of *Anhalt*. Some other writers ſay, ſhe was daughter to the duke of *Lunenburg*; but king *Eric*'s Chronicle, which muſt be deemed the moſt undoubted authority, aſſerts that ſhe was daughter to *Albert* of *Saxony* (1).

(1) *Pontan. p.* 318.

and

and easing the subject from the weight of the heavy taxe
cessarily imposed to support the honour of the crown, a
A new body of laws compiled. indignities put on the whole kingdom. For this pur
general diet was held at *Verdenburg*, and a new body of
framed out of the imperial, civil, and canon laws, e
which had before been used in different parts of the king
Upon this occasion were settled the rights of the princ
people, and all circumstances criminal, civil, and eccle
cal; so that from this time we may date the origin o
constitution, which subsisted until the great revolution
year 1665. It must be esteemed very extraordinary,
dering the importance of this body of laws, that no
has preserved a copy of them, or even related their co
in a summary way; and that they should have satisfied
selves with acquainting posterity that they were wise, w
some, and a greater ornament to *Valdemar* than all the
transactions of his reign. Such is the manner in which
skim over the most remarkable and important events i
annals of this country, probably for no other reason tha
trouble which would attend consulting the original arch

A. D. 1240. Valdemar's *death and character.* *VALDEMAR* had now attained an advanced age.
had seen his kingdom raised to the highest pitch of glor
power, through his own merit; he had seen it sink int
deepest distress, from an accident which only affected hi
son; but that fully demonstrated of what importance hi
tues were to the good of the nation; and now he saw it
restored to peace, tranquillity, good order, and felicit
means of his prudence, discretion, and moderation.
satiated with esteem, glory, and worldly grandeur, this
prince resigned his last breath in the month of *April*,
leaving his unhappy people a prey to the ambitious an
natural contentions of his children.

SECT. VII.

Containing the Transactions of Denmark *down the Year* 1337.

ERIC VI. *surnamed PLOG-PENNING*

Eric VI. *surnamed* Plog-Penning. NO sooner were the last obsequies paid to the mem
the late glorious monarch, than his son *Eric*, some
before chosen his successor, mounted the throne at the a
twenty-five. *Canute*, his brother, by the same father, w

this time governor and duke of *Bleking*: he ſoon poſſeſſed *Laaland*, and in time acquired the power and title of duke of *Falſtria*. *Abel*, his full brother, was duke of *Sleſwick* and all *South Jutland*, and *Chriſtopher* of *Falſtre*. Beſides theſe provinces, each of the brothers had their ſeparate fortunes aſſigned them, independent of each other; a regulation the moſt erroneous of *Valdemar*'s reign, though intended for the mutual good of all his children, among whom he endeavoured to ſhare his affection equally. Each poſſeſſing a ſovereign independency, a rivalſhip enſued. It made room for intrigue, and all the engines of ambition, which ſoon ſuppreſſed every emotion of brotherly love. *Abel*, even in his father's lifetime, wholly eſtranged himſelf from his family, and united cloſely with his wife's friends, the moſt inveterate foes of his own blood.

The origin of the civil divisions in Denmark.

WHAT firſt gave occaſion for an open rupture was a deſign *Eric* ſet on foot to recover all that country north of the *Elbe*, ſo unjuſtly extorted from his father in exchange for his liberty. *Holſtein* was comprehended in this diſtrict; and *Abel*, being not only the ſon-in-law of *Adolphus* IV. of *Holſtein*, but the guardian of his children, ſince that prince's retreat into a monaſtery, thought himſelf obliged, in honour and intereſt, to defend their rights. With this view he ſtruck up an alliance with the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and other ancient foes to his father. He refuſed all the equitable propoſals offered by *Eric*; and, by the ſpring of the year 1242, brought matters to ſuch a criſis, that they were ripe for an open rupture. *Crantzius*, indeed, contrary to the teſtimony of all other writers, ſeems to lay the blame on *Eric*; for he aſcribes the ſubſequent war to the violence uſed againſt the *Lubeckers*, who were fiſhing on the coaſts of *Zealand*, whither they were carried priſoners, and detained. To revenge this inſult, he relates, that *Abel* fitted out a ſquadron, with which he attacked *Haffnia* (now *Copenhagen*), and, after demoliſhing it, retired with a great booty. *Pontanus*, however, with more reaſon, attributes the whole to the ambition of *Abel*, and the inſtigation of his wife's friends: an account perfectly conſiſtent with the characters of both princes; for nothing could be more moderate, juſt, and prudent, than the whole conduct of *Eric*, or more the reverſe of this than the meaſures of the hot-headed *Abel*.

War commenced.

A. D. 1242.

ERIC, finding his brother deaf to all his remonſtrances, raiſed an army, equipped a fleet, and landed his men near the promontory of *Eldenez*. Nor was *Abel* leſs vigilant; for there he met him with a power not inferior. Both armies were ready to come to an action, had not ſome mutual friends

A peace concluded between Eric *and* Abel.

interpoſed, and by their good offices happily effected a compromiſe for that time, on this condition, that the young princes of *Holſtein* ſhould be brought home from *Paris*, and the management of their own affairs committed to them. All the allies on either ſide were comprehended in this treaty, and the ſore, which had for years diſunited the different parts of *Valdemar*'s kingdom, was ſuddenly ſkinned over by the art of ſtate-empirics, who had neither honeſty nor ability to probe it to the bottom, and remove the original cauſe of the diſorder.

THE young princes of *Holſtein* being now returned home, to the great joy of their ſubjects, the guardianſhip was taken out of *Abel*'s hands; yet, though this bone of contention between him and *Eric* was taken away, there occurred another handle of diſpute. *Eric* demanded homage for the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, which *Abel* poſitively refuſed, claiming it as an independent ſovereignty. Hoſtilities commenced upon this, and perpetual incurſions were made into each other's territories. *Sleſwick* was invaded by the elder brother, and the younger retaliated by making deſcents on the *Daniſh* iſlands: but before the end of the year this irregular and piratical war was terminated by the interpoſition of ſome mediators, who were well diſpoſed to both parties.

A. D. 1244. *War renewed between the brothers.*

IT was about the cloſe of the year 1246, that *Eric* reſolved to revenge the inſults which the *Lubeckers* had committed againſt his father and himſelf. As they were not comprehended in the late treaty between him and *Abel*, he made no formal declaration of his intention; but ordered their ſhips to be ſeized wherever they were found, and ſent a ſquadron up the *Trave* to block up the city, and ruin their commerce. Theſe merchants, in their turn, made deſcents on the coaſts of *Denmark*; and having the addreſs to engage the princes of *Holſtein* and archbiſhop of *Bremen* in their quarrel, brought *Eric* to think of a peace before any deciſive blow was ſtruck; that wiſe monarch not chuſing to involve himſelf in another quarrel with the *German* princes.

The Lubeckers *make deſcents on* Denmark.

NO ſooner had he terminated this quarrel than the diſpute with *Abel* was renewed. *Canute* and *Chriſtopher*, the two younger brethren, joined with *Abel* in refuſing homage to *Eric*, and he, in his turn, inſiſting upon it, both ſides had recourſe to arms. *Abel* firſt commenced hoſtilities by making a deſcent in *Fionia*, burning *Othonia*, the capital of the iſland, and ſeizing upon *Saneburg*, which he claimed as his own, and accordingly garriſoned with a ſtrong body of troops. *Eric*, arriving ſoon after with his army before the place, took it, laying the whole in aſhes. Afterwards making a deſcent in *Falſtria*, and the dominions of *Chriſtopher*, he obliged him to acknow-

A. D. 1247.

knledge his ſovereignty. This advantage was ſucceeded
ther; for he took *Canute* priſoner, and confined him in
aſtle of *Stigen*, from whence he was delivered by the
h fleet, which took and deſtroyed the fortreſs.
EL and his aſſociates carried on the war by ſea with
vigour; while the king, calling in the *Vandals* as auxi-
, entered *Holſtein*, took *Oldenſloa*, and obtained a vaſt
Canute and *Chriſtopher* ſeized upon all *South Jutland*;
nen inveſting the city of *Ripen*, ſoon became maſters
f it and the citadel, making *Eſchil* the biſhop with all
ildren priſoners. *Eric*, on the other hand, got poſſeſ-
Laaland, *Falſtria*, and all the other territories of *Chriſ-*
, who broke his engagements with the king; to which
ded *Bleking* and *Canute's* dutchy of *Schonen*, annexing
all to his crown. Thus the war was purſued with great
ſity, but without any deciſive blow, for the whole year.
cloſe of the campaign a truce was agreed upon, and ſome A. D.
l overtures were made towards an accommodation; but 1248.
ice was ſhort, and all endeavours to work a reconcilia-
effectual. The young princes had alienated the affec-
f a great part of the nobility, clergy, and people from
ng. This made them the more indifferent to a peace,
ded new fuel to the flames of war; ſo that, early in the
pring, it was renewed with redoubled vigour. *Denmark*
nt with civil diviſions and external enemies. The *Lu-*
harraſſed the coaſts with their ſhipping; and *Eric* had
enge by means of the *Vandals*, who ravaged *Holſtein*,
hey were defeated by *Abel*. However, the moſt ſignal
age was gained by the king in perſon, who gave battle *The king*
brother *Canute*, defeated, and made him priſoner. After- *defeats his*
he ſuddenly attacked *Flenſburg*, at that time a very opu- *brother.*
art, ſet fire to the town, and laid it and all the neigh-
g country in aſhes. He had now got two of his bro-
in confinement; a ſucceſs which only increaſed the
r of his enemies, and irritated the nobility againſt him.
letermined him to ſet *Chriſtopher* at liberty, on no other
ion than that he ſhould pay him homage, and acknow-
his ſovereignty. *Chriſtopher* readily accepted the terms,
leaſed, and became his brother's vaſſal. He even at-
him in a ſudden irruption he made into *Holſtein*,
the diet of that dutchy ſat; from whence, after burning
wn, he carried a great number of the nobility priſoners
Denmark, all of whom were ranſomed at a high price.
NXT he defeated the *Lubec* fleet in the *Sound*, after taking *The* Lubec
f their ſhips, and deſtroying an equal number. At this *fleet de-*
he had given inſtructions to *Henry Melderp*, governor *feated.*

of *Rendeſburg*, to ſeize the firſt opportunity of *Abel*'s abſe to make an irruption into *Sleſwick*. His orders were punct ly executed, and ſome of the chief cities and fortreſſes ta by ſurprize. *Eſchil*, the biſhop, was likewiſe puniſhed the loſs of ſome valuable effects, for having changed ſi and taken part with *Abel*, through the influence of the a biſhop of *Bremen*. In a word, all *Sleſwick* was ſubdued, moſt as ſoon as entered, by means of the active and vigi *Henry*, reputed one of the beſt officers in the ſervice of *I mark*.

THIS ſeries of good fortune did not long continue. the two princes of *Holſtein*, and the archbiſhop of *Bre* took vigorous meaſures for the recovery of *Sleſwick*. A merous army was raiſed, the *Danes* driven out, and alr all *Jutland* laid waſte; however, the enemy were force retreat with precipitation, on advice that *Eric* was marcl with an army of *Zealanders* to attack them.

IN the mean time *Gerhard*, the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, d and in his room was choſen *Hildebold*, a prelate who did ſo ſanguinly embrace the cauſe of *Abel*. There were wanting ſome friendly mediators among the *German* pri connected by marriage to the rival brothers, who wiſhe ſee this unnatural war, ſo ruinous to the ſubject, ende an amicable manner. *John* marquis of *Brandenburg*, r ried to *Sophia* the king's ſiſter, the duke of *Lunenburg*, *Albert* of *Saxony* intereſted themſelves in a particular man but *Eric* was obſtinate in demanding homage, and *Abe* leſs poſitive in refuſing it, ſo that the war went on in of all endeavours to terminate it by the moſt friendly monſtrances.

AT length *Sophia*, the marchioneſs of *Brandenburg*, at time far advanced in her pregnancy, undertook a journe *Denmark*, hoping by her preſence to work on the minds o brothers: but ſhe was taken with the pains of labo *Flenſburg*, where ſhe miſcarried and died in a few days. circumſtance, with the wiſe conduct of the biſhop of *Lu* at laſt terminated their differences upon the following te

Treaty of peace concluded.

Abel had the title of duke independent, but paid homag *South Jutland*. *Canute* was reſtored to his dominions, w he was to hold upon a feodal tenure. Each ſide was to demnify the loſſes ſuſtained by the other. All the allie either ſide were comprehended in this treaty; and laſtly, king and *Abel* ratified it not only by a written agreeme ſolemn oath, but by twenty hoſtages mutually exchan Moreover it was ſtipulated, that whatever party ſhoul guilty of the ſlighteſt infraction of ſo ſolemn a conven

the hoſtages ſhould have the free liberty of joining themſelves to the oppoſite ſide. Towards the cloſe of the year the treaty was ſolemnly ſigned, ſealed, and executed; upon which all *Denmark* rung with joy, and the moſt riotous expreſſions of public ſatisfaction took place of the miſery and wretchedneſs that every where prevailed.

NEXT year a diet was held at *Roſchild*, in which the king, in a laboured harangue, expreſſed his eager deſire of propagating the Chriſtian faith among the barbarous nations of the North, and the expediency of reclaiming all the former poſſeſſions of *Denmark* in *Livonia*, and along the frontiers of *Ruſſia*, which had been loſt amidſt the late civil commotions. The diet giving their aſſent to his propoſal of undertaking an expedition thither, he then laid before them the exhauſted condition of the treaſury, and the neceſſity there was for raiſing the proper ſupplies by an additional tax. This was a certain ſum to be paid by each plough, under the name of *Ploſchat*, or, as *Eric* the hiſtorian calls it, *Ploch*, or *Plog-Penning*, by which term the king was afterwards ſurnamed. A. D. 1249. *Origin of plog-penning or plough tax.*

WHEN the king's inſtructions for collecting this unuſual tax in *Schonen* arrived, all the people murmured, and threatened to take up arms if any violence was offered in levying a tax which they thought oppreſſive and iniquitous. Matters ran ſo high, that *Eric* believing his preſence was neceſſary, went thither, and began to harangue the people in the mildeſt terms; but their indignation run ſo high, that he was forced to withdraw himſelf precipitately to *Helſenburg*. Thither the malcontents purſued him, laid ſiege to the citadel, and would have taken their king priſoner, had he not prudently eſcaped in the night at a poſtern-gate. As ſoon as the king returned to *Zealand* the tumult ſubſided, but ſtill the tax was unpaid. *Eric* enraged, not only at their refuſal in the preſent emergency of the ſtate, but at the late inſult offered to his perſon, raiſed an army, and marched to *Schonen*. Nor were the malcontents backward in their warlike preparations; for they met him in the field, gave battle to their king, and were overthrown, and forced to pay the tax they had ſo obſtinately refuſed. *The inhabitants of* Schonen *revolt.*

HAVING ſettled the affairs of the kingdom, and made the neceſſary preparations, *Eric* ſet ſail for *Livonia*, where he was extremely ſucceſsful in all his operations, though we find no particular account of them. We are told he was ſuddenly called back by ſome diſputes which had ariſen concerning the execution of the late treaty with *Abel*. The dukes of *Holſtein* demanded the town of *Renſburg*, agreeable to the article, that all parties ſhould enjoy their former rights. This

War between Eric and the princes of Holſtein.

town was ſituated in their dominions; but *Eric* claimed it in right of conqueſt and poſſeſſion, prior to this laſt war. All the negotiations ſet on foot were fruitleſs; and the *Holſteiners* united themſelves to the biſhops of *Bremen* and *Paderborn*, determined to maintain their cauſe by force of arms. *Melderp* commanded the garriſon for the king, the enemy marched to lay ſiege to it, and *Eric* raiſed forces to relieve, with all expedition, this brave officer. On his arrival at *Danewark*, that ſtrong frontier, he bethought him of a viſit to his brother *Abel*, who had taken no part in this quarrel, in order to prevail on him to uſe his influence with the allies to come to a reaſonable compoſition, telling him that he was quite weary of war, and ſhocked at the late effuſion of Chriſtian blood. The king was well received, *Abel* promiſed his utmoſt endeavours ſhould not be wanting; but the demon of ambition had got poſſeſſion of his heart. He had laid a plan for the deſtruction of his brother, who was ſpirited off in a boat, murthered at ſea, and his body thrown overboard, a prey to the ravenous fiſhes. This horrible act was perpetrated by the hands, and originally ſchemed by the villainous heart of *Gudmund*, a prelate baniſhed *Denmark* on account of his vices; but nothing can palliate the conduct of *Abel*, whoſe ungovernable ambition had ſtimulated him to a breach of the firſt duties of humanity, and urged him to the moſt ungenerous violation of the rights of hoſpitality, as well as the cruel and ſhocking crime of fratricide.

Abel *treacherouſly murders the king his brother.*

A. D. 1250. *Death and character of* Eric.

In this manner died *Eric*, a prince whoſe failings were totally obſcured by his excellent qualities both of the head and heart. He had the greateſt probity of ſoul, as well as the trueſt piety, without any tincture of the ſuperſtition of the times. His reign would have been happy to his people, and glorious to himſelf, but for that ſingle error in the great *Valdemar*'s conduct, which enabled the younger brothers to claim an independency on the elder. Without great military talents his courage and good ſenſe gained him the reputation of an able general. His politics were ſound, but clear; they were dictated by honeſty and ſound judgment, without any of thoſe dark windings, and that unfathomable myſteriouſneſs, which have falſely acquired the reputation of deep policy, for no other reaſon than that they equally confound and perplex the contriver and the world. In a word, *Eric* was generous, ſincere, brave, and liberal, ſtrenuous to maintain the dignity of his crown, but unambitious of extending his prerogative beyond the meaſures of equity and prudence. This however may be denied by thoſe who aſcribe to ambition the deſire he had of reducing his brethren under his ſovereignty. We think

think otherwiſe. The provinces aſſigned to them had always been dependent on the crown: it is probable that *Valdemar* meant they ſhould ſtill continue ſo; if not, certain it is, that he had no power to make this partition without the conſent of the ſtates; and yet we find it confirmed by no other authority than his laſt will.

ABEL endeavoured to ſcreen his own guilt by promulgating a report, that *Eric* had periſhed at ſea by the veſſel's foundering. For a time this ſtory met with credit, although there were not wanting perſons who ſuſpected his treachery. In a ſhort time, all was diſcovered by the mangled body of the king, which was thrown by the waves on the ſhore, taken up by ſome monks, and privately depoſited in the monaſtery of *St. Laurence*. Before his death *Gudmund* had extorted from him a confeſſion of the place where he had depoſited his private treaſure; but, on examination, nothing beſides a few jewels and rich garments were found.

A B E L.

ERIC dying without iſſue male, the ſtates aſſembled for the election of a ſovereign, and though they deteſted *Abel* on account of the unnatural crime he had committed, yet they choſe him king for conveniency, and to avoid the civil wars which would neceſſarily enſue from ſetting him aſide. By this means they indiſputably reunited the dutchy of *Sleſwick* to the crown; they run no hazards from the power of *Abel*, who would probably have joined himſelf to his late allies, had his claim been overlooked; they annexed *Sweneburg* and *Schelfiſcore*, the hereditary patrimony of *Abel*, to the *Daniſh* dominions, and gained many other advantages, all of which, in our opinion, were more than counterbalanced by the crimes of the new monarch; but the diet thought otherwiſe. As yet indeed the murder was not clearly proved upon him; for the royal body had not appeared till after the election. He had, by ambaſſadors, modeſtly pleaded his right, and defended his own character with ſuch arguments as weighed with a majority: he declared, that the veſſel had been overſet by the great number of people which had entered her in a tumultuous manner, with a view of doing the king honour by a ſplendid retinue; but this relation was not only contradictory to the report he had ordered to be publiſhed, but inconſiſtent with itſelf, as the king alone, of all the paſſengers, was miſſing. However, he granted extraordinary immunities, and diſtributed preſents among the biſhops and inferior clergy, by whoſe influence chiefly he gained his point. In a word, he was crowned in leſs than two months after his brother's death, having firſt

Abel elected king, and the diet's reaſons for chuſing him.

ſolemnly ſworn that he had no concern in it; but that *Eric* was killed by ſome ſoldiers at the inſtigation of private enemies. It is ſtrange that ſo reſpectable and wiſe an aſſembly ſhould be capable of putting themſelves under the authority of a perſon, whoſe equivocation and different accounts were the ſtrongeſt proofs of his guilt, and who, to the unnatural crime of parricide, ſuperadded that of perjury and ſubornation; for he had procured twenty noblemen to join with him in the oath.

Abel *is ſtung by his own conſcience.*

ABEL had not long enjoyed the diadem, before his conſcience began to torment him. In examining *Eric*'s will, he found that the deceaſed prince had reſolved upon abdicating the crown and retiring to a monaſtery; and that he had appointed him his ſucceſſor, provided the conſent of the diet could be obtained. He likewiſe found a legacy to himſelf, an intire forgiveneſs of all that was paſt, and the moſt affectionate expreſſions of regard for all his brothers, and *Abel* in particular. Theſe circumſtances pierced his breaſt like daggers, called to his remembrance the virtues of his brother, and rendered him, though the greateſt, yet the moſt miſerable perſon in *Denmark*, becauſe he was the moſt guilty.

BEFORE his acceſſion to the throne he had ſent his eldeſt ſon *Valdemar* to be educated in *France*; he now recalled him to inveſt him in the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, though his brother *Chriſtopher* had applied for that dignity. In paſſing through the biſhopric of *Cologn*, the young prince was ſeized by order of that prelate, and detained for four years in priſon. For this act of violence we find no cauſe aſcribed, beſides the deteſtation in which the biſhop held the whole family, ſince the murder of *Eric*.

A. D. 1251.

THE *Poliſh* writers relate a war that happened this year between *Boleſlaw* king of *Poland* and *Abel*. *Peter Dowin*, ſon to *William*, who was private treaſurer to *Eric*, had fled from *Denmark* upon that prince's death, with all the treaſure, to prevent its falling into the hands of the parricide. *Peter* was a man of ſingular talents, inſinuating, polite, eloquent, and virtuous; he had ſo ingratiated himſelf with *Boleſlaw*, that he attained very high honours in *Poland*, and became the favourite of the king and court. He had learned the language, was ſo winning in his addreſs, and had ſo ſhaped himſelf to the manners of the country, that all men rejoiced at his elevation, though a foreigner. When he found his influence eſtabliſhed, he related the cauſe of his flight to *Boleſlaw* the king, and artfully led on that generous prince to a war which might at the ſame time puniſh the crimes of *Abel*, and extend the limits of his own dominions. Accordingly

War between Poland and Denmark.

ordingly a powerful armament was equipped, with which *Boleſlaw*, accompanied by *Peter* and *Eric*'s treaſure, ſailed nto *Denmark*, where he was joyfully received by all ranks f people, as his proclamation aſſured them his ſole intenion was to avenge the murder of *Eric*. After all, however, e performed nothing; for having put the treaſure into the ands of the diet, he returned to *Poland*, leaving the *Danes* o the free choice of a king. This ſtory is related by *Croner* and *Herbut*, two *Poliſh* hiſtorians; but wholly omitted y the *Daniſh* writers, and probably with good reaſon, as it eems fraught with abſurdity and anachroniſm, as appears y comparing the years when *Boleſlaw* and *Abel* reigned.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year a diet was held, in which t was enacted, that *Canute* and *Chriſtopher* ſhould remain in he full poſſeſſion of the dominions left them by *Valdemar*; hat a general tax ſhould be raiſed for the payment of the rown debts contracted in the laſt war, and for redeeming the aſtles and forts, pledged to neighbouring princes, in order to raiſe money.

DURING the late wars between *Eric* and *Abel*, ſome diſputes aroſe between *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, about certain frontiers, which the circumſtances of the ſtate would not then permit *Eric* to adjuſt. Now a congreſs of plenipotentiaries of the three nations was fixed, to ſettle the matter in an amicable manner, and inſtructions were given to the *Daniſh* ambaſſadors by the diet, and not by the king, a thing not uſual; whence we may conclude, that the general aſſembly of the ſtates aſſumed to themſelves more power in this than they had done in former reigns; and that the hatred of the people to *Abel* laid him under certain reſtrictions unknown to his predeceſſors.

A congreſs for ſettling the diſputes between Denmark, Sweden, *and* Norway.

IT was at this diet that *Abel*, finding the treaſury quite exhauſted, aſſigned lands to *Henry Melderp*, in lieu of a large ſum of money due upon arrears. This tranſaction occaſioned ſome diſputes between them which terminated in blood; although the circumſtances that attended it are very obſcurely related by all the writers we have ſeen. *Crantzius*[a] aſſigns a different cauſe for this quarrel, affirming that the *Embdeners*, and the inhabitants of *Rendſburg*, *Frederickſtadt*, *Tonningen*, and thoſe towns and countries ſituated between *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*, refuſing to pay the new laid tax, ſo irritated the king, that levying an army he engaged and defeated them; but the rebels making head the next day, attacked the king in his camp, and after an obſtinate conflict routed his army, and

Abel *defeated and ſlain.*

[a] Page 102.

ſlew

ſlew him, determined not to be conquered in the field, on *St. Peter's-Day*, in the year 1252. It was ſome days before his body could be found among the prodigious carnage that was made, to which his ſingle arm greatly contributed. As ſoon as known, the royal corpſe was taken up and carried to *Sleſwick*, where it was buried with the magnificence ſuitable rather to his birth than to his virtues. *Abel*, it muſt be acknowledged, was brave, and poſſeſſed many of the other qualities of a great monarch; but ambition was the prevailing paſſion of his heart. This had ſuppreſſed all the dictates of humanity, and the ſtrongeſt natural affections; ſo that he breathed his laſt gloriouſly, left his memory ſtained with the horrid crimes of fratricide, perjury, and ſubornation, and died admired for his virtues, deteſted for his vices, dreaded for his power, but unlamented by all who had any regard for honour, humanity, and truth.

His character.

CHRISTOPHER I.

Chriſtopher I.

ABEL left two ſons, the eldeſt of whom, *Valdemar* by name, was ſtill a priſoner at *Cologne*. *Matilda*, his mother, and now queen-dowager, uſed all her endeavours to have him elected, though a captive, and ſhe made a very conſiderable party in the diet in his favour. However, it was reſolved by a majority to beſtow the crown on *Chriſtopher*, brother to the late king, in order to avoid the diſturbances which his power might probably occaſion. In a word, the ſame reaſons influenced them in the preſent election, which had prevailed in the former, without the objections that lay againſt *Abel*, as *Chriſtopher*'s character was unſtained by any crimes of a deep dye. Indeed, the people were ſomewhat prejudiced, though unjuſtly, againſt the innocent *Valdemar*, on account of the guilt of his father. They looked upon him as a branch of the ſame ſtem, which conſequently muſt inherit its qualities.

The reaſons which influenced the diet to elect Chriſtopher.

BEFORE his acceſſion *Chriſtopher* had married *Margretta Sobiria*, daughter to the duke of *Pomerania*. He began his reign with granting all its wonted privileges and immunities to the dioceſe of *Lunden*, though we are no where told how it came to be deprived of them; and ordained beſides, that none of the ſuffragans of this ſee ſhould pay taxes to the crown, or be obliged to quarter ſoldiers.

IN the beginning of the following year he took upon him the guardianſhip of *Abel*'s children, and demanded an oath of allegiance from *Henry Meldorp*, who held the towns of *Stenburg* and *Schelfiſcore*, part of the patrimony of *Abel*. They had been pledged to *Henry*, and being a man of great ſpirit and

and warlike abilities, he inſiſted upon holding them in his own right, until they ſhould be redeemed by the payment of the money he had lent upon them. This diſpute terminated in blows, *Chriſtopher* was defeated, and many of his nobility ſlain. Rendered more bold by his victory, *Henry* laid all the adjacent country under contribution; but hearing that *Chriſtopher* was marching towards him with a very powerful army, to which he could only oppoſe a handful of men, he took ſhip and retired out of the kingdom. *Chriſtopher* laid ſiege to the two cities in diſpute, took and razed them to the ground, after putting the garriſons to the ſword.

War between Chriſtopher *and* Meldorp.

The king is defeated.

THIS tranſaction was ſoon followed by a quarrel with the princes of *Holſtein*. *Chriſtopher* went over to *South Jutland* to receive an oath from the people, as the guardian of his nephews. The *Holſteiners*, believing he had ſome other deſign, requeſted, by ambaſſadors, that he would reſtore their patrimony to his nephews, who were now of age to manage their own affairs, and put the dutchy of *Sleſwick* into the hands of ſome diſintereſted perſon, in truſt for the lawful heir. This the king refuſed, affirming that it was a fief of the crown, and was always conferred on one of the king's children. They perſiſted, and he was obſtinate. At length matters came to a criſis, and the ſword muſt determine the conteſt; for ſuch is the method princes have ever choſen to decide points of equity.

War commences between Chriſtopher *and the princes of* Holſtein.

BEFORE hoſtilities commenced *Chriſtopher* called a diet, and had the addreſs to procure a decree, whereby *Abel*'s children were excluded the ſucceſſion, and the crown ſettled upon his own iſſue male, provided he left any behind him. Immediately he equipped a fleet, and attacked *Sanderburg*, the walls and fortifications of which he demoliſhed. In the mean time *Hacquin*, king of *Norway*, whether in alliance with the princes of *Holſtein*, or whether he ſeized this opportunity of revenging ſome injury received from *Chriſtopher*, we are not told; but he invaded *Halland* with a great fleet, laid the country waſte, and committed terrible ravages wherever he went, leaving at laſt his life in the country as an atonement to the unhappy people, for the loſſes they ſuſtained by his cruelty.

Particulars of this war.

ALL this while *Chriſtopher* oppoſed, in perſon, the *Holſteiners*, joined by the *Brandenburgers*, *Lubeckers*, ſeveral *Vandal* cities, and *Henry Meldorp*, who was greatly inſtrumental in forming this confederacy. The allies made their firſt attack on *Sleſwick*, whence they carried off the biſhop and a number of the nobility. The ſhores of *Schonen* ſwarmed, and were continually harraſſed with the *Lubec* and *Vandal* pirates, where,

at

A. D. 1253. at laſt, they met with a ſquadron of the king's ſhi fought a bloody and drawn battle. *Meldorp* invaded 2 he attacked the iſland of *Mona*, and there forced the caſtle *Stega*. Paſſing from thence into *Falſtria*, he *Nicoping*. Nothing could be more vigorous and acti the operations of the confederates during this campaig was *Chriſtopher* idle; but he was diſtracted amidſt the of his enemies, and unable to oppoſe himſelf to th Seaſonably for him ſome of the *German* princes offere mediation, and a peace was concluded on theſe tern That *Chriſtopher* ſhould reſtore to his nephews the du *Sleſwick* at a certain time appointed, and put them in diate poſſeſſion of their patrimony in *Denmark*: Th ſhould ſign the decree paſſed at the diet of *Neoburg*, w they were excluded the ſucceſſion, reſigning all their A. D. 1254. *Chriſtopher* and his iſſue: That *Chriſtopher* ſhould ind them for their loſſes by the war. Other articles were to which both parties ſubſcribed; the duke of *Pomera* the *Vandal* princes being appointed guarantees of the pe ance of the treaty.

Peace concluded.

A diſpute between Chriſtopher *and the biſhop of* Lunden.

CHRISTOPHER had ſcarce breathed after this w fore he was engaged in another quarrel. The archbi *Lunden* dying, *Erland* biſhop of *Roſchild* was choſen ceed him, without the king's conſent or knowledge. then cuſtomary, that no biſhop could be removed fr ſee, or any way promoted, without ſuch election was by the king. They were likewiſe obliged to ſerve in th except the contrary was permitted through the ſpecia of the ſovereign. *Erland*, however, ſecure of the pop tection, not only diſregarded theſe forms, but totally c the eccleſiaſtical laws and ſtatutes of *Schonen* for new his own. *Chriſtopher* was ſo incenſed at this haught duct, that he fitted out a fleet againſt him, entered th *Sley*, inveſted *Gaſenburg*, and demoliſhed its fortific Finding his ſchemes thwarted by *Matilda*, the queen-do he determined to ſecure her intereſt, by ſettling *South* upon her; but this *Erland* prevented, by marrying her duke of *Swedeland*, though ſhe was actually betrothed biſhop of *Othon*.

A detail of this quarrel, and the biſhop's conduct.

A. D. 1255. We hear no more of the quarrel between the king a archbiſhop; for *Valdemar* being now ſet at liberty, by t terceſſion of his uncle *John*, required all *Chriſtopher's* tion to adjuſt matters between them. This was effect reſigning to him the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, which was do the king's delivering him a ſtandard in the uſual form receiving from him an oath of allegiance, and the ceren of vaſſalage,

THIS year *Chriſtopher* ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to congratulate pope *Alexander* on his acceſſion to the papal dignity, and to procure from him a confirmation of the ſovereignty of the *Vandal* country, granted to his father *Valdemar* by the emperor *Frederick*. His requeſt was granted; but the clergy, excited by *Erland*, inſtigated the common people, and they refuſed to admit his authority. They went farther, and even committed outrages on the *Daniſh* frontiers, ſeizing towns, demoliſhing forts, and burning villages. The incenſed king gave them battle, and defeated them with great ſlaughter; but was prevented from puniſhing them as they deſerved, by the menaces of the archbiſhop of *Lunden* and biſhop of *Roſchild*, who applied to the pope to retract the grant he had lately made, in caſe the king refuſed to make up matters with the inſurgents. A. D. 1256.

ERLAND, archbiſhop of *Lunden*, exerted more than a papal authority in *Schonen*. He abrogated laws, formed ſtatutes, and paſſed decrees at pleaſure, to the great diſcontent of the king and people. *Chriſtopher* having ſummoned a diet of the people at *Neoburg*, *Erland*, as a mark of diſreſpect, convoked at the ſame time a ſynod of the clergy, to prevent the biſhops from attending the king's ſummons. He had even the preſumption to deſire the king would adjourn the diet until the buſineſs of the ſynod was firſt ended. *Chriſtopher* received this meſſage with diſdain; and perſiſting in his deſign of holding a diet, *Erland* paſſed a decree in defiance of his authority, which ſet the clerical function above ſovereignty itſelf, and ſhewed how neceſſary it was to clip the wings of that ſacerdotal pride and ambition, which rendered the miniſters of *Chriſt* the peſts of ſociety, and the diſturbers of the public tranquillity.

CHRISTOPHER, determining to humble this headſtrong prelate, aſſembled another diet at *Vartenburg*, at which were preſent the dukes of *Pomerania*, *Rugen*, and other great vaſſals of the crown, prevented by the hard froſt from attending the laſt diet. Here he drew up an indictment againſt *Erland*, containing the following charges. 1ſt, That without the royal aſſent, or even knowledge, he had uſurped the archbiſhopric, and even preſumed to ordain other biſhops by his own ſole authority. 2d, That after ſwearing allegiance to himſelf and ſon, he refuſed to crown either, and interdicted thoſe perſons who had performed the duty. 3d, That he had forbid the biſhops, under pain of excommunication, from ſerving in the wars at the king's expreſs command; though, by the laws of the land, they were bound to do this as well as the laity. 4th, That by unſeaſonably convoking a ſynod, in

Chriſtopher's *charge againſt* Erland.

in contempt of the royal authority, he had occaſioned great loſs to the nation by procraſtinating public buſineſs. 5th, That in this ſynod he had paſſed certain decrees, which he got ratified by the pope, diametrically oppoſite to the laws of the kingdom, and extremely deſtructive of the public weal. To theſe articles of indictment were added ſeveral other heads, equally grievous. The haughty prelate was now forced to ſtoop and bend his proud neck to ſovereignty. He petitioned the prince of *Pomerania* to intercede with the king; but *Chriſtopher* was deaf to all extenuations of crimes ſo heinous. He inſiſted on the archbiſhop's anſwering to every ſeparate article of the charge: however, time was granted, and the prelate reſpited until the next diet.

A. D. 1257. NEXT year the quarrel was dropt, without any apparent reaſon, juſt as the diet had met; and ſoon after reſumed, upon account of the archbiſhop's excommunicating a certain lady of quality, without aſſigning juſt reaſon for ſuch a conduct. After ſolemnly citing *Erland* before his tribunal, the end of this diſpute was depriving the archbiſhopric of *Lunden* of all the extraordinary privileges and immunities conferred on it by former kings of *Denmark*, and reducing it to the condition of other dioceſes, over which it was raiſed by the king's favour to *Eſchil*, the former biſhop.

NOR was the prelate enough humbled with this indignity. He had brought over to eſpouſe his quarrel the biſhops of *Othon*, *Roſchild*, and *Ripen*, with other dignified perſonages of the church, as well as the duke of *Pomerania*. Relying upon their powerful intereſt, he grew more inſolent, demanded ſeveral privileges which former archbiſhops had never claimed, and was juſt on the brink of renewing the conteſt with redoubled warmth, when *Valdemar* of *Sleſwick*'s death for a time diverted the king's attention to other objects.

Quarrel between Eric and Chriſtopher.

IN the letters patent, by which *Valdemar* held *Sleſwick*, no mention was made of his heirs: his brother *Eric* demanded it, however, as his right; and the king claimed it as his, ſaying, that the letters patent certainly intended it ſhould fall back to the crown, by their making no proviſion for the natural heirs. Thus a freſh war was kindled: *Eric* raiſed forces; but the king marched againſt him with an army ſo powerful, as forced him to relinquiſh the defence of *Sleſwick*, which fell an eaſy prey to the king. Having placed garriſons in all the caſtles, he returned to *Denmark*; and calling an aſſembly at *Othon*, had his ſon *Eric* not only declared his ſucceſſor, but crowned with all the uſual ſolemnities. This rather was the intention of *Chriſtopher* and the aſſembly; but the archbiſhop of *Lunden* not only refuſed to perform the ſolemnity, but prohibited

hibited all the other biſhops of the kingdom, under pain of interdiction from fire and water, as well as from adminiſtring the ſacrament. Upon this the diet was removed to *Haffnia*, where *Eric* was crowned by the nobility, and conſecrated by the hands of a private clergyman, who deſpiſed the menaces of the archbiſhop, when it interfered with the duties which he owed to his king and country. A. D. 1258. *The pride of* Erland.

THIS ſolemnity being over, the king informed the diet, that he had certain advice of the ill offices doing him at *Rome* by the archbiſhop of *Lunden*, who had perſuaded the pope, that *Abel's* children were excluded contrary to the general ſenſe of the people, and by the king's ſingle authority: that *Erland* had entered into a written engagement with the biſhops and *Abel's* children, that he would ſupport them againſt all the king's force in maintaining their right to the crown: that he had repreſented the king as an enemy to the eccleſiaſtical order, who had embraced all opportunities of oppreſſing them: finally, that *Erland* had compelled the dowager *Matilda* to give her hand to the duke of *Swedeland*, after ſhe was betrothed to the biſhop of *Othon*. Upon maturely weighing all the particulars of this charge, it appeared to the diet, that there was no ſecurity for the ſafety of the king's perſon and government, unleſs the archbiſhop and ſome other ſacerdotal incendiaries were taken into cuſtody. Accordingly the archbiſhop, his archdeacon, and the biſhop of *Ripen*, were ſeized; the biſhops of *Othon* and *Roſchild* eſcaping upon the firſt alarm. Immediately the whole kingdom was interdicted, agreeable to the reſolution of the laſt ſynod, in caſe violence was offered to a biſhop. The king wrote to the pope, repreſenting to him the haughty conduct of the archbiſhop, the injuſtice and abſurdity of a prelate's aſſuming to himſelf a ſhare in the royal prerogative, and the hardſhip that he ſhould have it in his power to interdict a whole people on account of his reſentment to one man. *The king writes to the pope.*

THESE remonſtrances were no ſooner diſpatched to *Rome*, than he ordered all prieſts within the kingdom, and perſons exerciſing the ſacerdotal function, to adminiſter the communion, under the penalty of loſing their tythes and ſtipends. In the mean time the biſhops of *Roſchild* and *Othon* were buſied in levying forces, having engaged in their alliance the duke of *Pomerania*, the princes of *Holſtein*, and *Jarmerci* prince of *Rugen*. *Chriſtopher* made preparations to weather this ſtorm, by entering into a treaty with *Hacquin* king of *Norway*, and *Birger* duke of *Swedeland*, married to the dowager *Matilda*. Matters were drawing faſt to a criſis; and open hoſtilities muſt have ſoon commenced, had not *Chriſtopher's* death, and the

Chriſtopher's *death and character.*

the prudent conduct of *Margaretta*, his widow, put a to the warlike proceedings. With reſpect to the cauſe o prince's death, there are various relations. Some thi died a natural but ſudden death; while others, with probability, inſinuate that he was murdered by the contri of *Arnefaſt*, biſhop of *Arpius*, and promoted to that ſe *Erland* againſt the king's will. Others attribute the a to the ſame biſhop; but render the means ſtill more infar affirming, that he poiſoned the bread which he admini

A. D. 1259.

to the king in performing the euchariſt: a villainy ſo mous as to merit little credit, did not hiſtory produce inſtances of the ſame nature.

As to *Chriſtopher*, he was rather a deſerving than a prince. He found the treaſury exhauſted on his acce the people violently incenſed againſt the late king, ſtrong faction in favour of his children; and it was his fortune to involve himſelf further, though unavoidabl entering into diſputes with the clergy. At his death he things in much the ſame ſituation he found them; the ſury exhauſted, and the nation ſplit into two powerful tions.

E R I C VII.

Eric VII.

CHRISTOPHER's death made room for his eldeſ *Eric*. As the young king had not yet attained at full age

Margaret, *regent of* Denmark.

mother *Margaret*, a lady of prudence, virtue, and piety, into her hands the reins of government. Her adminiſtr began with troubles, occaſioned by the pope's letters to *merci*, prince of *Rugen*, inviting him to attempt releaſin archbiſhop of *Lunden*. Notwithſtanding *Jarmerci* was a ſal of the crown, at the pope's deſire he made a ſudden cent on *Zealand*, and was met there by a tumultuous a which *Margaret* had raiſed of a ſudden to oppoſe him. battle enſued, and the *Danes* were defeated, leaving ten t

Quarrels between the crown and the clergy.

ſand men dead on the field. The biſhop of *Roſchild* rem the interdiction, and forbid Chriſtian burial to thoſe l fellows, who had loſt their lives in the cauſe of their y king. All the country was laid waſte, and *Haffnia* t and plundered. Not content with laying *Zealand* waſte, *merci* paſſed to *Bornholm*, and inveſting the ſtrong caſt *Hammehuſe*, took it, put the garriſon to the ſword, and dued the whole iſland.

In the mean time *Margaret*, with her ſon *Eric*, took ſh in *Fionia*, where, and in *North Jutland*, levies were ma to renew the war with all poſſible diligence. Happily for t the fierce *Jarmerci* was ſlain while he was plundering a

naſt

: went into *Sweden*, from whence he ſent the moſt viru-
:tters againſt the king to *Rome*. *Margaret* and *Eric*, de-
of a reconciliation with the church, replaced all the
biſhops in their reſpective ſees; but, incenſed at *Erland*,
were no leſs obſtinate than the archbiſhop. At the ſame
ope *Alexander* dying, *Urban* IV. was elected in his room;
n favour with whom ambaſſadors were ſent by *Eric* to
atulate his acceſſion, and obviate all the accuſations
probably would be laid againſt him by his rebellious

FORE theſe diſputes were terminated, *Matilda*, widow *Young* Eric
l, and wife to the duke of *Swedeland*, inſtigated her *lays claim*
ric to claim the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, to which he was the *to* Sleſ-
t heir, his brother *Valdemar* dying without iſſue. The wick.
tants were well diſpoſed towards him, the princes of
n preferred him as a neighbour to the powerful king of
rk, and determined to ſupport him; other princes like-
ountenanced and lent him forces, which, with thoſe he
iſed, compoſed a conſiderable army. King *Eric* and his
r *Margaretta* led an army againſt him, *Findan-Ivan* A. D.
anding under them. A battle was fought near *Lopeid* 1261.
reat fury, a prodigious number was ſlain on both ſides,
ne *Holſteiners* were beginning to fall back in diſorder, *The king*
Findan-Ivan, won by the enemy's gold, treacherouſly *and queen*
ff the *Daniſh* troops, ſuffered himſelf to be taken, and *are taken*
ig defeated and made priſoner with his mother. *priſoners.*
TER this *Eric* took poſſeſſion of *Sleſwick* without reſiſt-
the king was ſent priſoner to *Aiſen*, the queen and the
of *Sleſwick*, who likewiſe fell into the enemy's hands,
:loſely confined at *Hamburgh*, and the latter loaded
hains by order of *Erland*, archbiſhop of *Lunden*. This
, upon the news of *Margaretta*'s defeat, returned from
r, and now grew inſolent without controul. The ſound
of *Margaretta* rendered her confinement ſhort: ſhe
ht matters ſo with *Albert* of *Brunſwick*, that he intereſted

They are releaſed.

himſelf in her releaſe; and ſhe no ſooner obtained her l than ſhe diligently applied for the king's and the biſhoj largement, which was, in a ſhort time, effected by me a high ranſom, and a promiſe to marry his ſiſter to *Al Brandenburg*, as ſoon as ſhe arrived at a proper age.

THE king and *Margaretta* were now at liberty to re the injuries *Erland* had done them during their confine They accordingly drew up a heavy charge againſt him, they ſent to pope *Urban*, beſeeching, that, to eſtabli tranquility of the kingdom, he would withdraw him fr dioceſe of *Lunden*. *Urban* granted their requeſt, and w ſevere letter to that purpoſe to *Erland*; but his holine before his orders took place; and in order to ingratiate h

A. D. 1265.

with *Clement* VI. the ſucceeding pope, the archbiſhoj poſed making a tour to *Rome*. Soon after the pope ſe legate to *Denmark*: he was graciouſly received by king promiſed fair, but in a ſhort time took part with the a ſhop; ſummoned the king and queen-mother to appear him at *Sleſwick*, which they refuſing, he ſet out for and was followed thither by all the biſhops of *Den*

The pope's legate excommunicates the king and queen.

From *Lubec* this ſpiritual tyrant thundered out his im anathemas, interdicting the king and queen-mother, to with all the nobility of the court; after which he depar *Rome*, attended by *Erland*. How this diſpute with and the pope's legate terminated, we know not, as w no farther mention made of it during *Eric*'s reign (A).

FROM this time *Denmark* enjoyed a profound peace, the year 1270. *Eric* was buſied in framing new laws, directions for the ſtrict execution of the old, repleniſhi exhauſted treaſury, and recruiting by every poſſible

A. D. 1270.

the almoſt waſted conſtitution and ſpent ſtrength kingdom, when the *Muſcovites*, *Lithuanians*, and *Se*

Eric ſends an army to Livonia, and defeats the barbarians.

lians, made a ſudden irruption into the province of *E* or that part of *Livonia* ſubject to the crown of *Denmar* conquered by the predeceſſors of *Eric*. They had ov great part of the country, and reduced the inhabita

(A) *Pontanus* indeed obſerves, that *Eric*, in order to make up matters with the holy ſee, made ſome conceſſions to the archbiſhop, and paid him beſides a ſum of money: that the prelate returning from the council of *Lyons*, in the year 127 at *Rugen*, and thus rid th of his greateſt enemy: laſtly, that after this the diction was taken off, th being deſirous of purſui war againſt the *Saracens* (

(1) *Pont. l.* vii. *p.* 366.

great diſtreſs, before *Matthias* with the *Daniſh* fleet came up. On his arrival he landed his troops, fought and defeated the enemy; but purſuing them with too great eagerneſs, he was ſlain in the chace; a loſs that greatly damped the joy of the victory.

To this tranſaction ſucceeded a war with *Eric* of *Sleſwick*, occaſioned by a variety of circumſtances. The king could not digeſt the manner in which that dutchy had been wreſted from him, tho' in fact it was but a poor equivalent for the crown of *Denmark*. He had received complaints from the inhabitants of ſeveral grievances which *Eric* refuſed to redreſs. This prince had likewiſe refuſed to appear before the king's tribunal when cited as a vaſſal; and a diſpute aroſe between them about *Alſen* and other neighbouring iſlands in the *Baltic*. *Eric* commenced hoſtilities, by entering the dutchy with a powerful army, and ſeizing upon the fortreſs of *Tunder*, which he razed. Thence he marched to *Handerſlaw* and *Flenſburg*, making himſelf maſter of both cities, and indeed of almoſt the whole dutchy, without any conſiderable oppoſition. *War between the king and duke of* Sleſwick.

ERIC and his wife dying about this time, the king took upon himſelf the guardianſhip of his three ſons, *Abel*, *Eric*, and *Valdemar*, all minors, and conſtituted *John Witting* governor of *Sleſwick*. This was cauſe of freſh troubles; for the princes of *Holſtein*, couſins to the deceaſed *Eric*, believing this charge ought by right to devolve upon them, reſolved to claim it by force of arms. They croſſed the *Eyder* with an army to attack the king, who, unwilling to enter upon another war, gave the government of the dutchy to the eldeſt ſon of *Eric*, and thus compromiſed matters.

THIS year *Eric* entered into an alliance with *Magnus* duke of *Nicoping*, who had fled from *Sweden* to crave his aſſiſtance againſt *Valdemar*. This prince had uſurped the whole dominion, allowing nothing to the younger brother. *Magnus* haſtened back with the *Daniſh* reinforcement, and ſoon compelled *Valdemar* to reſt ſatisfied with an equal ſhare of dominion: but a quarrel ſoon aroſe between the king and *Magnus*, who having now gained his ends, refuſed to pay the ſum ſtipulated for the aſſiſtance afforded by *Eric*. Nay more, he began to commence hoſtilities, and entered *Schonen* with an army, after he had publicly broke off the late treaty. Here he laid waſte a great part of the country; but was at length ſtopped in his cruel and ungrateful progreſs by *Uffo*, whom the king had ſent to oppoſe him. A battle enſued, *Magnus* was repulſed, and forced to quit the province with diſ- A. D. 1277. *Affairs of* Sweden.

grace. Farther to revenge the inſult, *Eric* ſent privately to *Valdemar*, that if he would hold his crown of *Denmark*, he would reſtore him to the full dominion of his kingdom. His propoſals were readily accepted, *Valdemar* raiſed an army, and was joined by a ſtrong body of *Danes*; but both were defeated, a prodigious number ſlain, and *Valdemar*, eſcaping with difficulty out of the field, was forced to ſeek ſhelter in *Denmark*. This victory was obtained by *Charles Uffo*, general to *Magnus*, and one of the beſt officers of *Sweden*.

VALDEMAR made but a ſhort ſtay in *Denmark*; for as ſoon as forces were raiſed he entered *Gothland*, plundering and laying waſte all before him, as if he had been in an enemy's country; nor did *Magnus* oppoſe him, as he intended to procure a peace by reſigning this province to *Valdemar*. With this view he ſent to *Eric*, to acquaint him that he was ready to pay the promiſed ſubſidy, provided he withdrew his troops; which *Eric* accepting, a peace was concluded.

A. D. 1278. *A rupture between* Denmark *and* Norway.

ABOUT the beginning of this year a war broke out between *Denmark* and *Norway*, owing to *Eric*'s withholding the portion of *Ingeburga*, daughter to *Eric* VI. and wife to *Magnus* king of *Norway*. *Magnus* arriving with a great fleet in *Schonen*, landed his troops at *Scanora*, where he was met and defeated by the *Daniſh* army, leaving five thouſand of his men dead on the field of battle. Thus repulſed, he returned with all expedition to *Norway*, and *Eric* hearing that the ſons of the king of *Sweden* had ſerved in the army of *Magnus*, led his troops to waſte *Gothland*, which he plundered and laid deſolate in revenge. *Magnus* of *Sweden*, unwilling to break the peace, which had ſo lately been concluded, propoſed an interview with *Eric*, in order to adjuſt the difference between them. They met on the frontiers of *Gothland*, and *Eric* agreed to indemnify the loſs which *Sweden* had ſuſtained from this invaſion, by remitting half the ſubſidy to be paid by *Magnus*. On the other hand, the caſtle of *Lodoſia* was pledged to him in ſecurity of the payment of the remaining moiety; and thus the two princes were again reconciled, to the great joy of both kingdoms.

A. D. 1280. *A detail of the war.*

HAVING now ſome little reſpite from foreign wars, he held a diet at *Neoburgh*, in order to redreſs ſome grievances of which the people loudly complained. Of theſe we know nothing more than that a decree was paſſed on this occaſion, which formed a ſupplemental part of the laws of *Zealand*. The controverſy between him and *Valdemar* of *Sleſwick* about *Alſen*, and the other ſmall iſlands ſituated round it in the *Baltic*, was ſubmitted to the determination of a board of decemvirs,

cemvirs, choſen by both ſides. Their verdict was, that *Valdemar* ſhould hold theſe iſlands of the king, paying him a certain yearly revenue in acknowledgment.

THE year 1282 was uſhered in by a peſtilential diſeaſe, by which great numbers of men and cattle were ſwept off, and this was preceded, ſays our author, by a ſtrange appearance in the air of two dragons fighting; the infallible prognoſtic of dreadful calamities. Terrible fires happened in different parts of the kingdom, eſpecially in *Lunden*, which deſtroyed a multitude of houſes and churches. To crown the misfortunes of the year, *Margaretta*, the king's mother, died, deeply regretted by all degrees of people, after having, with great diſcretion and policy, governed the kingdom and her ſon for the ſpace of twenty-three years.

Death and character of Margaretta.

THE death of this excellent princeſs raiſed many enemies to *Eric*, whom her prudence had long repreſſed. *Valdemar* duke of *Sleſwick* laid claim to his patrimony, and determining to ſupport his demand by force, united himſelf to the earl of *Halland*, and *Stigot*, tribune of the *Daniſh* knights, as we find him termed by our authors, though they do not explain the nature of this office. The earl had indeed the ſame reaſons for beginning a war; and *Eric*, to avoid one, ceded *South Jutland* to *Valdemar*, and *Halland* to the earl, reſerving only his own ſovereignty: but this did not ſatisfy them; they ſtill perſiſted in their reſolution to break with the king, to which they were incited by *Hacquin* of *Norway*'s reſolution to renew the war which his father *Magnus* had dropt after his repulſe in *Schonen*. *Hacquin* began with ravaging the coaſts of *Denmark*, burning *Scaga*, a town in *North Jutland*, and grievouſly diſtreſſing the inhabitants of the ſea-ſhore. *Valdemar* at the ſame time was raiſing a ſtorm in the South; and reſolving to ſettle a plan of operations with *Hacquin*, ſet ſail for *Norway*, and was taken on his way by a *Daniſh* ſquadron, and carried priſoner to *Elſinore*. Here he was detained, cloſely confined for ſome months, and then ſet at liberty, at the interceſſion of ſome princes, on ſigning an acknowledgment of his errors, and giving up all his pretenſions to *Alſen*, and the other places he had claimed as his right. This inſtrument was guarantied by the princes who procured his liberty, all of whom took an oath to declare againſt him, ſhould he infringe any ſingle article of the deed he had now ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed.

A. D. 1284.

ERIC, having finiſhed this tranſaction, and patched up a peace with the king of *Norway*, comforted himſelf with the pleaſing hope of enjoying the remainder of his life in tranquility;

A. D. 1286.

Eric *murdered.* quility; but he was treacherouſly murdered a few weeks after by a band of conſpirators, the chief nobility of the kingdom, among whom was *James* earl of *Halland*. The cabal conſiſted of nine perſons, each of them having their particular grudge againſt the king, whom they accuſed of incontinence and avarice, the weak apologies of treachery and rebellion. They perpetrated their deſign as the king was making a progreſs to *North Jutland* to adminiſter juſtice, and ſettle the ſtate of the province, loading him with fifty wounds, while he lay faſt aſleep in his chamber at an inn in *Warburg*, where he had taken the diverſion of hunting for a few days. The murderers were a long time unknown, and might perhaps have ever lain concealed, had not their conſciences riſen in judgment againſt them. Imagining there was no ſecurity for them in *Denmark*, they fled to *Norway*, by which means the whole plot was diſcovered, and their names tranſmitted with ignominy to the lateſt poſterity.

His character. THUS died *Eric* VII. in the flower of his age, and with the reputation of ſeveral virtues, which he obſcured by luſt and avarice. He had debauched the wives and daughters of ſeveral of the nobility, which drew upon him their indignation: and the large ſums amaſſed by his rapaciouſneſs had filled his private coffers, while the public treaſury was empty, and the people oppreſſed with poverty. Theſe vices were, however, more than ſufficiently puniſhed by the nature of his death; and it is probable, if he had lived longer, that experience would have in ſome meaſure corrected them, on perceiving how odious they were to his ſubjects.

ERIC VIII. *ſurnamed the PIOUS.*

Eric VIII. *ſurnamed the Pious.* *ERIC the Pious*, ſurnamed likewiſe *Menved*, ſucceeded to the crown of his father *Eric* VII. As he was yet a minor, his mother and the ſenate governed the kingdom; and *Valdemar* of *Sleſwick* was appointed his guardian. The firſt act of *Eric*'s authority was holding a diet at *Schelfiſcore*, where he propoſed means to the diet for revenging his father's death, and puniſhing the murderers. The conſpirators wanted not friends, who gave them immediate intelligence of the reſolutions of the aſſembly: upon which they planned a ſcheme for ſeizing the king's perſon, and taking the ſupreme government into their own hands. Secret as this plot was kept, *Valdemar* got ſome intimation of it; and having firſt removed the king out of danger, he doubled the guards round the city, and took

took ſuch effectual meaſures as fruſtrated the conſpiracy, and obliged the conſpirators to fly the kingdom.

THIS year likewiſe a ſtrange prodigy, at leaſt what was thought ſo in thoſe dark ages, appeared in the heavens. Three ſuns, as reſplendent as the meridian ſun, were ſeen altogether, each incircled by a beautiful rainbow; but this is a phænomenon eaſily accounted for by every perſon who has made natural philoſophy his ſtudy. It was then eſteemed the harbinger of dreadful calamities.

A SECOND diet was held at *Neoburg*; and here a reſolution was taken, that the care of making an inquiry into this horrid plot ſhould be committed to *Otho* of *Brandenburg*, *Witiſlaw* of *Rugen*, the princes of *Holſtein*, and others of the *Daniſh* nobility, to the number of twenty-ſeven perſons. The committee, upon examining proper evidence, cited *James* earl of *Halland*, *Canute Stigot*, *Nicholas Halanffar*, *Peter Porſe*, *Peter James*, *Nicholas Canute*, *Ago Caccius*, *Ranno Jona*, and *Orvid Benedict*, before them; pronounced them guilty of parricide and high treaſon, the enemies of the king and kingdom, outlawed by the laws of the land, and their eſtates confiſcated to the crown. A. D. 1287. *Inquiry into the conſpiracy.* *The conſpirators are outlawed.*

THE conſpirators, failing in their laſt attempt, had taken refuge a ſecond time in *Norway*, where they ſwore allegiance to the king, at that time on bad terms with *Denmark*, and received from him the caſtle of *Congele*, ſtrong by art and nature. They likewiſe reſolved to fortify, in the ſtrongeſt manner, *Hunelſtrals*, *Warburg*, and other places belonging to the earl of *Halland*, againſt all the attempts of the *Danes*; and thus a war was again commenced between *Denmark* and *Norway*, which continued for the ſpace of nine years, almoſt to the utter ruin and deſtruction of both kingdoms. *War with* Norway.

IN the beginning of the year 1288, *Hacquin* proclaimed war, upon the ſame pretences which both he and his father had uſed in the preceding conteſts. He likewiſe ſkreened the injuſtice of his cauſe under the ſpecious pretext of revenging the injury done to ſome of the firſt nobility in *Denmark*, by robbing them of their eſtates, and baniſhing them the kingdom, without form of trial, or proof of their guilt. However falſe this laſt pretext might be, it gave a better aſpect to his cauſe, and made the *Norwegians*, as well as neighbouring nations, leſs acquainted with the true ſtate of affairs, applaud his motives. Little was done for this year beſides making vigorous preparations; but in the ſpring of the following year *Hacquin* attacked *Elſinore*, and burnt it down to the ground. He ſteered thence to *Haffnia*; but not venturing to land, he turned his courſe to the iſlands *Amagria* and *Mona*, which he A. D. 1288.

laid waſte. After this he ſent *Contorius Cruter* with a ſquadron of light frigates to make an attempt on *Scanora*; but this officer returned with the loſs of two thirds of his whole fleet.

Detail of the war. In the mean time the outlawed conſpirators ravaged the coaſts; and *Stigot*, after deſtroying *Braſingburg*, made a deſcent on *Samſoe*, whence he carried off ſome plunder. He next went to *Torneburg*, where king *Eric* uſed frequently to paſs a few days, and this place he burnt. From hence he ſteered to *Falſtria*, and, after laying deſolate the city *Nicoping*, he inveſted the citadel. The *Norwegians*, thinking to make an eaſy prey of a ſquadron of *Daniſh* ſhips lying off the iſland *Laaland*, were themſelves defeated with great loſs. This obliged *Stigot* to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with all poſſible expedition to *Hacquin*, then at *Amagria*. Here joining forces, they ſailed to *Strebecopia*, burnt it, and then returned to *Norway*.

ERIC, willing to ſpare innocent blood, ſent ambaſſadors with propoſals of peace. He offered to pay to *Hacquin* his mother's portion, provided he would ſeparate himſelf from the parricides, and quit the defence of a cauſe which a good prince ought to bluſh for having ever engaged in: but *Hacquin* inſiſted upon terms for the conſpirators, which broke off the negociation. The queen now brought on a treaty of marriage between the king and *Ingeburga*, princeſs of *Sweden*, and daughter to king *Magnus*. As ſoon as the terms were ſettled the parties were betrothed; and, to connect the families more firmly, ſhe contracted her daughter with the ſon of *Magnus*, both crowns ſoliciting for a diſpenſation at *Rome*.

A. D. 1289. In the ſummer of this year *Hacquin* and the exiles again put to ſea, plundered and burnt the towns of *Alburg* and *Swenburg* in *Jutland* and *Fionia*, ravaged part of *Laaland*, and then returned unmoleſted to *Norway*. But the exiles remained with part of the fleet in the *Baltic*, and fortified *Sproa* and *Hielm*, from whence they propoſed harraſſing the coaſts of *Denmark*. Nor did *Hacquin* remain long in indolence. Next year he returned, and made an unſucceſsful attempt on *Corſora*. Again he turned his arms againſt *Holben* and *Nicoping*, both which cities he burnt and deſtroyed. All this while the exiles were ravaging *Middleford*, and other places of leſs conſideration. *Stigot*, their admiral, had by this time ſo fortified *Hielm*, that it became a place of great ſtrength, and a ſafe retreat; for though the iſland be ſmall, yet its lofty and craggy ſituation renders it extremely difficult of acceſs.

Stigot's death. Until the year 1293 we find nothing material recorded, beſides the rebuilding of *Haſſnia*, and the death of *Stigot*, who

who reſigned his laſt breath with a heroiſm which would have reflected honour on a better life, and in the true *Roman* ſpirit. Aſſembling his friends round him, he ſpoke to them in the following manner: "You ſee, my friends, what our ſituation is. We have weathered every ſtorm, by means of the harmony ſubſiſting among us: we have ſucceeded in every enterprize from the ſame cauſe. Now that I am about to part with you for ever, obſerve this my laſt requeſt, that you ſtill preſerve the ſame unanimity, and God will proſper your undertakings. Chuſe another leader in my room; obey him as you have done me; and let not the ambition of any individual ruin the confederacy, and deſtroy the column of honour we have been ſo long erecting. In this conſiſts your whole ſtrength: like this bundle of twigs, while you cleave together, you are incapable of being broken; apart, you are weak, and may be turned, twiſted, and ſnapped at pleaſure." With theſe words he yielded up the ghoſt, and delivered *Eric* from one of the moſt formidable of his enemies.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year a congreſs was ſettled, at which *Eric* and *Hacquin* were to preſide in perſon, for the adjuſting of their differences. The princes met; but parting without having come to any concluſion, *Hacquin* equipped a fleet, and recommenced hoſtilities, making a fourth deſcent on *Denmark*, to the great loſs and terror of the inhabitants, great numbers of whom were ruined by it. He took the ſhips of *Denmark* at ſea; ſome he plundered, others he deſtroyed; but in general he ſent them into his ports, immediately confiſcating both ſhips and cargoes. A. D. 1293.

NOT long after *Ranno Jona*, another of the conſpirators, was taken in *Roſchild*, and broke upon the wheel; and the archbiſhop of *Lunden* was, by the king's order, thrown into priſon, together with his archdeacon. This latter eſcaping, went to *Rome*, and, by his manner of relating things, incenſed his holineſs violently againſt the king.

IMMEDIATELY on the back of this, a diſpute aroſe between *Eric* and *Valdemar* duke of *Holſtein*, concerning ſome frontier towns, to which both claimed a right; and the king of *Norway*, believing this a ſeaſonable opportunity for purſuing the war, entered into a league with *Valdemar*, and renewed his depredations on the *Daniſh* coaſts. A. D. 1298.

WHILE theſe tranſactions were going forward, the biſhop of *Lunden* effecting his eſcape from *Sedgburg-caſtle*, went firſt to *Bornholm*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he added freſh fuel to the fire already kindled by his archdeacon. In conſequence the whole kingdom was laid under a new interdiction, *The biſhop of* Lunden *eſcapes out of priſon.*

and

and the king mulcted to pay the archbiſhop an immenſe ſum of money, to indemnify his loſſes and diſgrace. *Eric* had ſent his brother *Chriſtopher* and his high chancellor to *Rome*, to plead his cauſe: he now loſt it, and blamed his brother, as either corrupt or indolent, which produced a quarrel between them. Whether the affront put upon the king at *Callenburg* was an effect of this difference, or the cauſe of it, we know not: hiſtory only relates, that *Chriſtopher*'s garriſon in that place ſhut the gates upon *Eric*, juſt as he was preparing to enter the city. Highly incenſed at the indignity, his majeſty returned with a body of forces, in order to puniſh the offenders. *Chriſtopher* was penitent, or rather he profeſſed his ignorance of the whole; but nothing leſs than the death of the principal officers in the town could ſatisfy the king.

Quarrel between Eric *and* Chriſtopher.

A. D. 1299. THE next year was ſpent in a ſeries of altercation with the pope's legate and the biſhop of *Lunden*. The legate had entered wholly into the intereſt of the latter, inſiſting upon terms which the king determined not to grant. He had likewiſe refuſed to pay the fine impoſed on him by his holineſs; and imagining the pope had been deceived by a falſe repreſentation of the nature of the diſpute, he remitted to *Rome* a freſh appeal, and heavy complaints both of the legate and archbiſhop.

IN this ſituation ſtood things between his majeſty and the pope, when ambaſſadors arrived at *Roſchild* from *Lubec*, ſoliciting *Eric* to take upon him the protection of this commercial city, greatly diſtreſſed by a number of ſurrounding enemies, who envied her rapid progreſs, and caſt an eye of deſire on the immenſe wealth ſhe had treaſured up. *Eric* accepted the propoſals, and a treaty was agreed on, whereby he undertook to defend the *Lubeckers* againſt all their enemies, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of ſeven hundred and fifty marks in ſilver yearly. On the other hand, they were to act as vaſſals to the king; and to have in pay a certain number of forces, and a fleet ready to be put in motion at the king's call. The *Lubeckers* were in the mean time to trade freely to all the ports of *Denmark*, as long as this treaty remained in force, and the time was limited to the term of eleven years.

Treaty with Lubec.

A. D. 1300. THIS year a negociation for a peace between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway* was ſet on foot by the duke of *Langland*, who offered his mediation, and renewed the very terms which had been propoſed ſome years before, when the convention was broke off on account of the conſpirators, whom the king refuſed to include. With this view he paſſed over to *Norway*, and obtained from *Hacquin* a promiſe that he would meet *Eric* at *Corſora*, each attended by a few nobility.

lity, and ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of any ſix perſons to be choſen, three by each party, provided that *Eric*'s conſent could be gained. *Eric* eaſily aſſented to a propoſal ſo equitable, and immediately granted paſſports to *Hacquin* and his retinue; but he forbid the regicides to be of the number. After the commiſſioners had taken a ſolemn oath to be ſwayed by no private or national motives, they entered upon buſineſs; but could come to no determination, and thus the congreſs broke up without the happy fruits expected from it.

Congreſs for a peace between Denmark and Norway.

A DIFFERENCE which aroſe between the knights of the *Teutonic* order and the biſhop of *Riga*, had almoſt involved the king in a war with that warlike aſſociation; but the pope's interpoſition prevented the effuſion of Chriſtian blood [a].

IN the year 1302, the king ſent the moſt plaintive and ſupplicating letters to the pope, intreating, that he would be pleaſed to remove his heavy curſe, under which the kingdom had laboured for ſome years paſt, and receive himſelf and ſubjects again into the boſom of the church, allowing them the free uſe of the holy communion, from which they had ſo long been interdicted. His holineſs, moved with his ſupplications, granted his requeſt; the interdiction was taken off, and the whole kingdom rung with joy, as if ſome very ſignal advantage had been obtained. Such was the aſcendency this politic and truly artful ſpiritual ſovereignty had obtained over the minds of princes, rather ignorant than devout, rather ſuperſtitious than pious.

The pope removes the interdiction.

THIS year the war between *Norway* and *Denmark* was again renewed. Nothing, indeed, could be more irregular than the operations of both kingdoms; for, although no peace had been concluded, hoſtilities frequently ceaſed for a year or two, and then were reſumed by making a deſcent on each other's coaſts. *Hacquin* fitted out a fleet, and ravaged the *Daniſh* iſlands; while *Eric* laid ſiege to *Hunelſtrals*, *Warburg*, and other places on the ſea-coaſt; yet at the ſame time a convention was ſitting for ſettling a peace. It would ſeem that *James* earl of *Halland* had attempted the relief of theſe garriſons; but failing in his attempt, he ſurrendered all *North Halland* to *Hacquin*, and made it over to him in perpetuity, putting himſelf and children under that monarch's protection; and making no other terms, than if it ſhould happen that *Hacquin*, by any favourable turn, ſhould ever procure a confirmation of this deed by *Eric*, he would then appoint his eldeſt ſon governor of the country.

War renewed with Norway.

[a] Pro his vid. PONTAN. l. vii. MEURS. l. iii.

NEXT

NEXT year nothing remarkable happened, beſides that the king publiſhed another proclamation, citing the regicides to take their trial according to law. We have already ſeen that they were convicted, and their eſtates confiſcated: to what purpoſe, then, this new proclamation was iſſued, we know not. Certain it is, that none of the conſpirators obeyed the ſummons, and we hear of no new ſentence paſſed upon them.

A. D. 1306. *Eric ſupports his brother-in-law* Birger *king of* Sweden.

IN the year 1306, *Eric* raiſed an army to ſupport *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, his brother-in-law, who was driven out of his kingdom by his brothers. He led his troops to the frontiers of *Weſt Gothland*, where he was met by the enemy. Both armies encamped within ſight for ſome days; and at length a truce, for one year, was agreed to by *Eric* and the *Swediſh* princes. Notwithſtanding this, *Valdemar* duke of *Finland*, one of the brothers, paſſed into *Germany*, where, levying a body of horſe, he made a deſcent on *Schonen*, ravaged the country, and carried off *Chriſtopher*, king *Eric*'s brother. At the ſame time the *Norwegians* landed at *Tormburg*, which place they inveſted; but were repulſed, and driven to their ſhips.

THE following year *Eric* reſolved to return the inſult offered by the duke of *Finland*, in contempt of the late truce. For this purpoſe he raiſed an army, took with him *Valdemar* of *Sleſwick* and his brother *Eric*, marched into the enemy's country, and came within ſight of their army; yet, after all, no battle enſued. The rigour of the winter was ſo great, that the ſoldiers could not handle their arms: beſides, the *Swedes* on his approach ſent to demand equitable terms of peace, to which they declared they would chearfully ſubſcribe. Accordingly a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon, and preliminaries to a peace ſettled, which were never kept. It was the ſame with reſpect to a truce eſtabliſhed with *Norway*, after a very tedious negociation. In truth, *Eric* wanted vigour; he was eaſily amuſed with any pretext that could keep him from entering upon action; his enemies perceived his weakneſs, and converted it to their own purpoſes.

A. D. 1308. *The war renewed with* Sweden.

TWO years after the preceding truce, *Eric* again renewed the war with *Sweden*, in behalf of his brother-in-law, who had all this time lived an exile in *Denmark*. His army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand fighting men, commanded by himſelf in perſon, and under him the chief nobility of the kingdom. Five thouſand horſe were levied in *Germany*, and with theſe forces he entered *Weſt Gothland*, and laid ſiege to *Nicoping*. The enemy, commanded by duke *Eric*, finding themſelves unable to raiſe the ſiege by venturing a battle, were extremely diligent

diligent and alert in diſtreſſing the king, by cutting off all his convoys and forage. For three months *Eric* lay before the city; but carried on his operations ſlowly. His generals had quarrelled, military duty was relaxed, and diſgrace and ruin approaching by large ſtrides; when his majeſty, deſpairing of ſucceſs, broke up the ſiege, and entered upon a negociation for a peace. Terms were ſettled, the treaty ſigned, and the care of the *Daniſh* army committed to *Chriſtopher*, the king's brother, who was to conduct it into *Denmark*. In his march he ſet fire to a great number of villages, and committed many other diſorders, contrary to the truce the king had juſt ſigned; upon which the *Swedes* lodged a complaint againſt him, and he was deprived of his commiſſion, and likewiſe of the dutchy of *Halland*, which the king had beſtowed on him a little before. *Chriſtopher* immediately quitted the army, and joined himſelf to the king's enemies. *Eric* drew up a charge againſt him, which he preſented to the diet of the ſtates; and *Chriſtopher* put in his anſwer ſo clearly to every article of the impeachment, that the diet intereſted themſelves in his behalf, beſeeched the king that he would reſtore him to his favour, and at length procured not only his leave to return, but the dutchy of *Halland*, upon the ſame terms he had held it before. Before this diet broke up, *Birger*, ſo long exiled from his own kingdom, was likewiſe reſtored, and a peace concluded between him and his brothers. A remonſtrance was lodged againſt king *Eric*, by *Hacquin* king of *Norway*, complaining that he had often refuſed the moſt equitable terms of accommodation, and broke off all conventions juſt when matters were on the point of being adjuſted. But to this *Eric* replied, that no terms could be equitable, or indeed honourable to him, that included a pardon for the murderers of his predeceſſor. However, what this remonſtrance could not effect was brought about by a difference which aroſe between *Hacquin*, and *Eric* duke of *Swedeland*. *Hacquin* demanded the reſtitution of *Congel*, *Warburg*, and other garriſons, committed in truſt to duke *Eric*, which he refuſed, and being diſappointed in his expectation of marrying the king of *Norway*'s daughter. *Eric* of *Denmark* thought this the faireſt opportunity for eſtabliſhing a firm and ſolid peace between the courts of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Accordingly he propoſed a treaty of marriage between *Magnus*, ſon to *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, and *Ingeburga*, daughter to *Hacquin*. The terms were accepted, the marriage ſolemnized in *Haffnia*, *Ingeburga* declared queen of *Norway* in failure of the male line, and a ſolid peace concluded between the three northern powers, all brought into a ſtrict union by this alliance.

Eric reduced to great ſtraits.

Eric complains to the ſtates of his brother Chriſtopher.

Treaty of marriage concluded between the ſon of Birger *and daughter of* Hacquin.

NEXT

A. D. 1310. NEXT year *Eric* likewiſe ſpent in giving peace to his bours, and tranquility to his own ſubjects. The pri *Holſtein* were reconciled to *Denmark*, and a certain verſy with *Wratiſlau*, prince of *Rugen*, amicably tern Games and tournaments were inſtituted at *Roſtock*, brate this happy event; and *Denmark*, perhaps, neve more joyful occaſion [a].

A. D. 1311. BUT this calm, ſo neceſſary and ſeaſonable to a cou hauſted with the continual ſtorm of war, was not of l ration. The duke of *Mecklenburg* was deſirous of ſole his nuptials at *Roſtock*; but the citizens had denied l mittance. Incenſed at this indignity, he complained t who wrote a peremptory order to the citizens to do hc the duke; but they perſiſting in their refuſal, he eq

Roſtock *beſieged by the king.* fleet, and ſailed to the coaſts of *Lower Saxony*. Tow land the city was inveſted by the duke of *Mecklenburg* *mar* of *Brandenburg*, and the neighbouring princes, w king's fleet blocked it up on the ſide of the gulph or n the river *Warnow*. Here he ſunk ſhips, laid booms and raiſed works on each, to guard which he left a garriſon, and returned home; but he was ſcarce gon the beſieged made a briſk ſally, deſtroyed all his wo opened the paſſage, building ſtrong towers on each prevent his entering with the ſame eaſe a ſecond tim mediately after this they entered into a league wi neighbouring ſtates, and, equipping a fleet, invaded *D* burning *Sconora*, *Falſterboe*, *Amagria*, *Elſinore*, and c ties, after carrying off a very rich booty.

THIS was an inſult which *Eric* thirſted to reveng ſailed directly for the *Warnow*, attacked the towers t built in his abſence, and, after ſeveral briſk attacks, whi tinued for three days, took them by aſſault. He ne lines round the city, blocked it up by ſea, and, thro of perſeverance, reduced the inhabitants to ſuch diſtre they turned their reſentment againſt the ſenate, and b into an open revolt. They affirmed, that their liberti ſold to the king, and that the mouth of the river was up by their connivance. Enraged at this notion, they maniacs round the ſtreets, ſeized and put to death ſe nators of the firſt diſtinction, tortured others, and at tired with ſlaughter and barbarity, ſent to king *Eric* tc cate his wrath, aſk pardon for their rebellion, and ſue moſt ſubmiſſive terms, for peace. The king, whoſe was prone to mercy, heard their ſupplications, and piti

[a] Vid. Auct. citat ibid.

condition; but the affairs of his kingdom requiring his immediate attendance, he referred the burghers to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, to whom he recommended the mildeſt treatment. A ceſſation of hoſtilities was granted, and commiſſioners were appointed to ſettle the preliminaries for a thorough agreement. The treaty was to be negociated without the walls, but the duke determined otherwiſe; and being implacable againſt the citizens, he found means to convey a party of choice ſoldiers, in two covered waggons, that were entering the city. Theſe ſeized upon the gates, and ſet them open. The duke with his whole army ruſhed in, and an obſtinate battle enſued in the market-place, when the duke perceiving matters like to prove too hard for him, proclaimed the king's orders, that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered by law, without having recourſe to the ſword; and that his only motive for ſeizing the city was to provide his troops with better quarters during a negotiation that might prove tedious. The citizens no ſooner heard this declaration than they drew off, and permitted the duke to quarter his troops without moleſtation. They were mulcted to pay, at three inſtallments, the ſum of fourteen thouſand marks in ſilver, or that value in ſcarlet cloth, and other merchandize, to indemnify the king, the duke, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, for the expences of the war [a]. *The city taken.*

THIS year a conſpiracy formed againſt the king's life was diſcovered by *Eric* of *Langland*'s wife, after his death. She had found a letter in his cabinet, containing an account of the plot and the names of all the conſpirators, and plainly ſhewing that her huſband was deeply engaged in this villainous deſign. Weighing her duty to the king againſt the regard ſhe ought to preſerve for the memory of her husband, at length ſhe determined to reveal the whole, which ſhe did, by preſenting the letter to king *Eric*. The affair was kept a profound ſecret, until the diet was aſſembled, and then the king ordered the paper, ſigned and ſealed by the conſpirators, to be produced. As ſoon as the aſtoniſhment of the people ceaſed, they requeſted that the conſpirators might be ſeized and puniſhed. Immediately *Andrew Hogby* and *Nicholas Ranno* were put in irons, and broke on the wheel, ending thoſe lives in miſery which they had ſpent in planning the moſt villainous and horrid deſigns. All the others, among whom were ſeveral biſhops, particularly thoſe of *Roſchild*, *Othon*, *Wiburg*, and *Sleſwick*, were pardoned, on account of *Eric*'s great regard for their ſacred function, which it would A. D. 1312. *Conſpiracy diſcovered.*

[a] Vid. PONTAN. l. vii.

ſeem was a protection for treaſon and the moſt ne crimes; only a new oath of allegiance was required of which they were at liberty to break as they had done t mer, ſince they were tied down by no pledges or othe rity for their good conduct [b].

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year a new congreſs was at which *Eric*, *Hacquin*, *Birger*, duke *Chriſtopher*, *Va* and *Eric*, dukes of *Swedeland*, with ſeveral other p preſided in perſon. Here it was propoſed to eſtabli late peace, concluded between theſe princes, upon ſolid baſis, as difficulties occurred which had then been over unobſerved, The congreſs ſat for near a twelver and at laſt all particulars were adjuſted to the ſatisfac every individual.

A. D. 1313. *An inſurrection in* Jutland.

THIS year an inſurrection appeared in *North Jutla* cited by ſome of the nobility, who inſtigated the againſt the government, and made them refuſe payn the taxes impoſed by the king and diet. They ſoon bro into acts of violence, murdering the ſteward of the hou whom the king had ſent to appeaſe them. Upon t king put the army in motion, and was marching againſt when the inſurgents thought it adviſeable to ſubmit throw themſelves upon his clemency. *Eric* pardoned but impoſed a new tax, by way of fine, which was con for a long time under the name of *Galdecorn*; and t them for the future, he erected four ſtrong caſtles in th vince, in which he placed numerous garriſons: but th bility did not eſcape with the ſame favour. Four wer ſcribed and baniſhed, and *Peter Porſius* pardoned, on tion that he took an oath at the high altar, to break correſpondence with his late friends, the enemies of his try, and to remove with his whole houſhold into Z within the year.

A. D. 1314. *Diſpute between* Denmark *and* Brandenburg.

ABOUT the beginning of this year a diſpute aroſe bet *Eric* and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, about *Stralſund* inhabitants of which had made ſeveral incurſions into th ritories of the prince of *Rugen*, the king's vaſſal. The prince retaliated, and was ſupported by the king, whil city of *Stralſunde* was protected by the marquis. T were likely to terminate in an open rupture between the courts, when the marquis, apprehenſive of the conſeque made overtures which were accepted. The city of *Stral* was forced to break off the alliance with *Brandenburg*: it obliged to relinquiſh the forts built, and encroachments

[b] MEURS. l. iii.

on the territory of *Rugen*; to acknowledge the ſovereignty of prince *Witiſlaw*; to reſtore all the priſoners, and to indemnify him in the expence of the war. But the next year the citizens of *Stralſunde* broke the firſt article of this treaty, by joining themſelves to the marquis; and ſoon after they ſhewed how little they regarded all the others, by marching in an hoſtile manner into the territory of *Rugen*, plundering and deſtroying the country as they went. *Witiſlaw* diſpatched an account of this tranſaction to *Eric*, who, without delay, ſent *Olaus*, a nobleman of diſtinction, to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, with remonſtrances againſt his conduct, and inſiſting upon the execution of the late treaty; but *Olaus* returned with nothing more ſatisfactory than that the marquis had not attempted any thing againſt the crown of *Denmark*. *Witiſlaw* was in the mean time preſſing for a reinforcement, that he might be able to take the field againſt the enemy, which the king ſent with all the expedition poſſible; but before the *Danes* arrived a peace was ſettled upon much the ſame terms as the former.

ERIC ſtudied peace, and was laying the foundation of a plan for paſſing the reſt of his life in tranquility, when *Eſger Julius*, archbiſhop of *Lunden*, diſturbed his repoſe. What the motives for this quarrel were, we are not informed. The difference was referred to the pope, and decided, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, againſt the prelate, who was mulcted to pay the king five thouſand marks of ſilver in the ſpace of ten years, and rigoroüſly enjoined by his holineſs, to attempt nothing either in his dioceſe or elſewhere, contrary to the will of his ſovereign.

War between Denmark and Brandenburg.

AGAIN the war broke out between *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, *Chriſtopher*, the king's brother, and ſeveral of the nobility, adhering to the latter. The allies fitted out a fleet at *Stralſunde*, and made a deſcent on *Fionia*, where they took by aſſault the city *Swenburg*, and defeated *Flepp*, governor of the iſland, who had collected a tumultuary army to oppoſe them. *Eric*, on the firſt notice, ſent *Harman*, earl of *Glica*, with ſeven thouſand men, to lay ſiege to *Stralſunde*, and ſoon after reinforced him with a ſtrong body of *Swedes*, which *Jarger* had ſent to his aſſiſtance. On his arrival in *Germany*, *Harman* was joined by a great number of princes and noblemen, vaſſals to the crown of *Denmark*. The duke of *Saxe Lawenburg* had, in particular, exerted himſelf to diſtinguiſh his loyalty, in which he was unfortunate; for encamping with his own troops near *Stralſunde*, before the *Danes* arrived, he was attacked by a body of the enemy, who ſallied out of the town, defeated, and taken priſoner. In a few days the

reſt of the army came up and inveſted the town. The ſiege was carried on with very little progreſs for ſeveral weeks, and finding that the king did not arrive as was expected with an army, *Harman* and the princes agreed to break up their camp. *Eric*, indeed, averſe to war, reſolved, if it could be effected, to accommodate matters. This diſpoſition in him induced a number of the neighbouring *German* princes to offer their mediation. Accordingly a peace was concluded, and all the places which the marquis of *Brandenburg* and his allies had ſeized, were reſtored. The marquis was tied down to a ſtrict obſervance of the articles of the preceding treaty, and took an oath not only to abſtain from all attempts againſt the diſtrict of *Rugen*, but to repel, with his whole power, any attempts that ſhould be made by any other prince whatſoever. In a word, *Eric* acquitted himſelf ſo well in this negociation, that notwithſtanding the advantages the enemy gained in the war, through his inactivity, he had a peace upon the ſame terms he might have expected from the moſt vigorous and ſucceſsful operations in the field. We have in our own time ſeen ſimilar inſtances; and perhaps the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Aix-la-Chapelle* will be tranſmitted to poſterity as proofs of the ſuperior utility of miniſterial to military talents.

CHRISTOPHER, the king's brother, could not however obtain the terms he expected; and for that reaſon went over
A. D. to *Sweden*, where he lived in exile until the year 1318. When
1318. the king was taken ill with that diſorder which put an end
Eric *dies.* to his life, he expreſſed his deſire of being reconciled to him, and accordingly granted him a free pardon, without ſtipulating any terms; ſoon after which he died, appointing *Chriſtopher* his ſucceſſor, and earneſtly recommending it to the nobility round him to ſupport his claim (A) [a].

His character. *ERIC* is greatly extolled for his piety, ſound policy, and juſtice. None of the wars in which he was engaged were ſo important as to gain him the reputation of a great warrior; yet notwithſtanding his pacific diſpoſition, he ſeemed by all

[a] CRANTZ. p. 309.

(A) *Pontanus* and *Meurſius* both alledge, that he exhorted them not to elect his brother king, knowing well how unfit he was to govern a great kingdom; and indeed *Chriſtopher*'s conduct would ſeem to juſtify this opinion of him. But we are inclined to believe from the free pardon he granted him, and upon the authority of *Crantzius*, that he actually named him to the ſucceſſion (1).

(1) *Pontan. l.* vii. *Meurſ. l.* ii.

mea

is wanting in valour and military talents. This at leaſt may affirm, that whatever his ſucceſs was in the field, he rs came off with honour and advantage in every peace a he made. He left behind him no children, though he ourteen by his queen *Ingeburga*. This was the greater rtune, as no part of *Eric*'s character was more remarkan his paternal affection[b].

[b] PONTAN. & MEURS. ibid.

SECT. VIII.

ining the Reigns of Chriſtopher II. Eric IX. *and* aldemar *of* Sleſwick; *the Expulſion and Reſtition of* Chriſtopher, *&c. to the Year* 1337.

CHRISTOPHER II.

IC was dead before *Chriſtopher* received advice of his ardon. Immediately he haſtened to *Denmark*, and find- e throne vacant, he ſupplicated in the moſt abject man- ot only the nobility and clergy, but the very dregs and of the people, for their intereſt at the enſuing election. iſtributed preſents, and diſperſed promiſes among them reat liberality; in a word, he was the firſt king of *Den*we find mentioned in hiſtory, who obtained his crown bery, corruption, and arts unworthy of a prince. His rother *John* earl of *Wagria*, canvaſſed for votes in much me manner, but with leſs ſucceſs; for though the prinerſons in the kingdom were diſpoſed to elect *Eric* duke *ſwick*, in order to unite that dutchy to the crown, yet algar, and *Chriſtopher*'s party, prevailed. He was acgly ſeated upon the throne, after a warmly conteſted n, towards the beginning of the year 1320, about two after the late king's deceaſe. It would ſeem that a par- oath was adminiſtered to him, and different in ſome t to that taken by his predeceſſors; for we find it recited e by *Pontanus*, containing in ſubſtance,

Chriſtopher II.

A. D. 1320. Chriſtopher *obtains the crown by corruption.*

hat the biſhops, clergy, and religious ſocieties, of all rs, ſhould be preſerved in the full poſſeſſion of all their rties and immunities: that the ſacerdotal function ald be beſtowed or permitted, to none but perſons duly ained according to the canons of the church: that foners, and thoſe who were unacquainted with the vernar language, ſhould be excluded from all preferments in

The oath adminiſtered to Chriſtopher.

'the church: that a clergyman ſhould, on no account, 'be tried in a civil court, and ſubject only to the laws of the 'ſpiritual court: that the clergy pay no taxes: that mo- 'naſteries ſhould be under no obligation to maintain horſes 'and dogs for the king's uſe: that knights and noblemen 'have the privilege of acquitting their vaſſals accuſed and con- 'victed of crimes, on their paying a fine not exceeding four 'marks: that barons be not obliged to ſerve in the wars be- 'yond the frontiers of the kingdom: that ſhould they be 'taken priſoners, the king ſhall redeem them within the 'ſpace of one year, otherwiſe they ſhall be exempted from 'ſerving a ſecond time; nor ſhall it derogate from their ho- 'nour, that they refuſe their ſervice: that the king ſhall nei- 'ther proclaim war, nor conclude peace, without the con- 'ſent of the biſhops and nobility: that no *German*, or other 'foreigner, hold the government or command of any caſtle, 'citadel, city, town, or other fortreſs within the kingdom; 'nor occupy any poſts or places of any kind or denomina- 'tion: that all the garriſons of *North Jutland*, except the 'fortreſſes of *Caldingen*, *Scandenburg*, and *Ripen*, be demo- 'liſhed: that a free pardon ſhall be granted to all outlaws, 'and their heirs: that no perſon be perſecuted on account of 'his attachment to the late king; on the contrary, the king 'ſhall, at his own coſt, ſupport all cauſes for the defendant car- 'ried on upon that account: that the king exert his utmoſt 'endeavours to quiet and heal up all differences and parties 'among his ſubjects: that merchants be free of all duties 'and entries in the ports of the kingdom: that no conſtraint 'or authority, not permitted by law, be laid upon the pea- 'ſants by the king's officers: that an annual diet be held at '*Neoburg*: that all the laws paſſed by *Valdemar* be preſerved 'in their full force, and their defects ſupplied only with ap- 'probation of the diet: that no perſon be ſummoned to the 'king's court, before his cauſe has firſt paſſed through an in- 'ferior court: that no perſon be condemned to death, or 'have his goods confiſcated, but by public ſentence and trial: 'that all taxes impoſed ſince the death of *Valdemar*, and par- 'ticularly the *plog-penning* be aboliſhed: that all cauſes be 'firſt tried in the court of the particular dioceſe where the 'parties reſide, next in the provincial court, afterwards in the 'king's council, and laſtly, before the diet, provided ſuch 'appeals be requiſite, and the parties not obliged to come out 'of their own province: that all places belonging to the 'crown, pledged to the nobility, ſhall remain in their hands, 'unleſs redeemed at the ſtated price: that the king ſummon 'no ſubject to appear at any court beyond the limits of his

'own

province: that he be liable to all the late king's
: that he make not the leaſt alteration in any of the
ır conſtitutions of the kingdom.' To theſe articles ſe-
thers of leſs conſideration were annexed, all of which
g. ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed, a great number of the
ergy and nobility ſubſcribing to it as witneſſes [a].
A this oath, or rather inſtrument, to which the king
by oath, it appears how limited the regal authority
his early period; yet it is probable, from many cir-
ces, that formerly the prerogative was more extend-
: diet had ſcruples about the character of *Chriſtopher*;
induced the people to lay him under reſtrictions for-
nknown; and perhaps his own method of applying
votes had given them the firſt intimation of this fit
ıity of ſtretching the privilege of the ſubject. It is
: too that the clergy had a conſiderable ſhare in *Chri-*
election, as we ſee their immunities ſecured in a very
ır manner.

IDIATELY the fortreſſes in *North Jutland* were demo-
ıgreeable to the oath, the people pretending that they
s ſtrong holds for the factious, though in fact they
ıpon them as the means whereby the crown retrenched
'n licentious ſpirit.

year the *Swedes* rebelled againſt *Magnus*, ſon to *Bir-* A. D.
l drove the latter out of the kingdom, together with 1320.
:n *Margaret*. The old monarch ſought protection
ark, and was received indeed by *Chriſtopher*, tho' with
mth and cordiality than he had formerly been by *Eric*,
a ſoul capable of feeling the misfortunes of others.

e year 1322 the king called a diet, in order to ſettle
:eſſion, as his health was extremely infirm. He had
enough to have the crown ſettled in this his own
and his ſon *Eric* declared preſumptive heir, the part-
is authority, and aſſociate in the throne; at the ſame
had him crowned by the biſhop of *Lunden*.

RISTOPHER II. *and* *ERIC* IX.

ıs not before the year 1323, that the public tranquility Eric IX.
ı be diſturbed, by the king's neglect of the ſolemn en- *elected an*
nt he had entered into at his acceſſion. His brother's *aſſociate in*
e refuſed to pay; at leaſt he prevaricated in ſuch a *the throne.*
, that many of the creditors became bankrupt, on
of the large ſums due to them from the crown,
ıbliged them to ſtop payment. Beſides, he demanded

[a] PONTAN. l. vii. MEURS. l. iv.

Chriſtopher treſpaſſes upon his coronation oath.

large ſums from the clergy, and took back by violenc places he had given in ſecurity for the payment of c debts. This inflamed the nobility, who immediately fl arms, and among the firſt *Nicholas Olajus*, formerly trib the knights, and *Canute Porſius*, lately created duke of *land*. To theſe the archbiſhop of *Lunden* joined his in together with that of ſeveral of the firſt nobility in S with all their friends and vaſſals. *Barnevin*, a duke ar of diſtinction in the *Vandal* country, aſſembled a num adherents; in a word, a powerful confederacy was againſt *Chriſtopher*.

The people revolt.

BARNEVIN firſt entered upon hoſtilities, by m deſcent on *Schonen*, and paſſing from thence into Z where he deſtroyed all before him by fire and ſword king raiſed a force to oppoſe him with all expediti *Barnevin* had made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong cit *Hameren* near *Bornholm*, which he garriſoned, and t treated in good order, before the king could come was not poſſible for *Chriſtopher* to purſue him, for th came on with ſo rigorous a froſt, that the *Baltic* wa over for forty days, and paſſengers walked from I upon the ice to the neighbouring kingdoms, as if it h firm land. He was eager, however, to regain the ci *Hameren*, and ordered *Peter Wendell* to inveſt it with of troops. *Wendell* obeyed his maſter's orders, carr his operations with ſo much vigour, that the garr rendered priſoners of war in the ſpace of a few days, of all the endeavours of the archbiſhop of *Lunden*, no meaſures untried for its defence [a].

A. D. 1324. Lewis *of* Brandenburg *marries* Chriſtopher's *daughter.*

THIS year the king married his daughter, with a of twelve thouſand marks in ſilver, to *Lewis Brandenl* of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and gave in ſecurity for the pa the money, certain crown lands in *Livonia*. By thi he hoped to ſtrengthen his intereſt, and gain allies wh be uſeful in ſupporting him againſt his refractory vaſſ

Duke of Sleſwick *dies.*

THE following year died the duke of *Sleſwick*, lea hind a young ſon called *Waldemar*. The king believ the guardianſhip of this minor belonged by right to h tered the dutchy with an army, and ſeized upon all ties, towns, and fortreſſes, except *Gottorp*, which veſted: *Gerhard* earl of *Randſburg*, uncle to the you aſſuming his right to the guardianſhip, was prov *Chriſtopher*'s conduct. He accordingly raiſed a forces in *Holſtein*, gave battle to the king before *Gott*

[a] Auct. citat. ibid.

ed him, and raiſed the ſiege. To this was added freſh
ibles, owing to the death of *Witiſlaw*, prince of *Rugen*,
o held this territory and *Stralſunde* as fiefs of the crown of
mark. He was however no ſooner dead, than the coun-
was over-run by the neighbouring *Vandal* princes, whom
king determined to expel by force. In order to ſupport
expences of ſuch a war, he levied a tax upon his ſubjects,
renewing the *plog-penning*, contrary to his oath. Next he
ſed an army, ſubdued the ſurrounding country, then in-
ded the iſland, ſoon reduced it, and puniſhed thoſe who
d been inſtrumental in inviting the *Vandal* princes.

THE renewal of *plog-penning* had a bad effect: it made the content more general; when a tax equally oppreſſive, but ied in a different manner, and under any other name, would e been tolerated. To this was added another piece of conduct, which enraged the clergy, the moſt dangerous mies to a prince, by reaſon of their influence with the ple. Some alterations which he made in *Cnarderope* mo-ery in *Zealand*, without conſulting the biſhops, was con-ed into a contempt of the whole order: the biſhops began ulminate, and the inferior clergy to preach againſt the go-ıment. *Chriſtopher* was accuſed of perjury, of a deſign to rpate the ſacred function, and trample on the neck of rty. The biſhops cried out, that their privileges were ly infringed; the nobles exclaimed, that he aimed at ab-te power, the ruin of the nobility, by refuſing to pay his her's debts, and recovering by force the pledges they held ecurity of payment. The people murmured at the weight axes, and eſpecially at *plog-penning*, the moſt grievous of axes, becauſe it fell wholly on the poor labourer. Rebel-talked aloud, diſcontent appeared in every quarter, and ı a confederacy was formed to depoſe *Chriſtopher* and his *Eric*. The duke of *Halland*, *Canute Porſius*, the arch-op of *Lunden*, *Laurence Jonea*, *Lewis Everſtein*, and a it number of nobility, publiſhed a proclamation, inviting the friends of liberty to throw off the yoke, and oppoſe rapid progreſs of tyranny and oppreſſion. They declared government of *Chriſtopher* was no longer tolerable; they efore reſolved to withdraw their allegiance, and uſe their ioſt endeavours to depoſe him.

The plog-penning taxrenew-ed.

CHRISTOPHER reſided in the caſtle of *Wartemburg* when proclamation appeared: he ſaw *Jutland*, *Schonen*, *Zea-d*, and *Fionia*, united againſt him; but, inſtead of apply-lenitives, he uſed force, and ſent his ſon *Eric* againſt the els, propoſing to follow him directly with a ſtrong rein-cement. He adviſed him indeed to terminate matters, if

poſſible, in an amicable manner, rather than hazard a b
but it was now too late to heal the wound, which no
leſs than extirpation could cure. *Eric* marched to *Torn*
and was there ſurrounded by the malcontents, who bel
him on every ſide, and in leſs than a week made him ar
Chriſtopher *abdicates the crown.* whole army priſoners. The news of this defeat ſoon r
ing *Chriſtopher:* he found himſelf unequal in ſtrength
ſubjects, ſeized on his treaſure, and fled with it to *Ger*
accompanied by his ſons *Valdemar* and *Otho*. Here h
his circumſtances before the *Vandal* princes, and his ſc
law *Lewis Brandenburg*, craving their aſſiſtance in reſ
him to his throne.

In the mean time the malcontents, perceiving tha
crown was abdicated, entered into a ſtrict league with
mar duke of *Sleſwick*, then twelve years of age; whereb
engaged to ſtand by each other, and oppoſe all *Chriſt*
attempts to recover his throne, and the guardianſhip o
wick. Nor was this league without grounds; for *Chriſt*
collecting together a fleet, by means of his ſon-in-law a
A. D. *Vandals*, returned to *Denmark*, and made ſeveral unſuc
1326. attempts to recover the crown he had loſt by his ow
prudence.

VALDEMAR of SLESWICK

Valdemar *of* Sleſwick *elected king.* The nobility, and principal perſons concerned i
league reſolved now to cut him off from all hopes o
returning. With this view they aſſembled at *Neoburg*,
with the conſent of the people [a], publicly elected *Valde*
Sleſwick king (A). In order to bind the clergy ſtron
his intereſt, he began his reign by conferring favours on
He confirmed the dioceſe of *Sleſwick*, and all the chu
ſees, and monaſteries of the kingdom, in all the pri
and immunities which they ever enjoyed. The ſame
with reſpect to a number of cities and corporations.
made over *South Jutland* to his uncle *Gerhard* of *Rena*

[a] Meurs. l. iv. p. iii. p. 70. Pontan. l. vii.

(A) We muſt obſerve that many objections were raiſed againſt the legality of this election. The king alone had power to convoke a diet; but here the league aſſumed to themſelves a regal authority. *Pontanus* ſays, that *Valdemar* was elected by an aſſembly of the nobility, out once mentioning a g diet, or the votes of the rent ſtates. The event what the general opinio for *Valdemar* enjoyed his acquired dignity but a time.

and his heirs, to be held as a fief of the crown: He granted ſeveral other privileges to the nobility and people, the more firmly to attach them to his intereſt; yet, after all, his reign was ſo ſhort, that he ſcarce deſerves to be ranked among the kings. *Valdemar* had raiſed his warmeſt friends to ſo high a pitch of authority, as drew upon them the envy of others, who thought their ſervices merited the ſame regard. His youth gave room for cabal and faction: each ſtrove who ſhould govern the young monarch, and of conſequence the whole kingdom. Unfortunately no regent was appointed; but that power was lodged in the hands of the body of nobility, or rather in thoſe of the king's chief favourites (A). The public repoſe was firſt diſturbed by a difference between *Uffo* and the archbiſhop of *Lunden*. Next *Eric*, ſon of *Valdemar* king of *Sweden*, arrived in *Denmark* to lay claim to his mother's fortune. Several diſcontents appeared in *Schonen*, *Fionia*, *Zealand*, *Jutland*, and other parts of the kingdom. But what furniſhed the firſt opportunity for open rebellion was a tax impoſed on the *Zealanders*, in order to redeem ſome of the crown-lands. The people refuſed to pay the tax: they took arms to ſupport their refuſal; but were ſoon cruſhed by the ſudden arrival of a party of the king's troops. To this was added a conteſt between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and the children of *Vitiſlaw*, prince of *Rugen*, about the diſtrict ſurrounding the iſland. The latter had recourſe to king *Valdemar*, or rather to his uncle *Gerhard*, who ſent a body of horſe to their aſſiſtance, defeated the duke's troops, and then concluded a treaty with him, which was ſoon broke, after the departure of the *Danes*.

Diſturbances in the kingdom.

ALL this while *Chriſtopher* was buſied in forming a plan for the recovery of his crown. He wrote to ſeveral of the biſhops and nobility, who, he knew, were diſſatisfied with the little ſhare they had in the government of affairs. He uſed every poſſible endeavour to draw off his brother the earl of *Wagria* from his allegiance to the king: he engaged the biſhop of *Cologne*, by a ſubſidy of twenty thouſand marks in ſilver, to aſſiſt him with all his force in depoſing *Valdemar*; he ſolicited the princes of the empire, and even the emperor himſelf, for ſuccour. In theſe applications his ſon-in-law of *Brandenburg* exerted himſelf, having made a viſit in perſon to the emperor to plead the cauſe of *Chriſtopher*. He diſperſed declarations

A. D. 1328. Chriſtopher *takes meaſures for recovering his crown.*

(A) *Meurſius* affirms, that *Gerhard*, the king's uncle, had all the authority of regent; yet we do not find his name mentioned in any of the public acts. On the contrary, they are all ſigned by a great number of different perſons.

through

through every part of *Denmark*, promiſing to redr grievances, and never to undertake any public affair w conſulting and obtaining the conſent of a general diet.

WHILE *Chriſtopher* was employed in this manner, th quis of *Brandenburg* took his ſon *Valdemar* to his own in order to have him inſtructed in thoſe arts becon prince. He obtained letters from the emperor, addre *Gerhard* and the other nobility of *Denmark*, recomm to them to chuſe umpires, who ſhould equitably adju differences between *Chriſtopher* and his ſubjects, and the of the preſent and the late king. But the only anſw turned to theſe letters was, that *Valdemar* poſſeſſed the by a regular and lawful election; therefore the propoſe pires were altogether unneceſſary.

CHRISTOPHER could obtain nothing more than letters of requeſt from the emperor: however, he pr promiſes from the archbiſhop of *Lunden*, the biſhops *huſen* and *Ripen*, together with a number of the nobility their ſervices ſhould not be wanting, provided he appea *Denmark* with a proper force to ſupport their riſing.

A. D. 1329. *Several princes take arms in* Chriſtopher's *behalf.*

ABOUT this time it was that *Canute Porſius* inſ ſeized ſome effects, the property of the inhabitants of who had always been the faſt friends of *Chriſtopher*. had now an opportunity of ſerving him, under the m defending their own rights; and for this purpoſe they f an alliance with *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*. Then *Chriſ* aſſiſted by their forces, and likewiſe the troops of *M burg*, together with a body of forces raiſed by the earl *gria*, and ſome other noblemen in his intereſt, paſſed fleet to *Laaland* and *Falſtre*, laying ſiege to the city *Ni* which he took. Proceeding from thence to *Wartembu* defeated a large body of peaſants, aſſembled to oppoſ He then publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing a free par all thoſe who would, before a certain day, return to the and allegiance.

The Danes *ſought a change in the government.*

THE *Danes* were now tired of their new govern they ſaw that all places of truſt and profit were poſſeſ *Germans*, and felt all the inconveniences and oppreſſion minority of *Valdemar*, which they dreaded from *Chriſ* They began to reflect on the conduct of both reigns concluded in favour of the baniſhed king. In effectin change in their ſentiments the biſhops were greatly i mental. Every fault in the adminiſtration of *Valdema* exaggerated, and all the errors of the former reign van over and forgot. The inhabitants of *Zealand*, *Falſtre* *Laaland*, firſt openly eſpouſed the king, together witl

ıop of *Lunden*, the biſhops of *Ripen* and *Arhuſen*, as
a great body of the nobility of *Schonen*. Their firſt
ion was to make a ſudden attack on *Haderſlave*, where
as confined, and, after reſcuing him, to diſpatch a body
ps under his command to favour the motions in *Zea-*

Eric *reſcued out of priſon.*

ER this a diet was held at *Roſchild*, where they were
aken into favour by *Chriſtopher*; the king promiſing a
don on the one hand, and they the moſt faithful ſer-
ı the other.

CHRISTOPHER reſtored.

FNIA was now ſurrendered by *Inquar Hiort* to the
but ſome jealouſies aroſe between him and the earl of
, which had nearly blighted all his hopes, and deſtroyed
ſe in this its promiſing ſituation. From ſome expreſ-
as well as the haughty conduct of the earl's officers,
ber apprehended that he ſecretly aſpired at the crown;
ſteps he had ſeemingly taken in his favour being only
to throw a ſhade over ſome deeper deſign. Filled with
ea, he ſuddenly dropped his operations againſt *Valde-*
nd was contriving the means of countermining the earl,
he biſhops and nobility, foreſeeing the conſequences of
diviſion, applied all their endeavours to cloſe the breach.
ſucceeded: the parties met, and *Chriſtopher* made over
l, Laaland, Falſtre, and *Schonen*, as pledges for the
nt of the expences he had been at in his ſervice.

Chriſtopher *reſtored.*

HAPPILY, this reunion could not be effected on the
ons ſtipulated, without depriving others of the king's
d moſt powerful friends of their rights. Almoſt all
had been mortgaged to *Lewis Everſtein*; other lands
eady been given to others of the nobility, and in par-
, both the *Hallands* to *Canute Porſius*. It was neceſ-
en, that a new treaty ſhould be framed, without the
eniences which attended the preſent. Accordingly it
ipulated, that *Canute* ſhould enjoy *Halland*; but give up
Aſbaen, Callemburg, and *Samſoe*, to the *Werle* family,
ch they belonged by a previous contract: that *Everſtein*,
irs, and brother *Albert*, ſhould reſign all claim to *Elſim-*
which was immediately to be put in the king's hands.
l leſſer exchanges and alterations were made, which it
be unneceſſary to recite, as they no ways affected the ſu-
ranſactions. Sufficient it is, that *Chriſtopher*'s party was
united; and that he publiſhed a declaration, that all dif-

[a] PONTAN. l. vii.

ferences

Conditions, by which almost all the crown lands were mortgaged.

ferences between him and the earl of *Wagria* were removed; that *Femeren* was given to the earl, to be held as a fief; that *Laaland* and the fortreſs of *Alholm* were pledged to him, as ſecurity for two thouſand marks of ſilver lent to the king; that he held *Schonen* and *Zealand*, until other loans to the crown were paid off; beſides the city of *Callemburg*, which the king held only in truſt for him, and for the preſent conveniency of affairs: that all thoſe places ſpecified in the treaty ſhould belong to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, *Canute Porſius*, the archbiſhop of *Lunden*, and the other perſons there mentioned, on the terms ſtipulated; and laſtly, that the ſlighteſt infraction ſhould be puniſhed with the fines, forfeitures, and other penalties agreed upon.

THUS *Femeren* came into the hands of the earl of *Wagria*, who was at the ſame time declared potentate and ſuperior of *Normer*, *Holſtein*, *Laaland*, *Falſtre*, *Schonen*, and governor of *Zealand*, all theſe juriſdictions being held under the crown.

VALDEMAR and his uncle *Gerhard* were now reduced to great neceſſities, their chief protection conſiſting in the ſevere and rigid conduct of *Chriſtopher*, whoſe haughty aſperity rendered him every day leſs popular. This infatuated prince was elated with the ſudden revolution in his favour; he forgot all the conſequences of his paſt miſconduct; propoſed nothing beſides the extenſion of the prerogative, and ſeemed intirely ignorant how delicate, how capricious are the humours and diſpoſition of a free people, who enjoy the privilege of electing and depoſing at pleaſure. He conſidered himſelf as the king, not the ſervant of the public; and, intoxicated with this notion, treated with contempt, nay puniſhed, his beſt friends, for having the affection and integrity to point out his errors, and adviſe him to different meaſures. An inſtance of this occurred in the caſe of the biſhop of *Borgland*, an honeſt prelate, who took the king roundly to taſk, and was rewarded for his wholſome advice by impriſonment; from whence he eſcaped, fled to *Rome*, and proved a thorn ever after in *Chriſtopher*'s ſide, who he ſaw was incapable of reformation. On the biſhop's firſt arrival in *Rome*, the whole kingdom felt the weight of his reſentment; for it was immediately laid under an interdiction, which continued for the ſpace of ſeven years, in ſpite of all endeavours to have it removed.

Chriſtopher's miſconduct.

CHRISTOPHER having engaged the nobility of *Jutland* againſt *Valdemar*, he doubted not but they alone would be able to reduce him and his uncle *Gerhard*, while himſelf might enjoy the fruits of this ſudden and unlooked-for proſperity in repoſe. Accordingly they laid ſiege to *Gottorp*, where *Valdemar* reſided; but were forced to break up camp with great preci-

tion, upon hearing that *Gerhard* advanced to give
ttle.

n this tranſaction it was that the earl of *Wagria* ſet on foot for a general peace. He ſaw that *Denmark* ever be happy under two kings of oppoſite intereſts: w the bloodſhed and civil wars that muſt enſue from valſhip, and unnatural partition. He therefore pro- *Valdemar*, whoſe power was now in the wain, to ac- certain yearly revenue, and reſign his whole right to *ber*: but this could not be done without ſatisfying , who claimed *Sleſwick* as an hereditary fief. In ex- for this he received the iſland *Fionia*, on the ſame with this condition only, that he ſhould ſupply *Chriſ-* all his wars with five hundred horſe, at his own pri- ence. *Valdemar* laid aſide the royal badges, accepted ility, and retired to his own dutchy of *Sleſwick*. In draw the knot of union the harder, *Eric*, *Chriſtopher*'s rried *Gerhard*'s ſiſter, widow of the elder *Eric*; and *iſtopher* was fully reſtored to the crown and ſovereignty *ark*, of which his conduct ſhewed him altogether un-

Valdemar *reſigns the crown.*

joy that ſucceeded this happy end to civil feuds was by the death of queen *Euphemia*, a daughter of the f *Brandenburg*, and a princeſs of excellent qualities. *Chriſtopher* ſix children, two of whom afterwards ſuc- o his throne.

A. D. 1330. *Queen* Euphemia *dies.*

year a controverſy aroſe between *John* earl of *Wagria* *hard* earl of *Fionia*, the cauſe of which is not related. wever of conſequence, as it involved *Chriſtopher* in a d obliged him to take the field in defence of *John*, n he owed his crown and kingdom. *Chriſtopher* and e buſied in levying forces. *John* determined to join ar *Odiſlaw*. It was of the greateſt importance to to prevent this junction, as the combined forces would rong for him, and he exerted his endeavours with an on proportioned to the emergency. He ſent to the of *Bremen*, to *Weſtphalia*, and to the earls of *Brock-* is kinſmen, to meet him with certain auxiliaries at g, giving them at the ſame time ſufficient intima- his deſign. After aſſembling his whole army, he l towards *Gottorp*, met *Chriſtopher* and *John* on the d engaged them. The battle continued for the whole n unparalleled obſtinacy and fury: *Gerhard* was like orſted; but finding means to diſperſe money among *her*'s troops, he ſoon retrieved his affairs, and gained a e victory, the king and *Eric* eſcaping out of the field

A. D. 1331.

Chriſtopher *and* Gerhard *of* Holſtein *quarrel.*

Chriſtopher *defeated.*

with great difficulty. *Otho*, *Chriſtopher*'s ſecond ſon, with a great number of nobility and private officers, were made priſoners; but *Gerhard* himſelf was wounded, and near being trampled to death, when he was thrown from his horſe, in the heat of the action.

GERHARD, on this victory, entered into an alliance with his nephew *Valdemar*, the late king, who now began to harbour thoughts of remounting the throne. Several of the chief nobility already declared for him; ſo ready are men, upon all occaſions, to embrace the ſtronger party, and pay their court to proſperity. Even *Stigot*, a nobleman but lately favoured with conſiderable donations by *Chriſtopher*, now fell off from his friendſhip and gratitude. His inclinations altered with that prince's fortune, as if nothing was due to a king who had nothing more to beſtow. His views were however diſappointed; for the earl of *Wagria* perſuaded *Chriſtopher* to make peace on the terms of the conqueror, which were moderate beyond expectation, no attempts having been made to deprive him of his crown [a]. It would be endleſs, and indeed uſeleſs to the reader, to recite the articles which compoſed this treaty of peace, as they conſiſted in the diſtribution and diviſion of certain places and territories, no ways intereſting at this diſtance of time.

Many of the nobility declare for Valdemar.

A. D. 1332. *Peace concluded.*

CHRISTOPHER was ſcarce arrived in *Zealand*, when he had advice of the death of his ſon *Eric*, from a bruiſe he received in the late battle. He ordered the corps to be brought to *Roſchild*, where it was interred with great funeral pomp, and depoſited among the remains of ſeveral kings of *Denmark* (A).

Diſturbances in Schonen.

ABOUT this time great diſturbances aroſe in *Schonen*. The inhabitants complained loudly of the oppreſſion of the foreign governors ſet over them; and particularly remonſtrated to earl *John* againſt the conduct of *Eyger Brocktorp*, governor of *Helſenburg*. They took arms, aſſembled in a large body, and ranging the country in a riotous manner, put the *Holſteiners* to death wherever they found them. The *Holſteiners*, who were the foreigners ſo odious to the people, were conſulting meaſures in the cathedral of *Lunden* for appeaſing the tumult, when the diſcontented populace broke in and ſlew three hundred of them. Afterwards, when they perceived that

[a] MEURS. l. iv. PONTAN. l. vii.

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that the body was embalmed in the *Egyptian* manner, and buried at *Sora*, in the ground allotted for the kings of *Denmark* (1).

(1) *Pont. l.* vii. *p.* 454.

their

their resistance only served to add weight to their yoke, *Christopher's* late defeat rendering him unable to assist them, they made an offer of the country to *Magnus* king of *Sweden*. This prince, glad of an opportunity of extending his dominions, graciously received their proposals, and met them at *Calmar* to adjust the conditions of this surrender. Here were present several of the nobility, who chearfully ceded the sovereignty to the king, provided he would protect them in all their liberties, which he readily promised.

The Swedes join the rebels.

THIS news no sooner reached the *Holsteiners* than despairing of being able to maintain possession of the country by force, they quietly evacuated it; and earl *John* himself yielding to necessity, and the power of *Sweden*, ceded almost all the other places pledged to him, for the sum of seventy thousand marks, which *Magnus* agreed to pay against a certain time. Thus the *Danish* dominions were divided and sold to a foreign power, in consequence of that weak and ill-judged partition made at the restoration of *Christopher*.

NEXT year proved fatal to the liberty and life of *Christopher*; for going to *Laaland* with a small retinue, he was seized by *Hennick Bred* and *John Ellemose*, favourites of *Gerhard*, and carried prisoner to the castle of *Allholm*. As this action however was done without consulting *Gerhard*, and only on a presumption that it would be agreeable to him, he ordered the king immediately to be set at liberty, after apologizing in the best manner he could for the indignity offered to his royal person: but he did not live long to enjoy his freedom. The shock he received with this sudden fall from the pinnacle of grandeur so much affected his constitution, that he fell ill and died in a few days at *Nicoping*, and was buried with his queen at *Sora*.

A. D. 1333. Christopher *made prisoner.*

CHRISTOPHER left the reputation of a fickle, but headstrong prince, violent, but unsteady in all his pursuits. His pride, however, was what chiefly affected his interest. The arrogance with which he governed, lost him a crown he acquired by a servile humility. Twice driven from his throne, he died at last of grief, contracted rather from disappointed ambition, than contrition for the misconduct that occasioned his loss. Since his restoration he possessed none of the hereditary dominions of *Denmark*, besides *Scanderburg* of *Jutland*, and *Neoburg* of *Fionia*, all the rest being given as pledges of his gratitude to the instruments of his remounting the throne (A). *Halland*, *Holbec*, *Calemburg*, and *Samsoe*, were

His death and character.

(A) *Pontanus* says, that his memory was stigmatized with so much hated, that his very bitter lampoons, which were

were held by *Canute Perſius*; *Schonen*, *Lyſtre*, and *B* by *Magnus* king of *Sweden*, to whom they were lately *John* earl of *Wagria*, had the juriſdictions of *Zealand* *ſtre*, *Laaland*, and *Femeren*; *Gerhard* of *Jutland* and *I* and *Lawrence Jonea* of *Langland* and *Arras*; the kin preſerving the ſovereignty, together with a few inconſid iſlands, and the cities we have mentioned.

were publicly recited round the country. He ſpeaks as if he had ſeen ſome of theſe, without chuſing to inſert them, reſpect to the high dign this unfortunate prince (

(1) *Pontan. l.* vii.

SECT. IX.

In which the Hiſtory is deduced to the Reign of Eri *in the Year* 1412.

INTERREGNUM.

State of Denmark *during the interregnum.*

UPON the death of *Chriſtopher* an interregnum for years enſued. The condition in which he left the dom was truly deplorable, parcelled out under diſ princes, who had all ſeparate intereſts, deſigns upon other, and no leſs jealous of encroachments on thei rights, than ambitious of extending them to the prejudi the others. For the ſpace of three years *Denmark*, how enjoyed a profound peace; and the public repoſe was firſ turbed in a manner very little expected, conſidering the ſent ſituation of affairs.

A. D. 1337.

IT was about the beginning of the year 1337, that ſecond ſon to the late king, made a generous and nobl tempt to recover the throne of his anceſtors. He l forces in *Laaland*, and the neighbouring continent, in h that could he drive *Gerhard* out of *Jutland*, he would make his way to the crown: but this veteran ſoldier an litician, was not to be taken in the ſnares laid by a youth. diſcovered *Otho*'s intentions, ſurrounded him at *Jemptland* carried him priſoner to *Sedgburg* caſtle, where he was ke cloſe confinement until his brother *Valdemar* releaſed him his acceſſion to the throne.

MAGNUS king of *Sweden* having unexpectedly c to the poſſeſſion of *Schonen*, thirſted ardently after all reſt of *Denmark*. He wrote to pope *Benedict* XIII. beſe

s holineſs to confirm this province to him and his ſuc- *The king*
, and permit him at the ſame time to ſubdue the reſt *of* Swe-
kingdom, now uſurped and rendered miſerable by the den's *de-*
y of a ſet of petty princes, who, unaccuſtomed to au- *ſigns on*
, knew not how to govern. To influence pope *Benedict* Denmark.
re powerfully, he promiſed to hold his conqueſts of
y ſee, and to pay him the uſual tax collected for the
. *Benedict*, however, was ſo prudent and juſt as not
it his requeſt.

t were there wanting other candidates for the crown. Valdemar
r of *Sleſwick*, who had long laid aſide all thoughts of *of* Sleſ-
ting the throne to which he was once elected, now wick *re-*
d ambitious views at the inſtigation of his uncle *Ger- ſumes*
Several of the nobility caſt their eyes towards young *thoughts of*
r, *Chriſtopher*'s ſon, now at the emperor's court. *reinſtating*
ent him letters aſſuring him of their fidelity, and of *himſelf on*
ction of the people in general, who were eager to *the throne.*
ed under one prince, and earneſtly exhorted him to
ſe of his intereſt in *Germany* to procure a ſufficient
cover their inſurrection in his favour. While each of *The miſer-*
inces were laying projects, and concerting the fit means *able condi-*
uting their deſigns, the unhappy *Danes* were miſerably *tion of the*
d with exorbitant taxes, famine, and peſtilence; the *country.*
ter in conſequence of the former. The peaſants neg-
o cultivate lands which they held upon ſo precarious a
; this begot poverty, which co-operating with the pe-
liſpoſition of the air, and the unwholeſome diet on
hey were forced to live, produced a direful plague, that
han half depopulated the face of the whole country.
or dropped down dead in the ſtreets with diſeaſe and
, the gentry themſelves were reduced to a ſtate of
dneſs; the whole kingdom was tumbling into ruin,
ambition, treaſon, plots and contrivances, employed
at, as if none of theſe objects were before their

HARD propoſed to his nephew to exchange the
of *Sleſwick* for *North Jutland*, which province he be-
ould more commodiouſly aſſiſt *Valdemar*'s deſigns upon
wn. A treaty for this purpoſe was drawn up and
; but the inhabitants ſo highly reſented their being diſ-
f like cattle, from one maſter to another, that they
to pay the uſual taxes. *Gerhard* reſolved to compel *Ambitious*
o their duty, and led ten thouſand men, which he *deſigns of*
in *Germany*, into the midſt of the province. Provi- Gerhard.
nterpoſed in favour of the poor inhabitants, and raiſed
enemy to this tyrant, who determined to ſacrifice his

The noble attempts of Nicholas Norevi.

life, or reſcue his country. *Nicholas Norevi*, a man in great eſteem for his public ſpirit, his courage, prudence, and learning, beheld with ſorrow the condition to which *Denmark* was reduced. He had long meditated a variety of projects for its relief; but circumſtances were unfavourable, and his own intereſt and fortune too ſlender to effect ſuch great deſigns. Things were at laſt in ſuch a train, that he believed the whole depended on his ſingle arm. Young *Valdemar*, *Chriſtopher*'s ſon, had a number of powerful adherents in the kingdom; his moſt dangerous enemy was *Gerhard*, and could he be removed, the greateſt difficulty of uniting the kingdom would be ſurmounted, at leaſt the *Jutlanders* would be relieved from the oppreſſion of a tyrant, who was now preparing for them the keeneſt ſcourge of oppreſſion. *Nicholas* revolved this over in his mind, and, after mature deliberation on the means, took the reſolution to diſpatch him, perſuading himſelf that no method of ridding a whole kingdom from miſery, could juſtly detract from the character of the deliverer. Could his purpoſe be effected by ſingle combat, or open war, he would have choſen either, as the moſt fair and honourable; but theſe being impracticable, he had recourſe to darker means. Collecting a body of forty choſen horſe, he marched in the night to *Randerſhuſen*, where *Gerhard* had fixed his head-quarters, ſeized upon the centinels, and puſhed on to *Gerhard*'s lodging, which he forced open. *Gerhard* was awaked with the noiſe, and ſeeing *Nicholas* enter with a party of armed men, began to ſupplicate him in the moſt pathetic terms to ſave his life, offering to ſubſcribe to any terms he thought fit to impoſe; but *Nicholas* was determined. He thought the life of the tyrant a juſt attonement of the injuries the people had ſuffered; he conſidered, that his death alone could deliver them from the ſchemes and artifices of a man, who had a head to contrive, and a hand to execute the moſt daring and ambitious deſigns. This, therefore, without farther deliberation he executed, by plunging his ſword into his breaſt, and then making his retreat with all poſſible expedition, after giving the alarm to the whole army, by ſounding horns and beating drums. *Nicholas* was purſued and overtaken by a party of *Gerhard*'s army, through which he fought his way and eſcaped, after having encountered the greateſt dangers; and *Gerhard*'s ſons hearing of his death, retired precipitately into *Holſtein*, leaving the army, chiefly compoſed of *Holſteiners*, to be cut in pieces by the enraged peaſants, who fell upon them from every quarter.

Gerhard *killed.*

STILL, however, the *Holſteiners* kept poſſeſſion of the citadels and fortified places, from which *Nicholas* reſolved to diſlodge

dge them. He accordingly raiſed a body of forces, attacked and took *Landen*, a caſtle ſituated on the river *Scherne*; after which he laid ſiege to *Alberg*; but the garriſon making an obſtinate defence, he turned the ſiege into a blockade, by which he reduced them to great extremity. The governor ſent an expreſs to the ſons of *Gerhard*, acquainting them with his condition, and the impoſſibility of holding out but a few days longer, which determined them to march with the utmoſt expedition to the relief of a place ſo important. They came up with *Nicholas* juſt as the governor was ready to ſurrender, gave him battle, and were defeated, though *Nicholas* was unfortunately killed before he reaped the fruits of his gallantry, and his country enjoyed that liberty to which he had ſo bravely led the way [a].

JUTLAND having by this means recovered its freedom, all the reſt of *Denmark* was fired with the ſame views. *Zealand* firſt openly declared itſelf and took arms: here *Henry Gerhard*'s ſon maintained ſeveral garriſons and cities, which he reſolved to defend in ſpite of all the power of the inhabitants. For this purpoſe he drew together an army; but in the mean time a tumult aroſe among the peaſants on account of a *Daniſh* nobleman ſlain by the *Holſteiners*, which ſo irritated the people that they fell upon the *Holſteiners* ſword in hand; and, after ſlaying three hundred of them, drove the reſt out of the iſland, and elected *Valdemar*, *Chriſtopher*'s ſon, for their ſovereign. A. D. 1340.

VALDEMAR III. *ſurnamed ATTERDAG.*

To this prince's elevation the emperor *Lewis* greatly contributed, at whoſe court *Valdemar* was bred. He ſummoned a congreſs at *Spandow*, in the March of *Brandenburg*; at which were preſent *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, *Barnim* of *Pomerania*, *Henry*, *John*, and *Nicholas*, ſons of *Gerhard*, with ſeveral other princes and nobleman. With the three latter princes, and *Valdemar* of *Sleſwick*, the marquis executed a treaty, that *Otho*, *Chriſtopher*'s ſon, ſhould be ſet at liberty, provided he would reſign his right to the crown to his brother *Valdemar*; that he ſhould be put into the hands of the king his brother, or of the marquis; that king *Valdemar* ſhould marry the duke of *Sleſwick*'s ſiſter, and receive for her portion eighty thouſand marks, to be deducted from the ſum for which *Fionia* and *Jutland* were pledged; that *Valdemar* ſhould not protect the murderers of *Gerhard*, but openly declare againſt whoever ſhould eſpouſe them. A variety of other

Valdemar III. *ſurnamed* Atterdag, *raiſed to the throne.*

[a] Vid. Pont. Meurs. & Crantz. ibid.

particulars were included; but what occaſioned the greateſt difficulties, and took up the moſt time, was the redemption of the lands pledged by the late king to thoſe princes who had contributed to his reſtoration: but even this was ſettled in a ſatisfactory manner, both to the king and people; though not altogether ſo to the perſons who held thoſe lands, and were in hopes it would be out of the power of the crown to redeem them.

Valdemar *confirms the privileges of the people.* A. D. 1311.

THE firſt act of *Valdemar*'s reign was to confirm the nobles, clergy, and people, in the full uſe and poſſeſſion of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, which had been greatly retrenched during the interregnum. An act of oblivion was likewiſe paſſed, and the remembrance of all ſuch actions as would ſerve only to diſturb the public tranquillity, cancelled. He next entered into a compact with *Henry* and *Nicholas*, ſons to *Gerhard*, concerning *Fionia*. Here it was ſtipulated, that, provided the king died without iſſue, the iſland ſhould remain unalienably their property; otherwiſe it ſhould return to his family, whenever they found it convenient to redeem this and the neighbouring iſlands. It was further agreed, that if the brothers committed any infraction, or breach of the conventions of *Lubec* and *Halſenburg*, that his majeſty ſhould, in that caſe, have power to ſeize the royal garriſons in *Zealand*, and likewiſe the caſtles of *Neoburg*, *Orkela*, and *Hinneſgulve*. We ſee how favourable all theſe treaties were to *Valdemar*, who ſeemed determined to make uſe of the firſt opportunity of reclaiming all the crown-lands, ſo iniquitouſly ſold by the late king, or rather ſeized upon by thoſe pretended friends who exalted him to an empty title, only to enjoy ſolid profits for themſelves.

Grant of the clergy.

IN the next place, the king turned his thoughts to the redemption of the remaining fortreſſes in the hands of the *Holſteiners*; and to enable him to effect this, the clergy granted him a ſilver cup from each church, which was melted down and coined, though never applied to the purpoſe intended. Long arrears were due to the army; they began to murmur, and it was thought expedient to pay them.

War with the earl of Wagria.

THE following year a war was lighted up, on the following account. *Valdemar* inſiſted, that *Callemburg* and *Samſoe* could not be ceded by his father to *Canute Porſius*, as a former grant had been made of them to *Eric*, duke of *Swedeland*, at the time he married *Ingeburga*. *Eric* was alive when this laſt grant was made, conſequently it could not be valid; but as he was now dead, theſe places reverted to the crown as fiefs. On the contrary, the earl of *Wagria* maintained his right to *Callemburg*, which had been made over to him by *Canute Porſius*,

ſius, in conſideration of an equivalent. *Valdemar* inveſted the place, and *John* levied troops to relieve it, forming likewiſe an alliance with *Ingeburga*, the earl of *Holſtein*, and the *Vandal* cities, who ſent him ſtrong reinforcements. He marched ſo ſuddenly upon the king, and was ſo ſeaſonably ſupported by a briſk ſally from the town, that the king was defeated, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Upon this a treaty was ſet on foot, and it was agreed, that the diſpute ſhould be left to the arbitration of four perſons on each ſide, of probity and underſtanding, who ſhould meet at *Roſchild*, and determine either according to the rigour of the law, or by ſtriking up ſuch an accommodation as they ſaw would be for the mutual intereſt of the parties. It was farther ſtipulated, that if either party refuſed to accede to the verdict of the commiſſioners, theſe latter ſhould be obliged to make oath they had decided according to the beſt of their judgment: but in caſe it ſhould happen that the commiſſioners could come to no agreement, that then the archbiſhop of *Lunden* ſhould take cognizance of the affair. As for other diſputes between the king and the duke, they were ſubmitted to the arbitration of an equal number of judges, in order to remove all cauſe of diſſention between the two princes. We hear nothing more of the principal quarrel, and are only told that the king and *Ingeburga* amicably agreed, that the fortreſs of *Callemburg* ſhould remain in his hands, and ſhe, in return, to hold during her life *North Halland* as an equivalent; which laſt clauſe was never executed, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Congreſs for eſtabliſhing a treaty.

THE *Danes* now began to reſume their ancient courage, on ſeeing a legitimate prince ſeated on the throne, and the *Daniſh* dominions, ſo lately divided among a number of petty tyrants, united into one ſovereignty. They more and more breathed out their reſentment againſt all foreigners, who fattened upon the ſpoils of the land, and enjoyed the chief places of truſt and profit. For a number of years *Denmark* was the theatre of continual domeſtic and foreign wars, which filled every place with confuſion and diſmay. One of the moſt powerful kingdoms on earth, after giving law to ſuch a number of other nations, fell at length under the dominion of ſome inſignificant vaſſals, who laid deſolate her faireſt provinces, ruined and oppreſſed her inhabitants. Now ſhe began again to taſte the ſweets of liberty, and to reſume her wonted freedom. Jealouſy ſoon brought them to blows with thoſe hated foreigners; and the ſon of that *Nicholas* who had ſhewn the firſt dawn of liberty, by putting count *Gerhard* to death, now led the way, ſays *Pontanus*, to the full exertion of its natural rights. This author relates, contrary to the teſtimony of

A. D. 1342.

The people incenſed againſt the Holſteiners.

ſome other hiſtorians, that this patriot aſſembling a ſmall body of *Jutlanders*, the inveterate enemies of the houſe of *Holſtein*, marched to *Lundeneſs*, where he razed a fort which *Henry* of *Holſtein* had built on the river *Scerne*. *Henry* flew to the protection of this place; a battle was fought, and the brave *Nicholas* died victorious, with his arms in his hands, after performing actions of aſtoniſhing valour [a].

ANOTHER remarkable battle was fought, on this occaſion, between *Frederick Laahen*, grand marechal of *Denmark*, and *Marchard*, lord of *Scandia*, and governor of the fortreſs of *Wardenburg*. The action was obſtinate and bloody; but victory at length declared for the marechal. With this, civil contention for a time ſubſided, on the king's promiſe to ſuffer the duke of *Holſtein* to remain in poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong holds ſtipulated in the laſt convention.

A. D. 1343. THE year following *Zealand* was ravaged, both by foreigners and the inhabitants of the iſland. *Coge*, one of the fineſt cities in the kingdom, was reduced to aſhes, and ſeveral were miſerably pillaged. It would ſeem that new diſputes had ariſen between the *Danes* and *Holſteiners*; for they fought a bloody battle near *Flaſmoll*, in which the *Danes* were defeated, and *Boic Folk*, one of their generals, and the king's prime favourite, was taken priſoner. The diſgrace was ſenſibly felt by the *Danes*, and they omitted no opportunity of revenging it. Wherever they met the *Holſteiners* they fell upon them, and maſſacred them without pity, or diſtinction of age or ſex. In a word, the tumult was not appeaſed before they had ſatiated their revenge with the blood of three hundred of theſe foreigners.

Valdemar forms ſchemes for redeeming the crown lands, and recovering Schonen.

BUT if *Valdemar* glowed with impatience to ſee *Jutland* in the hands of the *Holſteiners*, he was ſtill more incenſed that *Schonen* ſhould have become a *Swediſh* province, and the inhabitants daily more attached to their new ſovereign, on account of the privileges and immunities he liberally and politicly heaped upon them. Yet was it impoſſible for him, in the preſent unſettled ſtate of affairs, to attempt the recovery of this valuable province by arms: he thought it more adviſeable to ſmother his reſentment until he was more firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne. Accordingly a treaty was ſigned between the two crowns, or rather the preliminaries to a treaty, in which it was ſtipulated, that the utmoſt endeavours of both parties ſhould be exerted to terminate all differences between the king and the ſubjects of each, and to cut off all cauſe of future diſſenſions. Such was the ſubſtance of the whole;

[a] PONTAN. l. vii.

nothing

nothing more than vague and general promiſes of friendſhip appeared, without any other meaning probably, on either ſide, than to deceive and lull each other into ſecurity.

ABOUT this time *Swen* biſhop of *Arhus*, and *Paul* deacon of *Roſchild*, were arreſted by the king's orders in the public ſtreets, and conducted priſoners to *Padeborn*, a fortreſs in *Zealand*. We are not informed of *Valdemar*'s reaſons for committing ſuch violence on the perſons of two prelates of diſtinction; it is however agreed by all hiſtorians, that a council of the clergy met at *Wedel*, and laid the whole kingdom under a ſevere interdiction on account of this action. No body of men on earth are more jealous of their rights than the clergy of all nations; nor is there a more dangerous enemy where their influence is conſiderable, and the people ignorant. It does not appear that *Valdemar* was greatly diſconcerted with this proceeding of the biſhops; for we ſee him beſtowing the ſame attention to the recovery of the hereditary domains of the crown, and the iſland of *Falſtre*, and city of *Nicoping*, actually wreſted out of the hands of the earl of *Wagria*, to whom they had been pledged by *Chriſtopher*. A. D. 1343. *The biſhop of* Arhus *arreſted.*

TOWARDS the beginning of next year, *Valdemar*'s queen *Hedwigg* was delivered of a prince, whoſe birth annulled the ceſſion that was made of *Fionia* in favour of the houſe of *Holſtein*. A new treaty was concluded therefore between the two courts, in which *Valdemar* revoked the clauſe reſpecting *Fionia*; they mutually promiſed aſſiſtance againſt all enemies whatſoever, the king only excepting the king of *Sweden* and the duke of *Stetin*, with whom he was in ſtrict alliance; and it was agreed, that if any unforeſeen difference ſhould ariſe, it might be referred to the arbitration of *Valdemar* duke of *Sleſwick*. A. D. 1344. *A young prince born.*

No ſooner was this treaty ſigned, than *Valdemar* employed *Nicholas* of *Limbec*, whom he had juſt created mareſchal of *Denmark*, to negotiate with the princes of *Holſtein* concerning the redemption of *Seburg*. The ranſom was paid, and the two prelates of *Arhus* and *Roſchild* were ſet at liberty; upon which the biſhops took off the interdiction, about which *Valdemar* had given himſelf but little trouble, though the people began to expreſs great uneaſineſs.

CALLENBURG was, in the mean while, ſurrendered to the king by *Ingeburga*, widow of *Canute Porſius*, agreeable to the late convention; but the king of *Sweden* kept her out of poſſeſſion of *Halland*, under pretence that this province was annexed to his crown by the ſame title as *Schonen*. This however was a mere pretext in order to cover more ſecret deſigns; Callenburg *ſurrenders to the king.*

for it is certain, that *Halland* had never been engaged to the earl of *Wagria*, having only been given under the name of a government to *Eric*, father to the present king of *Sweden*. *Waldemar* was incensed at this conduct, but he found it convenient still to suppress his resentment, while *Ingeburga* remained alone the sufferer, being equally deprived of *Callenburg* and *Halland*, its equivalent [a].

The king marches against the Frieslanders.

About the close of the year a general diet was held at *Wiburg*, from whence the king marched directly against the *Frieslanders*, who had refused, for a series of years, to pay a certain tribute imposed on them. He entered their country in an hostile manner, and found no great difficulty in reducing them to obedience. Having finished this expedition, he made another to the island of *Zealand*, and laid siege to a new fortress the *Holsteiners* had built near *Nyburg*, contrary to the late treaty. *Waldemar* insisted, that either it should be delivered up to him, or dismantled; and the princes of *Holstein* were strenuous in having the price it had cost in building paid to them, and liberty to carry off all their effects; both which the king refused. The siege was accordingly formed; but before any great progress was made, a negotiation was set on foot, and the affair amicably adjusted. About this time *Waldemar* likewise consented, that *Nyborg*, a city in *Fionia*, which had been the occasion of numberless disputes, should remain in the hands of the *Teutonic* knights for the space of one year, they promising to defend it against all the attempts of the barbarians.

A. D. 1345. *A view of Waldemar's politics.*

As the princes of *Holstein* were the most formidable enemies of *Waldemar*, because they possessed strong holds in almost every province of his dominions, he made it the chief object of his policy to rid himself of such intestine neighbours, by detaching the duke of *Sleswick* from their alliance, in which he succeeded. A treaty was concluded between the two *Waldemars*, the duke did homage to the king, and the latter, in case he should be the survivor, obliged himself to protect the duke's heirs and domains against all enemies. It was likewise offensive and defensive; for they engaged mutually to defend each other with all their forces, and to declare the enemies of either to be the enemies of both powers. Such a proceeding could not fail of giving umbrage to the *Holstein* princes *Henry* and *Nicholas*. They formed a plan of revenge, which could never meet with countenance, except in the breasts of the base and dishonourable. They invited the duke to visit them at *Itzehoe* one day, proposing a hunting-

party,

arty, they ſeized on the duke's perſon, and kept him priſoner, nder a pretence that the treaty he ſigned with the king was ontrary to his engagements with them. Nor did they ſtop ere: they made incurſions into *Zealand*, and pillaged the ity *Ringſtadt*. On the other hand, the *Danes* made themelves maſters of *Neſtwed*, *Gunderſlabholm*, and the citadel of *adeborn*.

VALDEMAR laboured hard to re-unite with the crown, A. D. everal other places that had been pledged in the laſt unhappy 1346. eign. After redeeming from the princes *Henry* and *Nicholas*, he fortreſſes of *Korſer* and *Petreburg*, he declared to them his nclination to pay into their hands the price of the government f *Laaland*. His propoſal was rejected, and he gave orders o the grand mareſchal to paſs with an army into that iſland, nd lay ſiege to all the places that contained foreign garriſons. The princes haſtened to the relief of the iſland, and daily kirmiſhes paſſed between the two armies. No deciſive acon, however, happened when the *Swediſh* monarch offered is mediation, and effected an accommodation on no other onditions than, that *Laaland* ſhould be delivered up to he king, on his paying the ſum of eight thouſand marks in lver (A).

FROM this time *Valdemar* began to make profeſſions of a Valdeety more rigorous and ſevere than prudence or policy dic- mar's *ſuted*. While his dominions were pledged to ſtrangers, no- *perſtition*. thing could be more unſeaſonable than expeditions againſt the fidels, and holy pilgrimages, dictated only by blind zeal and ous phrenzy. He paſſed to *Eſthonia*, a province of *Sweden*, the North of *Livonia*, where he made ſeveral regulations the church. He founded ſeveral pious inſtitutions, and built apels at *Revel*, in which daily prayers were to be put up for mſelf and queen. He took the dean and canons of the thedral under his immediate protection, and publiſhed dirs edicts in their favour. In the end he returned to *Denark*, and prepared for another expedition againſt the pagans *Pruſſia*, with intention to oblige them to embrace the true ligion: ſuch was the devotion of princes in thoſe ages of norance and barbarity. *Valdemar* was accompanied in this pedition by his brother *Otton*, whom he had forced into the *eutonic* order, that his preſence in *Denmark* might occaſion

(A) According to *Pontanus*, that the whole iſland was ceded he city of *Wardenburg* alone by the princes on the above conoſt the king this ſum (1); but dition. *Meurſius* and *Crantzius* (2) agree,

(1) *Pont. l.* viii. (2) *Meurſ. l.* vi. *Crant. p.* 142.

no

no troubles. *Eric* duke of *Saxony* likewiſe attended him, the princes having met at *Lubec*; but before his arrival in *Pruſſia*, the barbarians had concluded a truce with the *Teutonic* knights. This rendered his preſence in the country unneceſſary; he therefore returned to *Livonia*, and ſold the province of *Eſthonia* to the *Teutonic* knights, for the ſum of eighteen thouſand marks in ſilver, contrary to the formal diſpoſition made by his father, whereby this province was unalienably annexed to the crown. One remarkable circumſtance attended this ſale; it was, that only one of the ſenators, *Andrew Stigot*, ſigned the agreement; nor did a copy of it ever appear until the *Poliſh* ambaſſador produced one at the congreſs of *Stetin* in the year 1570. One moiety of the money was paid to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, married to *Valdemar*'s ſiſter. This was her portion, for the payment of which the king had pledged half the province of *Eſthonia*. In return the marquis put into the king's hands an inſtrument, whereby he releaſed him from the ſubſidy he had engaged for the defence of the marquiſate.

A. D. 1346. BEFORE the king quitted *Livonia*, he had ſent orders to ſeveral *Daniſh* lords to meet him in *Brandenburg*, all of whom were arreſted on the road by the earl of *Wagria*; an act of preſumption that greatly incenſed *Valdemar*; yet did he enter upon no new meaſures for revenging the inſult, or enlarging the priſoners. Inſtead of this he made all poſſible preparations for a romantic expedition to the Holy Land, which he had long meditated. Accordingly he ſet out, attended by *Eric* of *Saxony*, and a great number of the firſt nobility of his kingdom. On his arrival at *Jeruſalem* he viſited all the holy places, and entered himſelf in the fraternity of the knights-templars; an example that was followed by *Eric*, and the reſt of the lords of his court: for folly from the throne flows rapidly among the people as from its natural and moſt vigorous ſource. The courtiers of *Alexander* diſtorted themſelves into the unhappy figure of that hero.

Valdemar makes a pilgrimage

NOT to dwell on the encomiums paſſed by crafty prieſts on theſe inſtances of royal piety, the people began to murmur at the diſpoſal of the fair province of *Eſthonia*, without their conſent, or indeed their knowledge; and the grievance was aggravated by the application of the money, one moiety of which went to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the other to defray the expences of a Quixote expedition to *Paleſtine*. That piety which they beheld with reverence in former monarchs, began to be looked on as a madneſs in *Valdemar*.

The Danes murmur.

A. D. 1347. IN the year 1347 the queen was delivered of a princeſs, named *Ingeburga*; and the king, who was returned to his dominions,

minions, paid off the mortgage upon the city of *Rendſburg*: He redeemed likewiſe a number of other mortgages, and among theſe the iſland of *Zealand*, city of *Nicoping*, *Steke* in the iſland of *Mona*, and a variety of places in *Jutland*. After this he ſigned a freſh treaty with the princes of *Holſtein*, in which it was ſtipulated, that *Neoburg* and part of the iſland of *Fionia* ſhould be ceded to the king, in exchange for which they were to receive *Steke*, with a ſum of money equivalent to the remainder of the purchaſe.

IT was not before this year that duke *Valdemar* of *Sleſwick* obtained his liberty, and then only upon condition, that he renounced the alliance he had formed with the king, contrary to the expreſs letter of a prior treaty with the *Holſtein* princes. A. D. 1348.

IT would ſeem that numberleſs difficulties attended the redemption of the crown-lands; for, ſubſequent to the treaty of which we have juſt ſpoken, we find the king laying ſiege to *Skioldeneſs* in *Zealand*. Neither *Pontanus*, *Meurſius*, or *Krantzius*, give any account of the occaſion of theſe hoſtilities, contenting themſelves with obſerving, that the operations were no ſooner begun than they were dropt, by reaſon of a plague that laid deſolate the greater part of all *Europe*, and raged with particular violence in *Denmark*. Here whole towns were deſerted, the country left waſte for want of labourers; all commerce totally ſtagnated; even the *Greenland* trade, which a few years before began to be aſſiduouſly purſued, was now neglected; and nothing but terror and deſpair reigned in this miſerable country. *Plague in* Denmark.

To theſe unhappy circumſtances were added others equally oppreſſive and unavoidable. The great number of crown-lands that were mortgaged rendered a heavy tax neceſſary; the more grievous to the people, becauſe the means of payment had failed, in conſequence of the ceſſation of induſtry. *Valdemar* determined by all means to gain the affections of his ſubjects, the more eaſily to effect his purpoſe. Aſſembling a diet at *Ringſtadt*, he ſet forth, in preſence of an infinity of nobles, clergy, and commons, that he had redeemed out of the hands of the mortgagees a great number of cities, towns, and caſtles, at the expence of three hundred thouſand marks, levied upon the people; and that now there remained a ſaving of ten thouſand marks of ſilver, which he requeſted the people would diſpoſe of as they ſaw proper, as it originally belonged to them. Such condeſcenſion in the monarch was truly politic: it intirely gained the affection of his ſubjects, as well as their confidence: they ſubmitted every thing to him, and aſſured him of their readineſs to lay down their lives and fortunes at his feet. Valdemar *gains the confidence of his ſubjects.* A. D. 1349.

VALDE-

Negotiation with Magnus *of* Sweden.

VALDEMAR, having ſucceeded in this important paſſed over to *Halland*, and demanded an interview *Magnus* king of *Sweden*, from whom he was deſirous deeming *Schonen*. He offered *Magnus* the ſum for w was firſt mortgaged to the earl of *Wagria*, and repreſe him, that the earl had no right to diſpoſe of a provinc upon ſuch a tenure. Unanſwerable as theſe arguments *Magnus* refuſed to ſurrender it; and the congreſs bro with menaces from *Valdemar*, that he would claim his by force of arms: menaces which were not attended wi propoſed effect, the troubles ariſing in *Germany* havin vented *Valdemar* from purſuing his deſign. As this extr nary affair is ſtrongly connected with our hiſtory, we relate it with all poſſible brevity from the diffuſe and per account of *Pontanus* [a].

An impoſtor lays claim to the marquiſate of Brandenburg.

AN impoſtor, by name *Muller Maineken*, appeared this time in *Brandenburg*, aſſuming the name of th margrave *Valdemar*, and claiming his dominions, wh ſaid were uſurped, in prejudice of his right, by *Lewis* of *denburg*. In his perſon he exactly reſembled *Valdemar* he found no difficulty in imitating his voice and manner ing been many years gentleman uſher to the margrave affirmed, that the margrave was not dead as had bee reported, but had made a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. N his return, he expected *Lewis* of *Bavaria* would reſtore dominions to their natural lord. Bold and impudent tions never fail to meet with credit from the vulgar. humanity and juſtice ſeemed to call aloud for their aſſiſ which combined with the novelty of the ſcene, ſoon *Muller* a great number of adherents. With theſe m the neighbouring princes, intereſted in ſupporting the i ture, joined. Among theſe were the dukes of *Saxe* and *Mecklenburg*; and *Crantzius* affirms, that the en *Charles* IV. not only eſpouſed, but firſt excited *Muller* bold attempt. By theſe he was ſupported with all th nity of a prince, he kept a court, and even eclipſed in the real margrave.

KING *Valdemar*, who ſincerely loved his brother-i *Lewis*, heard this news with concern. He pitied his foreſaw the diſtraction that would enſue, and determin uſe all his power to ſupport his brother-in-law, and p the preſumptuous *Muller*. A diet was convoked at *Ro* and ſufficient ſupplies were granted to enable him to e fleet, with which he invaded *Mecklenburg*, deſtroying the co

[a] PONT. l. viii.

b

before him with fire and ſword. The duke of *Mecklenburg* raiſed forces to oppoſe the king, whom he reduced to great danger, having beſieged him in *Sturgart*. *Valdemar* ſoon perceived the error of which he had been guilty, in encloſing himſelf in a city ſo eaſily forced; but his endeavours to extricate himſelf would have been fruitleſs, had not *Romulus*, brother to *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, arrived ſeaſonably to his relief. Immediately the duke raiſed the ſiege, took a compaſs, and attacked *Romulus* in the rear. The battle was bloody and obſtinate, the duke victorious, and near four hundred *Brandenburgers* were made priſoners; but ſtill *Romulus* had the honour of raiſing the ſiege, relieving the king, and of ſaving himſelf by his bravery from falling into the enemy's hands.

VALDEMAR was no ſooner at liberty than he marched out of the city, which had almoſt proved fatal to him, and made freſh incurſions into the duke's territories, where he laid ſiege to ſeveral towns, that made but a faint reſiſtance. At length, reinforced with a body of troops from *Pomerania*, he inveſted *Berlin*, which city had declared in favour of the impoſtor. The duke haſtened to the relief of the beſieged; and the king drew out his army to give him battle. Things were coming to a criſis, and both parties waiting for the ſignal to engage, when ſome of the more moderate nobility in each army, dreading the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, propoſed an accommodation. A conference was held, in which it was determined to ſubmit the affair to the arbitration of his *Swediſh* majeſty. Accordingly it was determined by this monarch, that *Romulus*, brother to *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, ſhould ſet all his priſoners at liberty; that, as an equivalent, he ſhould receive an oath of allegiance from certain cities in the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, to which he claimed a right; and, laſtly, that he ſhould eſpouſe the daughter of the duke. King *Valdemar* likewiſe effected a reconciliation between his brother-in-law the margrave and the duke of *Stetin*; alſo between the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Saxony*.

THESE troubles in *Germany* being thus appeaſed, *Valdemar* was on the brink of entering into another diſpute of more conſequence, if the emperor's affairs had not prevented him from purſuing the dictates of his reſentment. His imperial majeſty was extremely enraged at *Valdemar*'s marching foreign troops into the empire, and making his dominions the theatre of a war. He was ſtill more incenſed at his checking the progreſs of the pretended margrave, as it was notorious that the emperor had an intereſt in the ſucceſs of this impoſtor, out of pique to the margrave *Lewis*, it being a main object of his policy to diſtreſs the affairs of the houſe of *Bavaria*. A. D. 1350.

However, whether out of ſhame, or dread of puſhing matters to an exceſs, he diſſembled his reſentment, and granted a paſſport to the king and ſeveral princes of the North, to attend a diet which he convoked at *Sprenberg*, in order to decide the claim of the impoſtor *Muller*. The king carried with him *Eric* duke of *Saxony*, and *Romulus*, now become margrave of *Brandenburg*, which his brother ceded to him, reſerving to himſelf only the dominions of the houſe of *Bavaria*. At this congreſs (for it was not properly a diet of the empire) the northern princes complained loudly of the emperor's endeavours to ſupplant the natural heir of the houſe of *Brandenburg*, by forcing in his room an impoſtor, who had long been a menial in the family. To this charge the emperor replied, that he had done nothing of which he could repent. Neither temerity, prejudice, or paſſion, had excited him againſt the houſe of *Bavaria*, or at all influenced his conduct; juſtice alone was the motive of his actions: that if he was at all blameable, it was for giving credit to the aſſurances of the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, *Rodolph* of *Saxony*, the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and the prince of *Anhalt*, all of whom had ſolemnly made oath, that he was the true *Valdemar*, the lawful heir of the houſe of *Brandenburg*. Upon this the king ſtood up, and ſpoke in the name of the other princes: "We too are ready to ſwear, but with more truth, "that this perſon is an impoſtor; and we oblige ourſelves to "convict of perjury whoever has ſworn to the contrary: we "therefore beſeech your imperial majeſty to revoke the de"cree you have paſſed in favour of a man, who has no other "pretenſions to his preſent dignity than what he derives from "an unparalleled impudence, diſſimulation, and talents to "impoſe on your imperial majeſty." Not caring to urge matters to extremities, *Charles* at length openly acknowledged *Romulus* the legitimate heir and poſſeſſor of *Brandenburg*, and publiſhed an imperial decree to this purpoſe. From henceforth the impoſtor was abandoned by all his adherents, and forced to retreat into *Anhalt*, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in that obſcurity to which he was born[a]; and thus ended an affair which had ſpread the flames of war in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, almoſt proved fatal to the liberty and life of *Valdemar*, and made a great noiſe in every corner of *Europe*. It properly belongs to another part of our hiſtory; but from the ſhare which *Valdemar* had in it, we could not avoid mentioning it here.

THE congreſs having broke up, the princes returned each to his own dominions, except *Valdemar*, who laboured hard

[a] CRANTZ. p. 203.

t the affair he juſt concluded upon a ſolid footing, before
ent back to *Denmark*. After having eſtabliſhed repoſe
tranquillity, he ſpent ſome days at *Lubec* in mirth and
vity, and then paſſed over to his own dominions,
re he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, the
ple being highly ſatisfied with the reſult of this laſt nego-
on.

OON after this he concluded a treaty with *Caſimir*, king
oland, by which that prince engaged to ſupply him with
hundred lances, provided they were not to be employed
nſt any power ſpecified in the treaty. Before the end of
year the public joy received conſiderable augmentation
n the birth of a ſecond ſon; it was however of ſhort du-
on; for the young prince lived but a few days. By the
h of the two ſons of *Canute Porſius*, the title of dukes of
land became extinct, and the king did not think proper
onfer it on a collateral branch of the family, thinking it
e adviſeable to annex the dutchy to the crown.

N the year 1351 a quarrel, the grounds for which are A. D.
nown, aroſe between *Valdemar* and his grand-marechal 1351.
beck. It was carried ſo high, that his majeſty beſieged *A revolt of*
in the caſtle of *Dorning*. The princes of *Holſtein*, the *the king's*
ility of *Jutland*, and the maritime towns, all took arms at *ſubjects.*
ſame time. The princes pretended an infraction of
treaty ſubſiſting between them and the king, while
nobility and maritime towns complained of ſome treſ-
es upon their rights and privileges. On the firſt rumour
heſe commotions, the king put garriſons in all the places
hought neceſſary, and ſent a ſtrong body of forces for the
ection of the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, agreeable to the late
ty. This laſt meaſure proved fruitleſs; for the duke had
d with the princes of *Holſtein*, and the auxiliaries were
trained to return. At the ſame time, the *Swedes* having
poſed *Magnus* for his debaucheries, which had rendered
odious to the people, raiſed his ſon *Eric* to the throne.
gnus, retiring to *Schonen*, aſſembled the ſtates of the pro-
ce, to deliberate on the neceſſary meaſures in this de-
rable ſituation of his affairs. From hence he ſolicited *Val-*
ar's aſſiſtance to reſtore him; but met with a repulſe, be-
ſe he had refuſed to cede that province. Again the negotia-
n was reſumed; but the unwillingneſs which *Magnus* ex-
ſſed to ſurrender *Schonen*, rendered it fruitleſs.

ALL this while *Valdemar* was not unemployed on the other *The affairs*
e. He invited the nobility of *North Jutland* to a confe- *of* Jutland.
nce, with a view to detach them from the alliance of *Hol-*
in; and one *Bugæus* was ſent to *Callenburg*, to treat with
the

the king in their name. Nothing was concluded at this interview; and *Bugæus* with the other deputies were hardly returned to *Jutland*, when the nobility, forming a new alliance with the princes of *Holſtein*, ſeized upon ſeveral of his majeſty's garriſons in thoſe parts. The king dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and laboured aſſiduouſly to remove the cauſe of ſo terrible an evil. He offered to ſubmit the difference to the deciſion of the earl of *Wagria*; yet becauſe he ſuſpected that nobleman partial in favour of the princes of *Holſtein*, the iſſue of his determination was procraſtinated. In the mean while he levied troops, which, after paſſing in review at *Stagel*, he embarked for *Fionia*; but contrary winds prevented the tranſports from ſailing. This afforded him an opportunity of holding a conference with *Magnus* of *Sweden*; but this interview, like all the other negotiations between them, broke off without concluding any thing.

As ſoon as the wind permitted, *Valdemar* put to ſea; and was met on his landing by numbers of the nobility of *Fionia*, who aſſured him of their fidelity, and made offer of their ſervices. By their advice it was that umpires were choſen to determine all differences between him, the princes of *Holſtein*, and the *Jutland* nobility. At the ſame time the *Swedes* held an aſſembly at *Helſenburg*, to negotiate an accommodation between the two crowns; but as nothing was determined, it produced a particular interview between *Valdemar* and *Magnus*, at which their differences were amicably adjuſted, after repeated fruitleſs negotiations had been ſet on foot.

A. D. 1352. In the ſpring of the year freſh conferences were held on the ſubject of the diſpute between his majeſty and the princes of *Holſtein* and nobility of *Jutland*; but every propoſal from either ſide was rejected, as if they both had met to decide juſt nothing at all. But the unſettled ſtate of his own affairs did not prevent *Valdemar*'s aſſiſting the duke of *Mecklenburg* againſt the duke of *Stetin*, who had declared war againſt him; and, indeed, it ſeems to be one of the ſhining parts of this prince's character, that he adhered ſtrictly to his engagements, and never deſerted his allies, but on the moſt preſſing emergencies, and for the ſtrongeſt reaſons: and however politics may in theſe times be altered, firmneſs and fidelity are no leſs reſpectable qualities in a monarch than in a private citizen. On this occaſion he reſolved to go in perſon to *Germany*, which he did, after appointing a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence. He was no ſooner arrived than he ſet negotiations on foot for reuniting the belligerent powers; and accordingly produced a treaty of peace, and even of alliance, between the

dukes

dukes of *Mecklenburg*, *Stetin*, and *Pomerania*. Having ſome cauſe of diſcontent againſt the princes of *Sclavia* and *Werle*, he no ſooner ended the negotiations than he entered their country in a hoſtile manner, carrying deſolation wherever he marched, and deſtroying every thing profane and ſacred before him. He is reproached on this occaſion with betraying a cruel and barbarous diſpoſition, in ordering the noſes and ears of the priſoners to be cut off in cool blood, and otherwiſe mangling their bodies in a manner little conſiſtent with a religious pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This expedition ended, the cauſes of which are unknown, he ſpent ſome time at *Wardenburg* in feaſts and diverſions.

THE year 1353 was uſhered in, and diſtinguiſhed in the annals of *Denmark*, by the birth of the glorious princeſs *Margaret*, who ſucceeded to the crowns of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, after the death of her father *Valdemar*, and merited by her prudence and manly courage, the title of *Semiramis of the North*. The king had for ſome years paſt ſhut up his queen in the caſtle of *Stborg*, upon ſome ſuſpicion of her incontinence. Chance led him one day thither as he returned from hunting, and propoſing to ſpend the night with one of the queen's women, he was carried by the addreſs of that lady into the arms of his lawful wife *Hedeweg*, where he enjoyed all thoſe bleſſings annexed to ſtolen love, and which the depraved appetite finds in intrigue, without diſcovering his miſtake before the morning. The queen conceived in conſequence of the embraces of this night, and in the ſpace of nine months was delivered of princeſs *Margaret*, the fruit of this legitimate amour. *Princeſs Margaret born.*

THIS year likewiſe it was, that freſh meaſures were taken to terminate all differences with the princes of *Holſtein*, which were ſubmitted to the arbitration of the duke of *Saxony* and the earl of *Hoja*, by whoſe award all parties agreed to ſtand. It was farther ſtipulated, that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe while this affair was in agitation. The king and the princes produced their pretenſions, and laid open their grievances to the umpires. Firſt it was agreed, that for the ſum of two thouſand marks of ſilver, the king ſhould redeem out of the hands of the duke of *Saxony*, the fortreſs of *Pilworder*, to be given in truſt to the earl of *Wagria* till payment of the ſaid ſum, which muſt be made within the ſpace of three years, certain revenues in *Fionia* being mortgaged for ſecurity of the intereſt. On the other hand, the earl was to yield up to the king all his mother's portion in *Denmark*, excepting only thoſe lands ſold by his father to *Gerhard*. *Concertion with the princes of* Holſtein.

WITH reſpect to the *Holſtein* princes, the king publiſhed a declaration, whereby he acknowledged, in conſideration of the ceſſion made by the princes of a moiety of *Fionia*, and of fifteen hundred marks in ſilver, that he gave up all other pretenſions, and ſet all the priſoners at liberty which he had taken ſince the beginning of the war. In a word, the tedious diſputes and quarrels between the king, the ſons of *Gerhard*, and the duke of *Sleſwick*, were at length terminated amicably; though they were again renewed a ſhort time after.

A. D. 1353. DURING theſe tranſactions it was, that *Magnus* king of *Sweden* gave the inveſtiture of *Halland* and *Schonen* to a *Swediſh* lord, called *Bennet Algoth*, his favourite, with the title of duke; and ſome hiſtorians relate, that not ſatisfied with beſtowing theſe marks of diſtinction, he made him abſolute maſter of his whole kingdom. This inveſtiture gave umbrage to *Valdemar*; but his reſentment was abſorbed in acts of devotion he was now meditating. Some conſtitutions are naturally diſpoſed to ſuperſtition; ſuch was that of *Valdemar*. His piety conſiſted in exterior acts and expences, the load of which fell entirely upon his ſubjects; and indeed this is a ſpecies of immoral piety, that favours more of vain-glory than of warm ſentiments of true religion and the dictates of a good heart. In no other view can we regard the pilgrimage he made this year to *Avignon*, to viſit *Innocent* VI. which coſt the people an immenſe ſum of money (A).

ON his return from *Avignon*, he made an expedition to *Friſeland*, to extinguiſh ſome ſparks of ſedition that had broke out in that country; but the inhabitants having recourſe to ſupplications, he contented himſelf with puniſhing a few of the ringleaders, by fining them in certain ſums of money, and carrying off hoſtages.

A general diet aſſembles. NEXT he called a general aſſembly of the ſtates at *Neoburg*, at which aſſiſted the duke and biſhop of *Sleſwick*. Here he publicly declared a general pardon to all his ſubjects guilty of treaſon, or other offences againſt the crown, and drew up an inſtrument to this purpoſe, which the biſhop of *Ripen* read

(A) *Pontanus*, led by ſome falſe authority, ſays, that this viſit was made to *Urban* V. The year is the ſame, and yet *Urban* was not raiſed to the dignity of pope till eight years after. It follows neceſſarily, therefore, that *Innocent* VI. was then at the head of the church, if it be true, as all the *Daniſh* hiſtorians aſſert, that this pilgrimage was made in the year 1354 (1).

(1) *Vid. Pont. l.* viii. *p.* 483.

aloud

aloud in the diet. It contained in ſubſtance, that his people ſhould henceforward enjoy the full exertion of all the privileges and immunities conferred on them by his anceſtors, and particularly by *Valdemar* II. that a general amneſty ſhould be granted of what was paſſed; that his majeſty ſhould take care to protect them againſt all their enemies; that all thoſe guilty of capital crimes, ſuch as murder, theft, *&c.* ſhould obtain pardon, on making ſatisfaction to the injured, at leaſt as far as lay in their power, in the manner moſt agreeable to the laws of the country; that no ſubject, whether layman or eccleſiaſtic, ſhould be conſtrained to part with his goods and chattels to religious purpoſes; that no one be ſuffered to ſeize on the effects of an eccleſiaſtic who has died without heirs, but that they be left to the king's diſpoſal, or to the ſociety to which they belonged; laſtly, that a general diet be ſummoned yearly, according to the antient cuſtom of the realm, at *Neoburg*, about the feſtival of *St. John*. Theſe regulations were plauſible and pleaſing; but we ſhall ſee in the ſequel how they were obſerved.

Interview between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.

THIS diet was ſucceeded by an interview between the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* at *Helſinburg*. *Pontanus* indeed relates, that it was only a congreſs compoſed of deputies, three biſhops being ſent with an archbiſhop from each ſide to end the differences between the two crowns. The firſt point handled was the reſtitution of *Schonen*, upon which the *Daniſh* deputies had inſtructions to inſiſt. It was urged, that the earl of *Wagria* had no right to diſpoſe of a province, of which he was only the ſimple mortgagee; and that the inhabitants of *Schonen* were guilty of rebellion, in acknowledging the ſovereignty of *Magnus*. They then proved, that neither *North* nor *South-Halland* had ever been mortgaged; but only made over during pleaſure, under the title of a government. Theſe two important points occaſioned ſo many difficulties, which unavoidably roſe from the nature of the ſubject, that his *Swediſh* majeſty requeſted *Valdemar* to come in perſon to *Helſinburg*. He accordingly went, and now it was that the kings met; but without the propoſed effect: for, after ſeveral warm debates, the congreſs broke up, leaving all the differences juſt as they found them.

ANOTHER conference was appointed about the ſame time, to which were invited the *German* princes, to regulate certain commercial affairs. The princes and ſea-ports ſent deputies; but *Valdemar* propoſed attending in perſon, and was preparing for his journey to *Lubec*, when he was given to underſtand, by the diet, that no more than an eſcorte of an hundred perſons would be allowed him. *Valdemar* loved pomp, and thinking

such a retinue insufficient to appear with regal magnificence, he postponed his journey, and appointed deputies.

A. D. 1355. Valdemar's domestic conduct.

LAYING aside for a time the care of foreign affairs, *Valdemar* applied himself to the administration of justice. He presided in person at the tribunals, and punished a great number of usurpers, who had violently possessed themselves of estates, during the civil wars immediately preceding his accession. These lands he returned to the legitimate owners; or, if no lawful heirs could be found, annexed them to the crown. He summoned before him one *Nicholas Rond*, of the order of knights, accused of seditious expressions against the government, and disrespectful language towards the king's person. *Rond* disobeyed the summons, and made so stout a resistance, that those who were sent to bring him by force, were constrained to put him to death [a].

THE king held this head-court at *Ripen*; whence he passed to *Helsinburg*, where *Magnus* of *Sweden* demanded another interview. From thence he proceeded to *Wrangsterp*, at which place he held a diet, and passed an edict, whereby all fines on criminal actions were doubled. At length he returned to *Roschild*, where he received advice that the duke of *Sleswick* and *Bennet Aldfeldt* had determined to decide their quarrel by arms. *Valdemar*, out of resentment to the duke for his late conduct, sent supplies to *Aldfeldt*, by means of which he became master of the fortress of *Trankiar*, and ravaged a great part of the duke's country, particularly the island of *Langland*. The duke flew to the relief of his people: he landed a strong body of troops; but was forced to abandon the island, on finding the king in person at the head of an army to oppose him. Thus *Valdemar* became master of *Langland*; but he again ceded it to the duke, in consequence of a negotiation set on foot.

An embassy from France.

THIS year arrived from *France* a magnificent embassy. *John* II. proposed a double marriage between the children of the two kings, and *Valdemar* instantly dispatched ambassadors to *France* with similar instructions; but *John* being at that time made prisoner by the *English*, and conducted to *London*, the treaty was brought to no conclusion. To this succeeded advices from *Sweden*, which gave the king uneasiness. Although the civil wars in that country were terminated by the partition of power made between *Magnus* and his son *Eric*; yet *Bookal Folk*, a *Danish* lord, sent by *Valdemar* to *Schonen*, with certain instructions for *Magnus*, was arrested on the road by *Eric*'s order. *Joannes Gothus*, a *Swedish* his-

[a] PONT. l. viii.

torian,

terian, aſſigns the following motives for *Eric*'s conduct. Queen *Blanche*, wife to *Magnus*, was no leſs fond of *Bennet Algoth* than her husband. He was the prime favourite of both; and the queen deſpairing to ſee *Magnus* reinſtated in the throne, neglected nothing to preſerve the fortune of this minion. She made a ſecret offer to king *Valdemar* of the province of *Schonen*, provided he would confirm to *Algoth* the late inveſtiture and title granted by *Magnus*; and the king, eager to reunite ſo fine a province to his crown, liſtened to her overtures. *Eric* had intelligence of this ſecret correſpondence, and gave inſtructions for arreſting *Folk*.

ACCORDING to the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, *Valdemar* was ſo enraged at the inſult committed on his agent, that he inſtantly began to levy ſoldiers. He was prevented however from purſuing his revenge, by the rigour of the approaching winter, and by a revolt that broke out in *Jutland*. His whole attention was required to appeaſe this tumult. Great diligence was uſed, and it ſucceeded; certain lords having engaged to prevail on the king to ſummon a diet at *Callenburg*, for the redreſs of the people's grievances. This accordingly was done on the twenty-fifth of *March* following. A. D. 1356. A. D. 1357.

BUT the facility with which *Valdemar* had hitherto quaſhed all ſeeds of rebellion, made him the more careleſs about removing the cauſe. This appeared from his behaviour immediately after the above diet; for he impoſed a heavy tax upon all the inhabitants of *Jutland* without diſtinction, probably as a puniſhment for their late offence. It was to the laſt degree unſeaſonable and impolitic, thus to irritate the minds of the people ſo lately in rebellion. The duke of *Sleſwick* and princes of *Holſtein* joined in the clamours againſt this conduct, and ſtimulated the nobility of *Jutland* to take up arms. Yet after all, this was only a collateral inducement to the people to revolt; the principal and original cauſe of their conduct being founded on a particular quarrel between certain natives of *Holſtein* and the family of *Himniken-Limbek*, whom *Cunigunde*, widow to *Eric* duke of *Sleſwick*, protected. The princes of *Holſtein* took part with their own ſubjects, entered the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, and made themſelves maſters of the cities of *Tunderen* and *Haderſlaben*. Both ſides ſolicited the *Jutland* nobility for aſſiſtance, and the princes prevailed; but king *Valdemar*, whoſe intereſt it was that theſe towns ſhould not remain in the hands of the princes, levied troops and drove them out of the dutchy. Thus the *Jutlanders* were engaged againſt their own ſovereign, and by their endeavours the *Holſteiners* again got poſſeſſion of their conqueſts in the dutchy. *Valdemar* ſaw *Randerſen* beſieged *Jutland revolts.*

and taken within view of his army, without being able to relieve the garriſon. He afterwards gave battle to the enemy, and was defeated. Fluſhed with victory, they paſſed over to *Fionia*, where they took by aſſault the ſtrong town of *Odenſee*, and laid ſiege to *Gamberg*, another ſtrong hold in its neighbourhood.

Valdemar's *preparations to ſubdue them.*

VALDEMAR was not diſcouraged by theſe diſgraces; he rather exerted all his ability to wipe them off. Troops were levied, and ſeveral ſuſpected lords put under an arreſt. Among others, *Peter Laurentius*, his brother *John*, *James Oulofſon*, and his brother *Olaus* were ſecured. Some he releaſed at a high ranſom, after depriving them of the means of injuring him; but theſe four were not only impriſoned, but their eſtates confiſcated, and places given to perſons of approved affection and fidelity. Though the ſeaſon was far advanced, he marched boldly to the relief of *Gamberg*. On his arrival he created a great number of nobility, the more ſtrongly to engage their affection, and draw forth their courage on ſo important an occaſion. As ſoon as he perceived his officers eager to engage, he gave the ſignal, and led his army on with ſuch fury, that the *Holſteiners* and malcontents, unable to reſiſt his impetuoſity, broke up the ſiege and retired precipitately with great loſs. All their officers of diſtinction were killed or taken. *John* of *Holſtein* was left dead on the field; and his brother *Nicholas*, after loſing an eye, fell into the hands of the *Danes*, who were bringing him priſoner to the king, when his brother *Henry* flew to his relief, attacked the party, and procured his liberty. In conſequence of this important victory, all the garriſons belonging to the princes in *Fionia*, ſurrendered to the king, and he immediately gave orders for razing *Gamberg* to the ground, in order to reinforce his army with the garriſon [a].

The Jutlanders *defeated.*

FROM hence he paſſed into *Zealand*, laden with plunder: and here he received advice from his emiſſaries, that a great number of the *Holſtein* nobility were invited to attend the laſt obſequies of *Bennet Aldfeldt*'s wife, who died in *Fionia*. Thither he paſſed ſo ſecretly and ſuddenly, that he ſeized upon many perſons of the firſt rank, whom he carried priſoners into *Zealand*.

A. D. 1358. THIS year was uſhered in with a rumour that the king of *Sweden* and duke of *Mecklenburg* were preparing to declare war againſt *Denmark*. Though no certain advices had been received of their intentions, *Valdemar* ordered his army into the field, in the depth of winter. He alſo ſent orders to all

[a] MONT. l. iv. PONTAN. l. viii.

the

the governors of towns and caſtles, to put the fortifications and garriſons in the beſt ſtate of defence. Next he reviewed his troops at *Stagel*, and augmented them conſiderably, taking every precaution that was neceſſary to guard againſt an invaſion. It is remarkable, however, that a maritime power like *Denmark* ſhould not have confided more in a ſtrong fleet, and committed the care of her coaſts to a well appointed navy; yet we hear of no other naval preparations made on this occaſion, than taking up a few tranſports, on board of which he embarked a part of his army for *Langland*. Here he took the important fortreſs of *Trankiar*, and in a ſhort time ſubdued all the other places on the iſland that had not acknowledged his ſovereignty. From hence he ſet ſail with intention to beſiege *Heingavel*; but moſt of his fleet being diſperſed, and ſeparated from him in a thick fog, he relinquiſhed the deſign.

STRENGTHENED before the ſpring with freſh levies, he Valdemar's operations. again put to ſea, and attempted the reduction of *Alſen*. *Hardburg* had already ſurrendered, after a ſiege of three days; *Sonderberg* was likely to make but a faint reſiſtance: in a word, the whole iſland muſt have ſunk under the weight of his victorious arm, had not *Rigitz* dutcheſs of *Sleſwick* taken the prudent reſolution of ſuing to her ſovereign for peace. She came in perſon to his majeſty, who was ſo charmed with her eloquence and addreſs, that he freely granted her all his conqueſts in *Alſen*, on condition that ſhe would harbour or countenance none of his enemies, and that the duke her huſband ſhould come attended by no more than twenty ſervants, and ſtay no longer than three days at his court.

VALDEMAR's liberality was certainly the cauſe of the duke's viſit a ſhort time after. That prince deſired permiſſion to wait on his majeſty, which was granted. He made ſeveral overtures for accommodating all their differences; but they were rejected at the perſuaſion of certain courtiers, who were violently prejudiced againſt the duke. After his departure the king ſet ſail for the iſland of *Femeren*, where the inhabitants were well provided to receive him, having had ome previous intimation of his deſign. They endeavoured o oppoſe his landing; but were repulſed and forced to give ay to ſuperior force. After loſing a great number of their en in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, they ſubmitted to pay a tribute of ur thouſand marks in ſilver. On his return *Valdemar* exted contributions on ſeveral cities of *Sleſwick*, and laid waſte l the country round, that had refuſed to comply with his mand. Some of his ſhips had orders to plunder the neighurhood of *Wiſmar*, which the ſeamen executed with great

Valdemar's *ſquadron taken at* Wiſmar.

alacrity and ſucceſs; but being detained in port by adverſe winds, the peaſants aſſembled and attacked the crews with great fury. Perceiving that all their endeavours were foiled by the courage of the *Danes*, they filled ſeveral ſmall boats with combuſtibles, which they ſent with a fair wind into the middle of the king's ſquadron. The terror and dread of fire effected what all the power of *Wiſmar* could not; for the ſeamen immediately threw down their arms, and ſuffered themſelves to be conducted priſoners to the city, and among them their admiral *Jernſkeg*, the great favourite of *Valdemar*.

THIS expedition being ended the king paſſed into *Zealand*, where he lived but a ſhort time at his eaſe, when advice was received that the duke of *Mecklenburg* meditated to invade the iſland. The report was true; but the duke hearing that *Valdemar* was provided with a numerous ſquadron, and well-appointed garriſons, relinquiſhed his deſign, and ſolicited the duke of *Stetin* to mediate a peace between him and his allies the princes of *Holſtein* and the king. *Bornim* of *Stetin* undertook the buſineſs and ſucceeded. He prevailed on *Valdemar* to come to *Stralſund*, in order the more commodiouſly to negotiate the peace. Here the parties met, each accompanied by numerous trains of nobility, who greatly aſſiſted in concluding their differences. It was ſtipulated, that the king ſhould henceforward live in peace with the allied princes, who engaged a mutual friendſhip among themſelves; and that the priſoners on all ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty. They likewiſe took under conſideration the diſturbances of *Jutland*; and it was agreed, that the nobility and commons ſhould ſend deputies to the king at *Neoburg*, to finiſh their differences amicably.

Diet at Neoburg.

A PEACE being ſigned, and writs iſſued for convoking the diet, his majeſty put to ſea; but inſtead of proceeding to *Neoburg* he ſteered for *Zealand*, contenting himſelf with ſending his ſon and certain ſenators to treat with the *Jutland* deputies at the diet, and reſerving to himſelf the ultimate deciſion of that affair. This induced the deputies to demand a ſafe conduct to attend the king at *Stagel*; but the terms on which the paſſports were granted, appeared ſo inſolent, and couched in words ſo imperious, that nothing was concluded, and they departed more incenſed than ever againſt *Valdemar*. Soon after, however, a truce was granted, and the negotiation renewed.

FROM *Stagel* the king went to *Roſchild*, where he expected to have met the king and queen of *Sweden*, to put the laſt hand to the affair of *Schonen*. On his arrival he found they had

had ſent an apology, *Magnus* having always expreſſed great unwillingneſs to part with that province.

IT was about this time that three of the *Jutland* nobility, done by his order; yet was it never clearly proved, and many reaſons concurred to render it probable that this horrid action was committed by ſome ſecret enemy to them, or at leaſt to the king, who fell upon this method of rendering him odious. *Three* Jutlemen of the firſt quality, were aſſaſſinated on their return home. The ſuſpicion lay upon the king, as if it had been *no blemen aſſaſſinated.*

ABOUT the beginning of the enſuing year, the brothers *Barntrims* and *Wratiſlaus* obtained the inveſtiture of *Rugen* from the king, for which they did homage, promiſing him likewiſe the moſt conſtant fidelity, and certain auxiliary troops and ſuccours againſt all his enemies. This renders it probable, that *Chriſtopher* had not mortgaged the iſland of *Rugen*, but only that part of *Pomerania* called *Pomerania-Ciſmarina.* A. D. 1359.

IT was this year that queen *Blanche* prevailed on *Magnus* to viſit *Valdemar* at *Copenhagen* (A), the iſſue of which interview was the ceremony of betrothing the princeſs *Margaret*, third daughter to *Valdemar*, to the king of *Norway*. On this occaſion the affair of *Schonen* was again brought on the carpet; for this was one of the circumſtances which produced a freſh quarrel between *Magnus* and his ſon *Eric*. The pretext which they publiſhed was in fact too trivial to occaſion a war; for it appeared that *Magnus* complained of the inhabitants of *Schonen*'s expreſſing a ſtronger attachment to their duke than to him, who was their king. In fact, this approaching rupture was one great motive for his viſit to *Denmark*, where he ſolicited *Valdemar*'s aſſiſtance againſt his ſon, promiſing him in return the full reſtitution of *Helſinburg* and *Schonen*. It was an overture which *Valdemar* could not reſiſt; he had long panted after this province, and now found it voluntarily offered. Not to loſe the favourable minute, he paſſed ſuddenly with an army into *Schonen*, ſeized upon ſeveral fortreſſes, and among other places made himſelf maſter of *Solliczſburg*; but proviſions failing he returned to *Zealand*, carrying along with him priſoner a nobleman of rank called *Peter Doa*. Schonen *given up by* Magnus.

(A) *Meurſius* is certainly miſtaken in giving this city the appellation of *Copenhagen* at ſo early a period; for at this time it was called *Hafnia*, and did not obtain the other name till many years after, as we have remarked in the general account of *Denmark*.

VALDEMAR's

VALDEMAR's progreſs in *Schonen*, and above all, the reproaches of his people for tamely ſuffering a fair province, which for ſome years they looked upon as a dependence on the crown, to be wreſted out of his hands, made an extraordinary change in the councils of *Magnus*. Suddenly he compromiſed matters with his ſon, and both agreed to drive the *Danes* out of *Schonen*, which they found no difficult taſk in *Valdemar*'s abſence. In the treaty between the father and ſon, *Magnus* not only revoked the promiſe he gave to the king of *Denmark*, reſpecting the reſtitution of *Schonen*, but likewiſe renounced his alliance and the contract of marriage made between the princeſs *Margaret* and the king of *Norway*. Nay, they farther agreed to marry the *Norwegian* monarch to the princeſs *Elizabeth*, ſiſter to the dukes of *Holſtein*. It was added, that if king *Magnus* ſhould violate the conditions of this treaty, his ſubjects ſhould be abſolved from their allegiance. However, the death of *Eric*, which intervened, wrought a total alteration in theſe meaſures.

Magnus *revokes his promiſe to* Valdemar.

In the mean time a variety of croſs circumſtances concurred to prevent *Valdemar*'s return to *Schonen*. The aſſaſſination of the three deputies made a great noiſe; the ſuſpicion lay upon him: it rendered his character deſpicable, and he found it abſolutely neceſſary to vindicate his innocence, and bring the whole affair to light. His enemies were already numerous among his own ſubjects, and this greatly augmented the number of diſaffected in *Jutland*. His firſt ſtep was to affirm publicly, on oath, before *Canute*, ſon to one of the murdered deputies, that the crime was committed without his orders, conſent, and knowledge. He next vowed to uſe all poſſible endeavours to diſcover the criminals, and treat them with all the rigour that injured majeſty, as well as the heinouſneſs of the offence, required or would allow. Duke *Chriſtopher* likewiſe engaged to regard *Canute* as his brother, and every poſſible means was uſed to obliterate his reſentment, and remove all ſuſpicion from the king. Gained over by theſe aſſurances, *Canute* promiſed, on his part, to uſe all his endeavours to bring the nobility and people of *Jutland* to a right ſenſe of their duty and obedience to the king.

Valdemar *purges himſelf by oath of an accuſation of murder.*

VALDEMAR found it more difficult to perſuade the father of *Uffon Stigot*, another of the aſſaſſinated deputies, of his innocence. This nobleman had other cauſes of diſcontent, and uſed this pretext to purſue the dictates of his reſentment, and ſpirit up the *Jutlanders* to revolt. Finding him inexorable, the king took different meaſures. He confiſcated his eſtate in *Zealand*, and annexed it to the crown, reducing

Stigot

ſtiget to the neceſſity of living upon the ſmall fortune he poſſeſſed in *Jutland*.

THUS begun the troubles in *Jutland*, which diverted the king from purſuing the conqueſt of *Schonen*. Under pretence of public feſtivals, the *Jutlanders* covered ſecret conferences they held with ſeveral neighbouring princes, whom they engaged to ſupport them: among theſe were the princes of *Holſtein* and the duke of *Mecklenburg*. The latter equipped a ſquadron, embarked ſome land forces, and ſailed for *Fionia*, on which he made a deſcent. His ſucceſs was equal to the terror which ſo ſudden an invaſion occaſioned; for after taking a number of towns, and ruining almoſt all the villages, he returned accompanied by a variety of priſoners of diſtinction, whom he kept as hoſtages to ſecure the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants. *Origin of the troubles in* Jutland.

NOR was *Jutland* in more tranquility. The king and many of the inhabitants were diſpoſed to pacific meaſures; but a number of courtiers repreſented to his majeſty, that it would redound more to his glory if he reduced the malcontents by force of arms: beſides, this was the leaſt puniſhment the nature of their offence merited. On the other hand, there were not wanting a number of ſeditious perſons in *Jutland*, who repreſented to the people their deplorable ſituation, exaggerated every falſe meaſure of the court, and encouraged them to hazard all rather than ſurrender their liberties.

IN this manner it was that both ſides were determined to decide their differences by the ſword. *Valdemar* detached before him a body of troops, who without waiting for a reinforcement began the ſiege of *Randerſen*; but it was not long before they ſuffered the reward of their temerity. The beſieged made ſo briſk a ſally, that after great ſlaughter they put the whole body of *Danes* to flight: however, as they were ſoon joined by a freſh ſupply of troops from the king, they found themſelves in a condition to attempt ſeveral other fortreſſes, ſome of which they carried ſword in hand.

THIS was the iſſue of the *Jutland* expedition, the ill ſucceſs of which it pleaſed Providence to augment by other unexpected misfortunes. *Peter Jernſkeg*, made priſoner by the inhabitants of *Wiſmar*, had indeed recovered his liberty, to the great joy of *Valdemar*; a circumſtance which the king valued above the conqueſt of the whole province. He was truly an experienced officer and faithful ſubject, and his majeſty much wanted the good offices of ſuch a ſervant, as new revolts every day appeared in different quarters of his dominions; but *Calff Erland*, governor of *Ripen*, had ſurrendered

that city to the princes of *Holſtein*, receiving from them as the price of his fidelity, the inveſtiture of two governments. Moreover, the inhabitants no ſooner perceived the king's troops embarked for *Zealand*, than they drove his garriſons out of the towns he poſſeſſed. To this was ſubjoined another misfortune; his fleet was overtaken in a ſtorm, in which one of the ſhips with her whole crew periſhed.

VALDEMAR, on his return to *Zealand*, ſays *Pontanus*, created his ſon *Chriſtopher*, duke of *Laaland*[a]: hence it appears that the king made this expedition in perſon, though no hiſtorian directly affirms it. The young prince, on taking poſſeſſion of his new dignity, conferred ſeveral privileges on the clergy, the better to gain their affections, the ſtrongeſt tye by which he could bind the inclinations of the people. After this he accompanied his father, who paſſed with a powerful army to *Schonen*, with a reſolution to effect the final conqueſt of that province: a meaſure that muſt appear extraordinary, if we reflect on the ſituation in which he left *Jutland*. *Helſinburg* was cloſely beſieged, and the attack puſhed with ſuch vigour, that *Magnus*, who came to its relief, deſpairing of ſucceſs, embraced that opportunity of reconciling himſelf to *Valdemar*. He offered not only to put him in poſſeſſion of *Helſinburg*, but to reſtore the reſt of the province, on condition that the ancient treaty ſhould be renewed; that the two crowns ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other upon all occaſions; and that the contract between the princeſs *Margaret* and the king of *Norway* ſhould again be ſigned. His propoſals were accepted; and both parties having confirmed the agreement by oath, *Valdemar* made his public entry into *Helſinburg*, and received the allegiance of the inhabitants. He next proceeded to reduce all the towns and caſtles in poſſeſſion of the nobility of the province, who refuſed to acknowledge his ſovereignty; and at length ſucceeded by threats, promiſes, and force.

Valdemar *enters* Schonen.

THIS expedition was followed by a peace. The duke of *Mecklenburg*, and cities of *Pomerania*, made peace ſeparately with *Valdemar*, to which all who had any differences with the king, were invited to accede. *Erland Calff* accepted the invitation, made his peace with the king, and brought over with him not only the town of *Ripen*, but the two prefectures given him by the princes of *Holſtein*; upon which the king pleaſantly obſerved, that the ſurname *Calff* ſhould now be given to the prince of *Holſtein*, for ſuffering himſelf to be thus outwitted. He likewiſe told the perſon who firſt brought

[a] L. viii.

him

e news, "Ay, my *calf* was ſtrayed, but my *cow* is re-ed, and that cow has produced two calves;" a joke, wholly loſt in the tranſlation, and indeed but very rent in the original.

was ſpecified in the king's writs that this diet was to A. D.
t *Neoburg*: how it came to be tranſlated to *Callenburg*, 1360.
ow not; but here the king met the dukes of *Lauland*, *k*, and the deputies of *Holſtein*. It was unanimouſly ined, that the laws and conſtitutions of the realm, as led by *Valdemar* II. ſhould be reſtored to their former . That the duke of *Sleſwick*, his children, heirs, and ls, ſhould enjoy the ſame rights and privileges as their ors. That the rights of the clergy ſhould be put on the t footing, and preſerved in their full extent. That the biſhops ſhould be obliged to ſubſcribe to theſe articles, der to be entitled to the benefit of the laws. That e ſubjects of *Denmark*, protected by her laws, ſhould ibe to ſupport them. That the knights, gentlemen, ers, and peaſants, ſhould be maintained in all their privi-

That the diet of the ſtates, which, according to law, to be held at *Neoburg*, ſhould, for the three following be held at *Callenburg*; after which time it ſhould be ted to *Neoburg*. Laſtly, that whoever ſhould preſume to herwiſe than he is directed by the laws, ſhould be puniſh-th their utmoſt rigour, and ſuffer all the penalties ex-d in them.

was ſoon after this diet, that his majeſty was pleaſed mpt the citizens of *Lunden* and *Malmogen*, from all du-nd impoſts in all the ports of *Denmark*. After this he voured, with the conſent of *Magnus*, to gain the intire ſion of *Schonen* and *Bleking*. He had reſtored to him the al contract with the earl of *Wagria*, and the act whereby nhabitants put themſelves under the *Swediſh* govern-[a].

n the other hand the *Swedes* murmured at their king's edings, and the facility with which he ſurrendered ſo fine vince. In deriſion they gave him the ſurname of *Smeek*, ſe he laid himſelf ſo open to the ſmooth adulation *aldemar*, who knew how to make his advantage of this ſition. It muſt be owned, that inſtances of ſuch mode-n are uncommon. Princes are generally moſt tenacious ſſeſſions they have unjuſtly uſurped, and few there are would chuſe rather to extend their dominions than their tation, as all their virtues are weighed in the ſcale of

[a] MEURS. l. iv.

power.

power. *Magnus* did no more than ſtrict juſtice required; and were the *Swediſh* hiſtorians impartial, they would have exclaimed with leſs violence againſt the eaſy temper of their king. When firſt he promiſed reſtitution of *Schonen*, it was to engage the alliance of *Valdemar* againſt his ſon; and when he performed his promiſe, it was only ſurrendering voluntarily what he found he could not maintain by arms. Thus, on whatever ſide we view the tranſaction, the reſtitution of *Schonen* ſeemed to be neceſſary, and it certainly was equitable.

A. D. 1361. *Rupture between* Denmark *and* Sweden.

NOTWITHSTANDING the harmony between *Valdemar* and *Magnus*, it was not long before the two kingdoms came to a rupture. *Magnus* had reſolved to puniſh his ſubjects for raiſing his ſon *Eric* to the throne; and likewiſe to put it out of their power again to divide the ſovereign authority. For this purpoſe he ſtudied to render himſelf abſolute, by aboliſhing the ſenate. His ſubjects, jealous of their liberties, watched all his motions, and prepared to ſap his projects; particularly the inhabitants of the iſlands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, who, puffed up with riches, deſpiſed the empty title of king. In this perplexity *Magnus* engaged his ally, the king of *Denmark*, to take arms to chaſtiſe his inſolent ſubjects. This was the real cauſe of the rupture, which made *Sweden*, for a number of years, the theatre of blood, tumult, and all the horrors of a domeſtic and foreign war; though ſome writers ſcruple not to affirm, it had its birth from delaying the marriage between the princeſs *Margaret* and the king of *Norway*.

VALDEMAR begun his operations by ravaging the iſle of *Oeland*, where he cut in pieces fifteen hundred of the inhabitants who oppoſed him. Thence he made a deſcent on the iſland of *Gothland*, and engaged the enemy in three different battles, which coſt them the lives of near two thouſand men. Theſe advantages having rendered him maſter of the open country, he approached the fortified towns, and particularly *Wiſby*, capital of the iſland, with intention to inveſt it; but the inhabitants, intimidated by the preſence of an army, fluſhed with repeated victory, opened their gates, and offered honourable propoſals. *Valdemar* giving no ear to them, ordered a part of the walls to be demoliſhed, made his army enter by the breach, pillaged the immenſe wealth of the city, and embarked with the richeſt booty, that had for many years been brought into *Denmark*. One of his ſhips, laden with gold and ſilver veſſels, and all the rich ornaments of the cathedral, was ſhipwrecked on the iſland of *Carlſen*. *Pontanus* relates, that before *Valdemar*'s departure from *Wiſby*, he entered into an alliance with the inhabitants, whom he confirmed in all their

Wiſby plundered.

their privileges; but this probably relates to another voyage which he made thither. Among other immunities he granted them the ſame freedom of trade in his ports as the ſubjects of *Denmark*, ſuffering them likewiſe to coin money, a privilege which had been denied them by their natural ſovereigns.

The hanſe towns declare war on Valdemar.

As ſome of the merchants of thoſe maritime towns, which now began to take the appellation of *hanſe*, had been treated with the ſame rigour as the citizens of *Wiſby*, they determined to ſeek their revenge. Their firſt ſtep was to ſeize upon all the *Daniſh* ſhips in their ports, and to confiſcate the effects of the *Daniſh* merchants; after which they declared open war upon the kings. Such was their policy, that they drew into their alliance the king of *Norway*, the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Holſtein*, with ſeveral other princes, to whom they gave the command of their ſquadrons. The regency of *Lubec* armed a ſquadron at its own expence, of which *John Wittenberg* their conſul was appointed admiral.

MATTERS being thus diſpoſed, the allies put to ſea, attacked *Haffnia*, took the citadel, and plundered the city. Thence they ſteered for *Helſinburg*, which they beſieged with great vigour; but while the land-forces were employed in carrying on their approaches, *Valdemar* attacked the ſquadron of *Lubec*, took ſix ſhips, burnt ſeveral others, and forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. *Crantzius* alledges, that the *Daniſh* fleet was commanded by *Chriſtopher*, who received a wound in the engagement, while the king his father put himſelf at the head of a numerous land-army (A). The regency of *Lubec* were ſo incenſed at this defeat, that, accuſing the admiral of neglect of duty, they ordered his head to be ſtruck off. A. D. 1362.

HENRY of *Holſtein*, to wipe off the diſgrace his troops ſuſtained before *Helſinburg*, laid ſiege to *Wardenburg*; but with no better ſucceſs; for the garriſon made ſo furious a ſally, that he was compelled to break up the ſiege, with prodigious loſs. This he did on condition that the governor would ſet his priſoners at liberty; but receiving a reinforcement, he broke the capitulation, returned to the ſiege, and puſhed it with redoubled vigour. His conduct irritated the governor ſo much, that he determined on his revenge. Feigning that he was

(A) To the conſequence of his wound *Crantzius* aſcribes the death of *Chriſtopher*, which happened according to him about this time: yet no *Daniſh* writer takes any notice of his wound; and all affirm, that he died two years after at *Haffnia*, of an ardent fever (1).

(1) *Meurſ. l.* iv. *Pontan. l.* viii.

reduced

reduced to the laſt extremity, he deſired the duke would ſend ſome officers, into whoſe hands he might put the keys of the town he could no longer defend. *Henry*, falling into the ſnare, ſent ſeveral of his principal officers, whom the governor committed to priſon, after having firſt delivered the keys to them, to avoid forfeiting his word. Stung with the ſeverity of this rebuke of his own perfidy, *Henry* broke up the ſiege a ſecond time, and retired.

Peace concluded. NOT long after peace was concluded; but we are neither informed of the circumſtances nor conditions. Writers only relate, that the king of *Denmark*, the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and his three ſons, *Henry*, *Albert*, and *Magnus*, had an interview; at which the king undertook to pay a thouſand marks in ſilver, which he had promiſed for the portion of his daughter *Ingeburga*; to reſtore the iſle of *Bornholm* to the archbiſhop of *Lunden*, on condition that the prelate would enter into no engagements contrary to the intereſt of the crown, and would put the iſland and all its fortreſſes into the hands of *Valdemar*, or his ſucceſſors, whenever it ſhould be thought convenient for the ſecurity of *Denmark* [a].

ABOUT the ſame time a treaty was concluded between the king and the hanſe-towns; to wit, *Lubec*, *Stralſund*, *Griſwald*, and *Hamburg*. Others ſay it was only a truce, whereby the priſoners on each ſide were ſet at liberty, and the merchants of either party allowed mutually to trade for a certain term of years, without moleſtation.

The king of Norway breaks his engagements to the princeſs Margaret. We have ſeen that the king of *Norway* was contracted to the princeſs *Margaret*; yet to oblige the *Swediſh* nation, who inſiſted on his renouncing the alliance with *Denmark*, he conſented to demand in marriage the princeſs *Elizabeth* of *Holſtein*. Every circumſtance ſeemed favourable to the concluſion of this alliance, as both the *Swedes* and *Holſteiners* were equally deſirous of it. Already *Horman*, the *Swediſh* ambaſſador, had eſpouſed the princeſs in the name of his maſter. She had been publicly declared the wife of *Hacquin*, and ſaluted queen of *Norway*. She was now embarked on the *Trave* to paſs over to *Sweden*; but heaven diſpoſed events otherwiſe, and prevented the effects of all theſe laboured intrigues. A violent ſtorm drove the ſhip on the coaſt of *Denmark*: *Valdemar* received the princeſs with all the honours due to her rank; but ſtill he kept her under a gentle conſtraint, until the nuptials of his daughter *Margaret* with the king of *Sweden* were celebrated, which happened on the firſt *Sunday* after *Rogation-day*, in the year 1365-6.

A. D. 1363.

[a] PONTAN. l. viii.

THE

: public joy conſequent on this tranſaction was inter-
by the death of *Chriſtopher*, and his mother the queen,
ſſeſſed of the affections of the people; and the former
: of great and promiſing expectation.

ARDS the end of this year a treaty was concluded be-
Denmark and the cities of *Vandalia*, the particulars of
ire not very material to the deſign of our hiſtory. Fo-
ithors likewiſe take notice of a journey to *Ghent* which
r performed this year, though we are not told what
s motives. Here, it is ſaid, he was met by *Luſignan*
Cyprus; who came to ſolicit his aid againſt the *Sara-*
t is remarkable that no *Daniſh* hiſtorian takes any no-
this circumſtance, though they all relate an interview
the following year with the emperor *Charles* IV. at

L *John* of *Wagria* dying this year, *Valdemar* concluded A. D.
with his ſon *Adolphus*, to whom he ceded the iſland 1364.
, on the ſame conditions his father had held it. A few
nowever were added, prohibiting *Adolphus* from inter-
n the diſpute between *Denmark*, *Holſtein*, *Sweden*,
way, about the marriage of the princeſs *Margaret*.
kewiſe ſubjoined, that the king ſhould act in quality
re, ſhould any differences ariſe between the dukes of
Mecklenburg, *Stetin*, and biſhop *Canute*, who, in their
ould decide any future diſputes between the king and

treaty was ſucceeded by a renewal of the truce with *Reſolution*
s of *Vandalia*; for theſe cities being in league with *of the*
e-towns of *Germany*, complained, like them, of the *hanſe-cities*
committed on the hanſe-merchants at *Wiſby*. They *to declare*
deputies to the general aſſembly held by theſe towns *war on*
e, to provide for the ſecurity of their commerce. Valdemar.
al determination of this aſſembly, at which the depu-
bove eighty cities attended, was to declare war upon
. At firſt *Valdemar* deſpiſed ſuch enemies, imagin-
ad nothing to fear from the confederacy of ſo many
moved at ſo great a diſtance from each other, and
y particular and contrary intereſts; yet the event pre-
is remaining long in his error, and proved to what a
f power induſtry and commerce are capable of raiſing
t inſignificant corporations. The formidable fleet
ipped at *Campen*, and the ſtrong ſquadron fitted out
me time by the *Vandal* cities, evinced him of the dan-
impended, opened his eyes to their ſtrength, and in-
m to apply to the duke of *Stetin* to negotiate a peace,
e the firſt overtures.

Valdemar *obtains peace.*

BARNIM's endeavours were not fruitleſs. He managed matters with ſuch addreſs, that a truce was concluded with the cities of *Lubec*, *Roſtock*, *Wiſmar*, *Stralſund*, *Gripſwald*, *Colberg*, *Stetin*, *Anclam*, and *Kiel*, beginning with the *Feaſt of St. John* this year, and continuing for the ſpace of three years; during which time the merchants on each ſide ſhould trade freely; purſue the herring and other fiſheries; cultivate every branch of commerce as uſual on the high ſeas, and in each other's ports; mutually ſend judges to *Schonen*, to decide all differences which ſhould happen to ariſe between the ſubjects of each, excepting capital crimes. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that if any of the cities included in this truce, ſhould in the mean time take part with the enemies of *Denmark*, the reſt ſhould ſend the ſtipulated ſuccours to the king; otherwiſe the truce ſhould be void, and this contract of no effect. A number of princes were named as guaranties of this truce, all of whom ſolemnly ſealed it, ſwearing to the obſervance of the ſeveral articles.

DURING this negotiation it was that *Valdemar* went to *Prague*, whither the emperor invited him, to honour by his preſence his nuptials with *Elizabeth*, daughter to the duke of *Pomerania* [b]. While he reſided at this court, the irruption of the *Bavarians* into *Nuremberg* and *Stiria*, furniſhed him with an opportunity of performing ſignal ſervices to the empire; in acknowledgment of which *Charles* ordered the ſum of ſixteen thouſand ſilver marks to be paid to the king of *Denmark*, and the uſual tribute levied on the city of *Lubec*, to be mortgaged to him until the complete payment of the above ſum. This, indeed, was no more than a confirmation of a deed made by *Eric* of *Saxony* fourteen years before, when he received the inveſtiture of *Brandenburg* from his brother.

A. D. 1365.

VALDEMAR's firſt buſineſs, on returning from *Germany*, was to ratify the truce concluded with the *Vandal* cities by the mediation of the duke of *Stetin*. But as the truce finally determined nothing, and the parties were at liberty to recommence hoſtilities at the end of three years, it was reſolved to convert it into a ſolid and durable peace, which was done without loſs of time.

Magnus *of* Sweden *depoſed.*

VALDEMAR's abſence proved fatal to *Magnus*; for while he was amuſing himſelf at the emperor's court, the Swediſh monarch loſt his crown; the people having elected in his room *Albert*, ſecond ſon to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and nephew to *Magnus*, in prejudice of the rights of *Haquin* of

[b] Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. xcvi. c. viii.

Norway,

Norway, and *Henry*, the elder brother of *Albert*. *Magnus*, however, was ſtill acknowledged king in a part of his dominions: ſeveral lords of the firſt quality followed his fortune, and he reſolved to make vigorous efforts for the recovery of his throne. With this view he ſolicited ſuccour from *Valdemar*, and his ſon *Hacquin* king of *Norway*. The former ſent him a body of auxiliaries, and the latter marched at the head of an army to his father's aſſiſtance. *Magnus* took the field, gave battle, was defeated, and conducted priſoner to *Stockholm*, where he was confined for the ſpace of ſeven years, and at length delivered by his ſon *Hacquin*.

Valdemar *aſſiſts* Magnus.

ALBERT, dreading leſt *Valdemar* ſhould engage as a principal in this quarrel, and join his forces to *Hacquin*'s to procure the old king's liberty, ſet every engine at work to effect a peace between the two crowns. He propoſed, with the conſent of the ſenate, to yield in perpetuity to *Valdemar* the iſland of *Gothland*, with the city of *Wiſby*, *Verandia*, *Windovia*, *Marcia*, the fortreſs of *Elburg*, a moiety of *Helſingia*, with the territory of *Helſinburg*, excepting only *Laddehus*. This ceſſion was made on condition that *Valdemar* would leave *Albert* in the quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, and renounce all pretenſions to the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, the county of *Schwerin*, and the lordſhip of *Roſtock*, which were to remain whole and entire, unalienably in the family of *Mecklenburg*. By the ſame treaty king *Albert*, the duke his father, and his brothers, conſented that the fortreſs of *Wardberg* ſhould inſeparably be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, and the province of *Halland*, promiſing never to give the *Danes* any diſturbance on that account. They beſides obliged themſelves not to ſet *Magnus* at liberty, until he had ratified what they had here contracted; nor to make peace with *Hacquin* until he acceded to the grants ſpecified in the above treaty, and gave ſecurity for performing his agreement. *Albert* moreover bound himſelf, both in his own and in the ſenate and people of *Sweden*'s name, to remain in perpetual amity with *Valdemar* and his heirs, ſubmitting all differences, which in courſe of time might ariſe, to the arbitration of a certain number of the nobility of both kingdoms. Thus we ſee *Valdemar*, like a true politician, profiting by the misfortune of a neighbouring king, the injuries done to his ſon-in-law, and the violences committed againſt faith, the laws of nature and of nations. For the addition of ſome inconſiderable territories to his dominions, he falſified his engagements to *Magnus*, relinquiſhed the rights of his ſon-in-law, contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with an uſurper, and countenanced a whole nation in the horrid crime of rebellion: but what will not ambition, and the luſt of power, effect!

Valdemar *deſerts* Magnus, *and obtains* Schonen *as a recompence.* A. D. 1366.

A. D. 1367. In conſequence of this treaty, *Denmark* paſſed the following year in profound tranquillity. Neither the people nor neighbouring ſtates murmured, and *Valdemar* reſigned his whole attention to the regulation of domeſtic affairs. But this calm was of no long duration. In the year 1668, the nobility of *Jutland* revolted, and ſeduced a great part of the people to their intereſt. This would, however, have given *Valdemar* but little trouble, had not the princes of *Holſtein*, in their uſual manner, taken up arms in behalf of the rebels. Their example was followed by the *Vandal* cities, and a formidable league formed, before *Valdemar* was ſcarce apprized of the inſurrection. They had mutually contracted to afford the duke of *Sleſwick* all manner of aſſiſtance, and that none of the powers ſhould make peace with *Denmark*, but by the joint conſent of all. In the next place, the princes of *Holſtein* engaged to the duke of *Sleſwick* to labour with all their power to re-eſtabliſh the nobility of *Jutland* in all the privileges which they ever enjoyed, and to maintain in full force the laws paſſed by *Valdemar* II.

The Jutlanders *revolt and form powerful alliances.*

A formidable league againſt Denmark. Insensibly all the enemies of *Valdemar* acceded to this treaty. The old duke of *Mecklenburg*, and his ſons *Henry* and *Magnus*, under pretence of ſeveral infractions of the late treaty, formed a league offenſive and defenſive with the powers already named, on the ſame conditions we have mentioned, promiſing likewiſe to draw *Albert* king of *Sweden* into the alliance. In effect, that prince readily embraced their propoſals; and it was ſtipulated, that the conqueſts which might be made in courſe of the war, ſhould be divided in the manner following: King *Albert* was to poſſeſs all the conqueſts in *Schonen*, and the iſland of *Gothland*. *Zealand*, and the iſland of *Falſtre*, were deſtined to the duke of *Mecklenburg*. *Jutland*, *Fionia*, and *Langland*, were to be divided between the princes of *Holſtein*, with this proviſo, that they ſhould make no change in the laws and cuſtoms of the people. To ſuch exceſs had theſe princes and cities carried their perfidy, as to renounce the oaths they had ſo lately taken to preſerve perpetual amity with *Denmark*; and ſuch was *Valdemar*'s reward for that unnatural treaty he had formed with *Albert*.

A. D. 1369.

For the more certain execution of their project, the allies concluded a treaty of peace with *Hartwick* of *Ravendſdorp*, whereby they granted him free leave to trade wherever he thought fit, provided he would obſtruct none of the conqueſts they meditated. The treaty being ſigned, each prepared to act his part. The *Vandal* cities infeſted *Valdemar*'s coaſts with a conſiderable fleet. King *Albert* entered *Schonen* with an army, and reduced *Yſted*, *Falſterbo*, *Scanor*, and ſome other places.

places. The princes of *Holſtein*, aſſiſted by the *Jutland* nobility, attacked the king's garriſons in *North Jutland*.

AT the ſight of a league ſo formidable, *Valdemar*'s courage and preſence of mind forſook him. Finding himſelf unable to reſiſt ſuch a cloud of enemies, he determined to abandon all, and make a journey to *Rome*, under pretence of a vow he had taken. He flattered himſelf, that his abſence would abate the fury of his enemies; and that his ſenate, on which he conferred full powers to tranſact a peace on any terms, would find means to accommodate matters. His reſolution was weak and puſillanimous; but it anſwered his expectations. *Hemming Pedeſhereſh*, grand marechal of *Denmark*, engaged the *Vandal* cities to ſend deputies to *Stralſund*, to deliberate, in conjunction with certain *Daniſh* noblemen, on the means of ending a deſtructive war, to their mutual advantage. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, on condition that the *Vandal* cities ſhould, for the term of fifteen years, hold the towns of *Helſinburg*, *Melmogen*, *Scanor*, and *Falſterbo*; but that the ſubjects of *Denmark* ſhould have free liberty of trade into theſe ports during this period. This treaty the *Daniſh* deputies engaged to have ratified by the king within the ſpace of ſix months.

Valdemar's courage deſerts him, and he flies the kingdom.

A. D. 1370.

The league broken.

VALDEMAR in the mean time reſided at the emperor's court. Here he ſtopt in his way to *Rome*, and ſo pathetically repreſented to his imperial majeſty the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the revolt of his ſubjects, and the powerful league formed againſt him, that this prince, moved with his diſtreſs, wrote to his uncles the margraves of *Miſnia*, the duke of *Stetin*, and *Adolphus* of *Holſtein*, to arm all their forces in his defence, and to aid and aſſiſt him by all poſſible means in reducing his rebellious ſubjects.

WHETHER *Valdemar*'s fears had quite blinded his underſtanding, or whether he placed but little confidence in theſe ſuccours, or, laſtly, whether he choſe to unite policy with force, certain it is that he purſued his intention of engaging the pope's intereſt. For this purpoſe he ſent an ambaſſy, laden with rich preſents, to *Gregory* XI. beſeeching him to interpoſe his authority to quiet the diſturbances in his dominions. He laid aſide the thoughts of going in perſon thither, and he ſoon had reaſon to congratulate himſelf on this reſolution; for his ambaſſadors found this father of the faithful but little diſpoſed to acts of compaſſion. In a word, *Gregory* refuſed to intermeddle, under pretence of being able to form no judgment from the relation of only one party. He offered, however, to give his opinion as ſoon as he ſhould be acquainted

He applies to the pope, who refuſes to intermeddle in the affair.

quainted with what the king's ſubjects, and the united powers, had to advance in their own vindication.

THE *Jutland* nobility were no ſooner informed of the pope's anſwer, than they diſpatched proper perſons to explain the nature of their grievances, and the motives for their conduct, both to the emperor and his holineſs. They complained to the pope of the heavy taxes which he obſtinately impoſed on all his ſubjects, and of the frequent wars which his turbulent diſpoſition drew upon him with the neighbouring ſtates. In ſhort, the deputies found means to make the pope comprehend the full weight of their reaſoning, in conſequence of which he wrote to *Valdemar*, exhorting him to alter his turbulence into tranquillity, and violence into gentle meaſures, threatening to excommunicate him if he did not immediately obey. The king was naturally paſſionate, and too lively to contain his temper within the bounds of moderation. Without a moment's reflection he ſat down, and anſwered the pope's letter in the following terms:

Valdemar's ſpirited anſwer to the pope.

'*VALDEMAR*, king, &c. to the pope of *Rome*, ſends health. 'Our life we owe to God, our kingdom to our ſubjects; our 'wealth we inherit from our parents, and our faith from your 'anceſtors, which we return to you by theſe preſents, ſhould 'you think the obligation too conſiderable.'

AN anſwer that is related of *Valdemar* I. and more ſuitable to the greatneſs of his ſoul (A). Imperious and diſreſpectful as it was, it did not ſurpriſe his holineſs. He knew that *Valdemar* had received his education at the court of the emperor *Lewis*, who was eternally involved in diſputes with the Holy See. He was well acquainted with the haughtineſs and impetuoſity of the king's diſpoſition: it was therefore judged not adviſeable to employ his ſpiritual thunder againſt a prince, who reſpected his authority ſo little, that its terror, founded in ſuperſtitious reverence, would be loſt. Yet was *Valdemar* bigotted in a high degree: we have ſeen him make unſeaſonable pilgrimages and expeditions from motives of religion; but his piety was by fits, and, like all his other paſſions, violent. Lately he had been immerſed in a ſea of politics and intrigue, which afforded no leiſure for devotion; and his reſpect for the head of the church vaniſhed with his religion.

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus* relates the ſame ſtory of *Valdemar* I. and it is probably true of him only; for how ſhould the hiſtorian come to the knowledge of what happened in *Valdemar* the third's reign, centuries after his death? *Pontanus* mentions it in both reigns, without taking notice of the repetition; and he is copied by *Meurſius* and other writers.

THE

THE peace which the grand mareſchal concluded with the *Vandal* cities, was a deciſive blow to the league. It was no ſooner perceived that they detached themſelves from the alliance, than the reſt of the parties diſtruſting each other, and perhaps intimidated by the emperor's menaces, left *Denmark* in tranquillity, and *Valdemar* leave to return. Immediately he confirmed the treaty of *Stralſund*, and procured an inſtrument from the hanſe-towns, whereby they promiſed reſtitution of the places put into their hands for the term of fifteen years. Thus ended this formidable war, which had driven *Valdemar* from his own dominions, and marked his character with an indelible ſtain.

SOME writers take notice of a body of auxiliaries he lent *Hacquin* to attempt the recovery of his father's liberty, and of a kind of war which he carried on in *Frieſeland*; but the particulars we find no where related. What we know for certain is, that *Valdemar*, terrified with the remembrance of the late combination, ſtudied to paſs the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He dreaded loſing a crown in his old age, which he had acquired and maintained with ſo much toil and labour. Some years before, he had built a beautiful country-ſeat in the neighbourhood of *Helſinburg*, called *Gurrea*; here it was that he breathed his laſt, after a tedious illneſs, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. From the time of his return from the emperor's court, he was conſtantly afflicted with the gout; recourſe was had to a variety of medicines, without effect. At laſt an empiric offered his infallible ſpecific, the doſe was adminiſtered, the king left to his repoſe, and found dead in his bed a few hours after (B). Thus ended the life of *Valdemar*, a prince greatly celebrated by the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, as the reſtorer of their monarchy, which had ſo long been divided among a number of petty uſurpers and tyrants. He attempted the re-union of his dominions, and purſued it with a perſeverance that inſured ſucceſs; but more by the juſtice of his ſchemes, by his vigilance and conſtancy, than by force of arms. In this alone indeed was he conſiſtent, all the reſt of his conduct betrayed an unſteady, flighty, and warm imagination, ſtrong paſſions, and violent prejudices, which abſorbed every ray of judgment and underſtanding. He was at the ſame time a ſtrange medley of impiety and religious enthuſiaſm, of incontinence with reſpect to women, and temperance in what regarded his palate; in a word, his vices

A. D. 1375. Valdemar's *death and character.*

(B) It is remarkable that the very ſame circumſtance is related of *Valdemar* I. as if hiſtorians purpoſely confounded the actions of theſe two princes.

were extraordinary; they proceeded from caprice: his virtues were noble, and the genuine offspring of his mind. His ſpirited anſwer to *Gregory* drew upon him the malice of the writers of his days; in ours it will be deemed noble, firm, ſenſible, and the moſt ſtriking circumſtance in his character [a].

O L A U S V.

Olaus V. *VALDEMAR* left no male iſſue. Two ſons, and the ſame number of daughters died before him. *Ingeburga*, the eldeſt ſurviving daughter, married the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and *Margaret*, the younger, was queen-dowager of *Norway*, the king her huſband having reſigned his laſt breath the year before. The diet met for the election of a ſucceſſor, and were perplexed in their choice. One party declared for *Olaus* king of *Norway*, and grandſon to *Valdemar*. He was the ſon of the younger daughter, and conſequently his right very doubtful; but being already in poſſeſſion of *Norway*, and having claims on the crown of *Sweden*, as the younger ſon of *Magnus*, the ſtates were in hopes of one day ſeeing the two crowns united on the ſame head. Another party urged, on the contrary, that it was ſhameful for *Denmark* to receive a king from *Norway*: that it was abſurd to unite two kingdoms, oppoſite in many of their laws and cuſtoms, the one being elective, and the other hereditary. There were nobles in the kingdom worthy of the throne; and the exertion of the privilege to elect out of their own number, was a duty incumbent on the ſtates. A third faction fixed their eyes on *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, ſon of *Ingeburga*, the eldeſt daughter of *Valdemar*. His right was unconteſted; but this was a point not very material in the *Daniſh* form of government, though it was always regarded as a collateral inducement in the choice of a king. Diſputes run high, and the diet broke up without coming to any determination. One remarkable act however paſſed; it was the reſtitution of certain lands to the widow of *Peter-Wid*, from whom it was ſaid *Valdemar* had unjuſtly extorted them. The reaſon given for this decree was, that *Valdemar*'s ſoul might not be tormented in the next world for an act of injuſtice and oppreſſion committed in this.

The reaſons which ſwayed the diet in that election.

THE diet broke up without accompliſhing the intention of their meeting; it was not long, however, before that important affair was determined. The biſhops, nobility, and commons of *Jutland*, led the way; they reſolved to place *Olaus* on the throne; and, as if all the reſt of the kingdom had

[a] Vid. PONTAN. MEURS. CRANTZ. ibid.

watched

watched the ſignal from them, faction was dropt, and the different iſlands, provinces, and diſtricts of *Denmark*, unanimous in approving their choice. The terms in which the inhabitants of *Schonen* couched their aſſent, may be ſeen in *Pontanus*, and will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the form uſed on this occaſion [a]. This election was eſteemed the work of queen *Margaret*, and the firſt ſtroke of her maſterly genius for the cabinet, and link of that chain of intrigue, which founded the reputation of this great princeſs.

OLAUS was but eleven years of age on his acceſſion to the throne; *Margaret* therefore aſſembled the ſtates to ratify publicly what had only received the concurrence of the ſeveral provinces, and to declare her regent during the minority of her ſon. Here he was again proclaimed, and ſolemnly crowned, *Margaret* likewiſe obtaining her end of holding the reins of authority until he arrived at age. Before this aſſembly broke up, the king ſwore to obſerve the laws of *Valdemar* II. in their full force, and made ſeveral additions to them, whereby the liberties of the people in general, and particularly of the clergy, were enlarged. *Margaret declared regent.*

IMMEDIATELY after the ceremony of the coronation was performed, *Bugiſlaus* duke of *Stetin* and *Pomerania*, and the prince of *Rugen*, did homage to the young king. The latter acknowledged that he held his dominions as a fief of the crown of *Denmark*, and ſolemnly engaged to ſerve the king, whenever he was called upon againſt all his enemies.

SCARCE was *Olaus* firmly ſeated on the throne, before *Albert* the old duke of *Mecklenburg* made great preparations againſt *Denmark*, to vindicate the right of his grandſon to the crown. His *Swediſh* majeſty took arms likewiſe in behalf of his nephew, and a terrible ſtorm threatened *Olaus* on every ſide. Providence however interpoſed; the *Swediſh* fleet was diſperſed and ſhattered in a hard gale; the king was diſcouraged from purſuing his deſigns, and *Albert* finding himſelf alone too weak to combat with the whole force of *Denmark*, liſtened to terms of accommodation. A treaty was concluded, in which due regard was ſhewn to the rights of both princes, and the people of *Denmark* confirmed in the full privilege of election. Thus *Olaus* was continued king, in conſequence of the people's choice, without injuring *Albert*'s birthright. *The Swedes arm againſt Denmark, and their fleet is loſt in a ſtorm.*

THIS year the *Vandal* cities demanded a renewal of the treaty concluded with *Valdemar*; their example was followed by all the hanſe-towns; and the queen-regent granted their A. D. 1376.

[a] PONTAN. l. viii. p. 505.

requeſt,

requeſt, not chuſing to engage in diſputes with a body of merchants ſo formidable for their wealth and alliances.

A. D. 1377. NEXT year was uſhered in by the convocation of a general diet, at which the king and queen-regent renewed their oaths to maintain the laws, and preſerve the privileges of each particular order of the people. To this oath the nobility acceded, ſwearing to hold as enemies to their country whoever ſhould violate it. All theſe proteſtations were taken by the biſhops, who profited by the favourable conjuncture, for augmenting their own privileges and influence. The archbiſhop of *Lunden* was not forgetful of his particular intereſt and the good of the church. He procured a grant of the fourth part of the revenues of *Lunden*, under pretence that one of his anceſtors had enjoyed it. The popes were the firſt in ſtimulating the biſhops not to labour in the vineyard of *Chriſt*, but to preſerve as the apple of the eye all thoſe advantages which the diſturbed condition of the kingdom threw in their way. Their votes were numerous, their influence extenſive; they were therefore adviſed to ſell both to the higheſt bidder, and put their own price on their favour. Thus corruption flowed from the fountain of religion; and thoſe who ought to reform the manners of the people, led the way to venality, the ſource of every diſorder and vice in a nation. The clergy were exhorted to bring within the pale of the church all the ſubjects of *Denmark*, and rather to reſign them over to Satan, than yield the leaſt tittle of their privileges. Such was the ſubſtance of *Gregory* the ſecond's letters to the archbiſhop *Nicholas*, and ſuch indeed the purport of all the bulls of the holy ſee. It was not poſſible but that ſuch conduct in the clergy would excite differences between them and the court. In fact it did ſo, and on the following occaſion. Queen *Margaret* held her court at *Lindholm*; and the chapter of *Lunden* poſſeſſed ſome lands there. The ſubjects of the chapter complained of ſome oppreſſions conſequent on the vicinity of the court, and the archbiſhop and chapter took part in their complaints. The affair became ſerious; but *Margaret*, to avoid diſputes which might be attended with fatal conſequences, ordered a redreſs of their grievances, puniſhed the offenders, and took meaſures for preventing the ſubjects of the chapter from ſuffering for the future any inconvenience from the court (A).

Conduct of the clergy.

MAR-

(A) The *Daniſh* hiſtorians make the firſt mention of gunpowder, among the tranſactions of the year 1378, although *Erfrold Lindeburgh* (1) ſays, that it was known and manufactured

(1) *Page* 104.

twenty

MARGARET was queen-regent of *Denmark* and *Norway*, ſome writers alledging that *Hacquin* her husband died before *Valdemar*; while others relate with the ſame confidence, that he was greatly inſtrumental in raiſing his ſon to the crown of *Denmark*. Be that as it will, ſhe had now the ſupreme authority in both kingdoms, and begun planning the outlines of that great ſcheme ſhe afterwards effected, of uniting the three northern crowns. It was neceſſary firſt to unite *Denmark* and *Norway*, with the mutual conſent of both kingdoms. She ſpoke of it to the principal noblemen, and enlarged on the advantages that would neceſſarily reſult from ſuch an union, with ſo much eloquence and refinement, that they ſeemed to reliſh the propoſal, though it was not put in execution till five years after, when the three crowns were united by the celebrated treaty of *Calmar*. A. D. 1379. Margaret's *policy*.

WHILE *Olaus* was buſy in magnificent preparations for the funeral obſequies of his father in *Norway*, the king of *Sweden* embraced that opportunity of making an irruption into *Schonen*; a circumſtance which proves that *Hacquin* died later than the æra related by the *Daniſh* hiſtorians in general. Notwithſtanding a truce which he ſigned with the archbiſhop of *Lunden*, the governor, and principal nobility, he attacked and forced the reſidence of *Thuon Gatten* the governor. Yet we cannot poſitively affirm whether theſe hoſtilities proceeded originally from the *Swedes*, or were the conſequence of domeſtic faction. Certain we are, that at the expiration of the truce, *Albert* entered the country openly with a powerful army, took by aſſault the fortreſs of *Laholm*, and retreated on the approach of *Margaret* and the grand-mareſchal, who determined to give him battle. A. D. 1381.

IN the year 1385, *Olaus* paſſed from *Norway* to *Schonen*, attended with a numerous retinue of the nobility of both kingdoms. Here he received the allegiance of all the inhabitants of the province; a ceremony that was thought neceſſary, as the term for which ſeveral of the cities had been pledged to the *Vandals* was now expired. The only tranſaction of importance in this reign was, however, of a nature that greatly derogates from the king's character, who was now of age, A. D. 1385. Olaus *arrives at full age*.

twenty years before at *Lubec*, where a powder-mill took fire and greatly damaged the city. *Pontanus* (z) has accurately inquired into the firſt diſcovery and uſe of this dreadful combuſtible in the North, and quotes *Achilles Gaſſar*, an accurate hiſtorian, in proof that the *Danes* knew the uſe of powder and cannon as early as the year 1354.

(z) *Pontan. l.* viii.

and

and appears extremely inconſiſtent with the known prudence and policy of *Margaret*. *Henry* duke of *Sleſwick* dying without iſſue, the dutchy reverted in full right to the crown of *Denmark*. Yet did *Olaus*, with his mother's approbation and the conſent of the ſtates, grant the inveſtiture of it to *Gerhard*, ſon to *Henry* of *Holſtein*, the inveterate enemy of his crown and family. His generoſity could never be ſhewn more unſeaſonably, or conferred on a more improper object; for by this grant the keys of *Jutland* were put into the hands of his enemy, and a road opened into his dominions, to a power he ought the moſt cautiouſly to exclude. Perhaps he wanted to gain over the *Holſtein* princes by ſuch an act of liberality; but ſurely the hazard was great, and the means he took impolitic in itſelf, and injurious to his people. The gratitude of princes ſeldom extends beyond the advantages reſulting from this emotion of the ſoul; with them all the generous paſſions are ſubjected to intereſt and ſelfiſh conſiderations.

The policy of the Daniſh *biſhops.*

AT the diet of *Neoburg*, the two archbiſhops of *Lunden* and *Drontheim*, and the biſhops of *Ripen*, *Alburg*, *Wiburg*, and *Sleſwick*, granted a multitude of indulgences to thoſe who ſhould found monaſteries, or any ways endow the church. The king ordained public prayers for the proſperity of the kingdom, the preſervation of his own and the queen's health, and a happy iſſue to all their undertakings. Her majeſty in particular engaged to leave at her death, to the cathedral of *Lunden*, the fortreſs of *Thuſtrapſée*, which ſhe had purchaſed of *Thuon Gatten*; but on condition that the walls and fortifications ſhould be deſtroyed, if the king thought proper.

Olaus *dies.*

SOON after *Olaus* died, at the age of twenty-two years. He was a prince of excellent qualities of the heart, of great liberality and devotion; what his underſtanding was, we may form ſome judgment from the affair of *Sleſwick*. Age and experience might however have ripened his intellect; nor would it be candid to lay on him the whole blame of a tranſaction in which the queen and the diet were equally concerned. *Olaus* died at *Falſterbo*, A. D. 1387; his bowels were buried in the church of *St. Laurence* in *Lunden*, and his body depoſited in a private manner in the monaſtery of *Soora*.

MARGARET.

Margaret *queen.*

WITH *Olaus* the male line of the three northern crowns was extinct, and cuſtom had not yet authoriſed the election of a female. *Sweden* had choſen a king from *Germany*, and the public waited impatiently for the determination of the ſtates

ſtates of *Denmark* and *Norway*. *Margaret*, who to the natural ambition of her ſex, joined a depth of underſtanding, a firmneſs and penetration ſeldom met with in the fairer part of the creation, omitted nothing that could forward her pretenſions. Her competitor was *Henry* of *Mecklenburg*, brother to the king of *Sweden*. *Henry* flattered himſelf that by his perſonal qualities, and the advantage of being ſon-in-law to *Valdemar*, he ſhould eaſily carry the crown from a woman; but *Margaret*'s genius for intrigue, her well placed liberality, won over the biſhops and clergy, which in effect was gaining the greater part of the people. The election was not made in a general diet, but in an aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, as had before been done at the election of *Olaus*. On this occaſion the inhabitants of *Jutland* gave the ſignal, by declaring *Margaret* queen of *Denmark*, proteſting that they would acknowledge no other ſovereign. All the other provinces acceded to their choice. A declaration was drawn up at *Lunden*, ſigned by the archbiſhop, *Podeſbunk* the grand mareſchal, a great number of biſhops, and of the principal nobility. The ſtates of *Zealand* aſſembled at *Ringſtadt*, and ſolemnly declared *Margaret* ſovereign of *Denmark*; thoſe of *Jutland*, *Fionia*, and other iſlands and provinces did the ſame.

Her genius for politics.

MARGARET received the crown at the ſolicitation of the clergy, who flattered themſelves that now their reign was come, under the government of a woman, who would probably be directed in every thing by her council. As they had the keeping of her conſcience, they doubted not but they would find opportunities of influencing, and even of dictating all her meaſures. The ſenſible queen ſaw their deſign, and artfully flattered their hopes, while ſhe ſtood in want of their intereſt.

She unites to Denmark.

BUT *Margaret*'s ambition was not ſatisfied with the crown of *Denmark* alone; ſhe graſped at *Norway*; ſent deputies to ſolicit the ſtates of that kingdom, and by her policy ſucceeded. The chief perſons in the government were gained over by money; ſhe found means to render herſelf miſtreſs of the army and garriſons; ſo that had the nation in general been otherwiſe diſpoſed, ſhe could not fail of carrying her point. Thus from regent ſhe became queen of *Norway*, with the ſame facility ſhe had acquired the crown of *Denmark*.

THE *Norwegians*, perceiving that the ſucceſſion was again in danger of being extinct, entreated their queen to ſecure it by an advantageous marriage, which might at the ſame time augment her power and dominions; but ſhe received the propoſal coldly. Jealous of her ſovereign authority, ſhe could

could not think of ſharing it with a huſband: however, to ſatisfy the earneſt deſire of her ſubjects, ſhe conſented to appoint a ſucceſſor; but made choice of one ſo young as to allow herſelf full time to ſatiate her ambition before he ſhould be of age to take any ſhare in the government; at the ſame time ſhe contrived matters in ſuch a manner, that this choice ſeemed to proceed more from the ſtates than from her inclination. Having opened the diet, ſhe demanded to know the neareſt heir of blood to the crown, and whether his elevation to the ſucceſſion would be agreeable to the ſtates. Being anſwered, that the children of *Wratiſlaus* VII. and *Mary* of *Mecklenburg*, daughter to *Henry* of *Mecklenburg* and *Ingeburga* of *Denmark*, were the neareſt a-kin, and perfectly agreeable to the people, ſhe immediately fixed the ſucceſſion in this family, and named the young *Henry* from that time, called *Eric*, the preſumptive heir to the crown [a].

and appoints a ſucceſſor.

A. D. 1388.

MATTERS being thus adjuſted, it was imagined the public tranquillity might receive ſome diſturbance from the pretenſions of one *Hacquin*, who deduced his pedigree from the kings of *Norway*, and had acquired immenſe wealth and influence in *Sweden*. The fears of the people were, however, quieted in a ſhort time by the prudence of their queen. She had found means to prevail on *Hacquin* publicly to renounce his pretenſions, which he did by an inſtrument lodged in the hands of the archbiſhop of *Drontheim*, ſwearing at the ſame time before the ſenate, that henceforward he claimed no right to the throne.

Preparations for war between Sweden *and* Denmark.

HENRY of *Mecklenburg* could not ſee *Margaret* elevated to the throne, in prejudice to her elder ſiſter *Ingeburga*, without expreſſing emotions of envy. The acceſſion of the crown of *Norway* added fuel to his jealouſy; and the thoughts of her one day uniting the three northern crowns, was altogether inſupportable. *Albert* of *Sweden* was no leſs emulous of her ſucceſs; he formed an alliance with his brother *Henry*, reſolved on declaring war againſt *Margaret*, and aſſumed to himſelf the arms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*. He ſpoke of *Margaret* in the moſt contemptuous and diſreſpectful terms; called her 'a king without breeches'; paſſed ſome groſs pleaſantries on her regard for the clergy, and particular attachment to a certain abbot of *Soora*, who was her ſpiritual director. It is indeed true, that her intimacy with this man gave room for ſuſpicion that all her privacies with him were not employed about the care of her ſoul.

[a] PONT. l. ix. MEURS. l. v.

ALBERT

ALBERT made great preparations; beſides the *Swediſh* army, he relied upon powerful ſuccours from *Henry* and other *German* princes in his alliance. *Margaret* was not more backward in her own defence; and beſides the troops of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and thoſe furniſhed by the duke of *Pomerania*, ſhe was ſure of a conſiderable party in her favour in *Sweden*. All thoſe noblemen who had ſupported the election of her huſband *Hacquin*, in oppoſition to *Albert*, were her ſtrenuous friends. The nation was likewiſe filled with diſaffected perſons. *Albert* had diſpoſed of all places of truſt to foreigners; he impoſed taxes without conſulting the ſenate; he obliged the widows and daughters of the firſt nobility to eſpouſe upſtart foreigners, to give weight to the latter by ſuch connections: in a word, he became unpopular, and even odious to one half of his ſubjects, by his pride, inſolence, and from their rivetted diſlike to foreigners. In particular, the clergy were incenſed againſt him, for having ſequeſtered many of the church lands, and annexed to the crown a number of ſtrong holds they had held for time immemorial. *Margaret* prudently fomented theſe diviſions, and rendered herſelf no leſs beloved than *Albert* was deteſted. The *Swedes* only waited for the ſignal to revolt; they had fixed their eyes on *Margaret* for their queen, and reſolved to drive *Albert* out of the kingdom. They perceived her good ſenſe would ſet bounds to her ambition, and prevent her infringing the rights of the people; ſhould ſhe attempt it, the ſtates of the three kingdoms would mutually oppoſe her, and receive additional ſtrength and ſecurity from a ſtrict union of intereſts.

THE firſt meaſure taken by the *Swediſh* malcontents was ſecretly to depute certain lords of the firſt rank, to make *Margaret* an offer of the crown. She received the propoſition with joy, and promiſed to defend the people in all their rights and privileges: however, ſhe demanded that the crown ſhould be made hereditary, with a view for ever to unite the three kingdoms. She met with ſome difficulties in gaining this point; at laſt ſhe ſurmounted them, and obtained all ſhe required [a]. *The crown offered to Margaret.*

WHILE theſe matters were in agitation, the governor of the fortreſſes of *Oberſtein* and *Oreſtein* ſurrendered thoſe places to the queen; ſhe immediately took poſſeſſion, and continued him in the ſame command. It was ſpecified in his commiſſion, that he held his authority of *Margaret* queen of *Sweden* and *Norway*, and the legitimate ſovereign of *Denmark*. A great number of lords followed the example of *Algoth Magnus*,

[a] PONTAN. l. ix.

nus, for that was the governor's name. All acknowledged *Margaret* for their queen; an inſtrument was drawn up, whereby they renounced their oath of allegiance to *Albert*, declared they would never more acknowledge him, and henceforward attempt nothing but with the conſent and by the order of *Margaret*. They likewiſe added, that her heirs ſhould be their ſovereign, and that they would never accept of any other at her death, but ſuch a ſucceſſor as ſhe ſhould think fit to appoint. Among other ſtrong holds, the fortreſſes of *Abo*, *Faveſt*, *Razeburg*, *Caſtleholm*, *Crytzburg*, all *Helſingia*, together with the copper and iron mines of *Dalecarlia*, were put into the queen's hands. In a word, the *Dalecarlians* had poſitively acknowledged her ſovereignty by an act paſſed this year, in which they conſented, in the name of the whole kingdom of *Sweden*, that the revenues of the copper mines ſhould be put into her hands, although they were mortgaged to the princes of *Holſtein* [a].

Reſolutions taken by the Dalecarlians.

On the *Wedneſday* preceding *Penteceſt*, the *Swediſh* ſenate wrote to the queen a ratification of the treaty ſhe had concluded with the deputies, and accordingly acknowledged her queen of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. This oath of the ſenate was like a thunder-bolt to *Albert*. He perceived that he could no longer depend on the *Swediſh* army, and therefore caſt about for foreign ſuccours. Among his firm allies he reckoned the duke of *Mecklenburg*, the princes of *Holſtein*, the duke of *Sturgard*, and for a ſum of money he engaged *Conrad Jungingen*, grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* order, and the iſland of *Gothland*. By means of theſe allies, he ſoon made up a conſiderable army, with which he was preparing to take the field.

MARGARET marched an army to the aſſiſtance of the malcontents, under the conduct of four generals, *Eric Lucka*, *Henry Parow*, *Winchen Norby*, and *Lothario Cabolt*. They joined the diſaffected *Swedes*, and both together marched againſt *Albert*. Coming up with him at *Falkoping*, a furious battle was fought, in which victory for a long while ſtood in ſuſpence. The fate of a kingdom depended on the event, and both ſides behaved with that courage and perſeverance which an affair of ſo much importance merited; but *Margaret*'s good fortune prevailed: *Albert* was routed, and his army cut in pieces. He was afterwards taken priſoner in the purſuit, together with his ſon *Eric*, *Gerhard* prince of *Holſtein*, and a great number of lords of the firſt diſtinction. *Albert* and his ſon were conducted firſt to *Bahus*, a fortreſs

Albert *is defeated.*

[a] Meurs. l. v.

a fortreſs on the confines of *Norway* and *Weſt-Gothland*, and from thence to *Saholm*, where they were confined for the ſpace of ſeven years. As to the other priſoners, they were impriſoned in ſeveral parts of the kingdom [a].

FEW victories had ever been ſo productive of glory to the *Danes* as this laſt; for beſides the royal priſoners, no leſs than nineteen general officers were left dead on the field by the vanquiſhed. On *Margaret*'s ſide the loſs was inconſiderable, except that *Henry Parow* died of his wounds, greatly regretted. Yet though the battle was deciſive, the *Swedes* were ſtill undetermined with reſpect to the conduct they were to obſerve. *Margaret*'s coronation was deferred, becauſe a great part of the nation thought it diſhonourable to diſpoſe of the crown while their king was a priſoner. As the people were divided, they now looked upon the *Danes* as foreigners, and grudged them a victory over the *Swedes*, tho' in fact *Margaret* had on her ſide the greater number of *Sweditſh* forces. The *German* princes accuſed the *Swedes* of perfidy and cowardice, attributing the defeat and impriſonment of *Albert* to their puſillanimous conduct. On the other hand, they juſtified themſelves, by retorting on the *Germans*, who they affirmed were the cauſe of the war, and the king's misfortunes [b]. A. D. 1389.

DURING theſe debates and mutual recriminations, the princes of the houſe of *Mecklenburg*, and the towns of *Roſtock* and *Wiſmar* began to raiſe freſh levies, in favour of the unfortunate *Albert*. His friends in *Sweden* likewiſe became maſters of *Stockholm*, and ſeveral fortified places, and *John* of *Mecklenburg* put to ſea at the head of a well-appointed ſquadron, which was diſperſed by a ſtorm. *Margaret*'s forces were, in the mean while, laying ſiege to *Stockholm*; and *John*, after collecting his ſquadron, determined to relieve it. Accordingly he landed his forces, drove the beſiegers from their works, and after ſupplying the city with ammunition and proviſion, again ſet ſail. Afterwards, making deſcents on different parts of the coaſt, he put all to fire and ſword, which ſo enraged the peaſants, that aſſembling tumultuouſly, they attacked him near *Tilling*, and were cut in pieces, having no officer of ability to lead them on and direct their fury. *Levies raiſed in* Germany *to ſupport* Albert.

THE *Germans* were not ſatisfied with the ravages committed by this ſquadron; a ſhoal of privateers were licenſed by the duke of *Mecklenburg*; the ſea was covered with pirates, and the moſt terrible diſorders were committed on the ocean and the ſea coaſts. Some of them ventured an attack on the iſland

[a] Vid. ſupra ibid. [b] MEURS. l. v.

The duke of Mecklenburgh's *privateers take the isle of* Gothland.

of *Gothland*, took it, and made it the repository of their plunder, and the rendezvous for the whole piratical fleet. Notwithstanding all this, the cause of *Albert* was but little forwarded, and his opponent every day gained ground. Among many other places of consideration, the important city of *Calmar* declared for the queen, and surrendered it with its appendages into her hands. *Bugislaus*, prince of *Stetin* (A), likewise declared in her favour, and his example was followed by the prince of *Rugen*, both attending her majesty at *Falsterbo*, where they did homage to her as their sovereign[c].

A. D. 1391. Margaret *is established in the sovereignty of the three kingdoms.*

MARGARET spent the two following years in *Norway* and *Sweden*. In the former she renewed the act by which young *Eric* was declared the successor to her crown; and in the latter she laboured to appease the civil divisions by which the kingdom was reduced to the most deplorable state of misery. Foreigners and natives seemed to unite their endeavours in ruining the country, and in this alone were they consistent. Even in *Stockholm* faction reigned, and the *German* garrison, who apprehended the citizens were inclined to side with the queen, lived in a continual state of hostility with the civil magistrates, which every day produced murder and bloodshed. At length an union of interests was agreed upon; but this was no more than a stratagem formed by the *Germans* to be revenged on the burghers. Under cover of this false reconciliation they seized upon the principal citizens, put many of them to the torture, and conveyed them in the night to the island of *Chepling*, where, after putting them to the most excruciating torments, under pretence that they carried on a clandestine correspondence with the queen, they enclosed them in a large house filled with wood, to which they set fire.

A. D. 1392.

HER majesty meeting with little success in her endeavours to heal the intestine commotions in *Sweden*, determined to return to *Denmark*, and change her measures. She now laboured to effect a peace with the duke of *Slaswick* and the princes of *Holstein*. At length she compassed her design, and paved the way to a general accommodation. The peace between these princes was a fatal blow to the pirates, who immediately abandoned the *Baltic*, and launched forth in the ocean, to make one last effort. The town of *Bergue*, one of the richest ports in the North, felt the first effects of

[c] PONTAN. ibid.

(A) *Bugislaus* was uncle to *Eric* of *Pomerania*, declared successor to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as we have seen.

their

deſperate rage. It was taken and miſerably pillaged, not without impunity; for ſome of their ſhips fell into ands of the *Danes*, who ordered the crews to be hanged gibbets, without form of trial. This ſeverity had ſalu- conſequences; it broke the confederacy, ſtruck terror the whole, and obliged ſome to renounce the profeſſion, s to incorporate with the queen's ſeamen, and others obſtinate to retire to *Frieſeland* and live in remote s, from whence they ſallied out on the commercial of the *Flemings*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Spaniards*.

The pirates ſuppreſſed.

OTHING remarkable occurs this year beſides the dona- the queen made of a moiety of the fortreſs and prefec- of *Wiburg* to the cathedral of that name, for which ſhe recompenſed by the daily prayers of the biſhop and pre- ries. A. D. 1393.

HE following year ſhe became more general in her les to the clergy, by confirming the privileges and im- les of the cathedral of *Lunden* and other churches and rics. She reſided for ſome time at *Helſinburg*, and received deputies from ſeveral *Vandal* cities, exhauſted edious war, and deſirous of coming to terms with re- to *Albert*'s liberty, who had now been priſoner for near ars. Juſt as a treaty was on the point of execution, cident broke off the negotiation, which was reſumed ceeding year with a happier event. One of the depu- s ſlain in a tumult that happened in the city, and the , imagining their lives were in danger, fled with the precipitation, leaving matters juſt as unſettled as they them. *Margaret* ſoon convinced their conſtituents, e murder was not premeditated, by bringing all the uents to ſtrict juſtice. To this contributed the little they met with in their military operations. A ſecond he *Vandal* deputies waited on the queen; and it was th agreed, that *Albert* and his ſon *Eric* ſhould be re- on condition that he paid *Margaret* the ſum of ſixty nd ſilver marks, renounced all his pretenſions to the crown, withdrew his garriſon from *Stockholm*, and all her fortreſſes, and engaged the *Vandal* cities to gua- the treaty.

Peace concluded with the Vandal *cities.* A. D. 1394.

ſoon as the two princes were delivered to the deputies, lemnly ſwore to a ſtrict obſervance of every article ted. *Barnim* of *Pomerania*, *John* of *Mecklenburg*, and other princes, joined themſelves to the *Vandal* cities rantees; and this addition was made to the treaty, that part ſhould for the term of three years erect any new s, but that liberty ſhould be granted mutually to re- A. D. 1395.

pair the old; and with reſpect to the iſland of *Gothland*, it was agreed that each party ſhould retain what they at preſent poſſeſſed.

THIS treaty reſtored tranquillity to the three kingdoms; and *Margaret*, imagining ſhe would beſt prove her gratitude to heaven, by pouring her favours on its miniſters, made ſeveral conſiderable donations to the ſees of *Lunden*, *Roſchild*, and *Odenſee*. Still ſhe found the ſervices of the clergy neceſſary, and ſhe neglected no opportunity of binding them to her intereſt. Towards the cloſe of the year ſhe paſſed over to *Sweden*, and was there ſolemnly crowned queen, with all the ſolemnities obſerved on her acceſſion to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*[a].

Margaret crowned queen of the three kingdoms.

IMMEDIATELY after this ceremony ſhe obſerved, that as ſhe was conſiderably advanced in years, it would be a great ſatisfaction to her to ſee the ſucceſſion confirmed; ſhe hinted her grand-nephew as a proper perſon, and met with all the obedience ſhe could require from her ſubjects, who immediately paſſed an act to that purpoſe. Pleaſed with their complaiſance, her majeſty ſtudied to gain the affections of her new ſubjects, by applying proper remedies to all the evils occaſioned by the late tumults, and eſtabliſhing matters on the beſt footing. With this view it was that ſhe convoked a diet of the ſtates at *Nicoping*; at which were preſent the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and all the biſhops and ſenators of the kingdom. Here it was agreed, that all the crown lands and fortreſſes alienated by *Albert*, ſhould be forthwith redeemed; that the new fortreſſes erected during the civil wars ſhould be diſmantled; that all thoſe enjoying the privileges of *Swediſh* ſubjects, and the benefit of the laws, immediately take an oath of allegiance to the queen and her ſucceſſor *Eric*; that the ſovereign reſtore to all the vaſſals of the crown whatever they poſſeſſed before the civil war, and loſt by their adherence to *Albert*: that the lawful proprietors enter into poſſeſſion of all that had been uſurped by others during the late commotions; that the ſtates ſhould aſſemble at the pleaſure of the queen and young king, wherever their majeſties ſhould appoint, in order to deliberate with the ſtates of *Denmark* and *Norway* for the joint intereſt of the three kingdoms, and in particular to declare *Eric* ſovereign of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*. To theſe were added ſome particular regulations; after which the queen and young king departed for *Denmark*.

Her policy in appointing a ſucceſſor.

HER majeſty's principal care was now to viſit the different provinces, to adminiſter juſtice, and redreſs grievances of

[a] PONTAN. l. ix.

every

every nature, which ſhe did with admirable prudence. While ſhe was in *Jutland* all the exiles were ſummoned to appear, and take their trial according to law. All men were forbid, under ſevere penalties, to ſkreen criminals; bnt if they ſubmitted to juſtice, her majeſty always inclined to mercy. Here ſhe enacted, that no new fortreſſes ſhould be raiſed; that thoſe belonging to the crown ſhould be reſtored if uſurped, and redeemed if mortgaged; and that all thoſe who had not ſworn allegiance to king *Eric*, ſhould perform that duty within the ſpace of fourteen days.

The queen's care in adminiſtring juſtice, and enforcing the laws.

AMONG other ſalutary regulations, the affairs of commerce were not forgot. It was decreed, that all ports lately opened to the prejudice of eſtabliſhed marts, ſhould be ſhut up; that no duties ſhould be exacted but where they were impoſed by law; that all manner of aſſiſtance ſhould be given to foreign merchants and ſailors, particularly in caſe of ſhipwreck and misfortune, without expectation of reward, except what was provided for by law: in a word, that every circumſtance enjoined by humanity and ſound policy ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved with reſpect to ſtrangers. Such was the wiſe conduct of this glorious princeſs. *Pontanus* relates, that the antient laws neglected during the late commotions were renewed in their full force; that pirates were treated with great rigour, in order to deter them from that diſhonourable profeſſion; and that a prefect and ſovereign judge were appointed in *Jutland*, for the more eaſy and effectual execution of the laws. The ſame writer relates, that ſhe likewiſe rectified an abuſe which had immediately before her acceſſion crept into the *Swediſh* government. Several of the gentlemen of that country had taken the opportunity of extending their power, and of exempting their lands from all taxes. Many of them acknowledged no fealty to the crown, and claimed an abſolute juriſdiction within their own eſtates. This was an abuſe that greatly diminiſhed the power of the ſovereign and ſtrength of the government; *Margaret* therefore, with the conſent of the ſenate, ordained that all juriſdictions ſhould be put on the antient footing, and every man contribute his proportion towards the ſupport of that government by which he was protected[a].

BUT while we are enlarging upon the many excellent regulations made by *Margaret*, we muſt not forget that ſhe was not infallible. Notwithſtanding her prudence, policy, and other ſhining virtues, her government was not without error. During the reign of *Olaus*, ſhe had conſented that

[a] Vid. PONTAN. & MEURS. in locis citat.

Gerhard of *Holſtein* ſhould be inveſted for life in the dutchy of *Sleſwick*; the war in *Sweden* had proved the weakneſs of that meaſure, and yet ſhe now granted the perpetuity of *Sleſwick* to the princes of that houſe, on no other condition than that they acknowledged the ſovereignty of *Denmark*. Happily, indeed, theſe princes preferred a pecuniary ſubſidy, as appears by an act paſſed in *Fionia*, whither *Margaret* convoked the *Holſtein* princes; but this we are not to aſcribe to her policy, but to their neceſſity. It is true, her conduct admits of ſome palliation, if we conſider that the chief aim of all her pretenſions was to unite the three crowns, every obſtruction to which ſhe reſolved to remove at all events. The *Holſtein* princes were the great ſticklers for *Albert*, and againſt this union; and their friendſhip ſhe endeavoured to win by ſo important a grant. At preſent the three northern crowns were actually united upon her head; but ſhe laboured to render this act perpetual. Beſides the advantages which ſhe propoſed drawing from the joint ſtrength of theſe kingdoms, a variety of other reaſons occurred to induce her to wiſh that a fundamental law was eſtabliſhed for the perpetual union of the three crowns. Such a law would tranſmit her name with admiration and glory to poſterity, would render her abſolute miſtreſs of the North, and one of the greateſt ſovereigns in *Europe*. She therefore laboured to gain a ſufficient party in each kingdom to anſwer her purpoſe; and when ſhe believed ſhe had accompliſhed this, ſhe convoked the ſtates-general of each kingdom to meet at *Calmar*, and forty deputies from each attended the aſſembly [a].

Her ſpeech to the aſſembly.

HER majeſty opened the congreſs, by introducing the young king *Eric* to the deputies one by one, whom ſhe requeſted to confirm his election to the ſucceſſion. She then repreſented to them, with abundance of addreſs and eloquence, the advantages that would neceſſarily reſult from their having but one monarch, which would intirely aboliſh the cauſe of all thoſe wars that had ſo often been fatal to each of the kingdoms; render them entire maſters of the commerce of the *Baltic*; keep in awe the hanſe towns, grown powerful by the diviſions of her people; and, in a word, conſolidate them into one nation, with all the conveniencies which flow from a perfect uniformity of cuſtoms, laws, and intereſts. The majeſty of the queen's perſon, the ſtrength of her arguments, and the ſweetneſs of her eloquence, together with the applauſes beſtowed by her creatures, gained over the deputies. They approved and confirmed the election of *Eric*, and eſta-

[a] MEURS. l. v.

bliſhed a fundamental law, which was received by the three kingdoms, and ſolemnly confirmed by oath. This was the law ſo celebrated in the North, under the name of the *Union of Calmar*, and which afterwards gave birth to wars that laſted for an age between *Sweden* and *Denmark*. It conſiſted of three principal articles, which were eſtabliſhed for the ſecurity of each nation. The firſt imported, that the three kingdoms, which were in a manner elective, ſhould henceforward have but one and the ſame king, who ſhould be choſen ſucceſſively by each of the kingdoms, and then approved by a general aſſembly of the whole. The ſecond article conſiſted in the obligation upon the ſovereign to divide his time equally in the three kingdoms, and to ſpend in each the revenues ariſing to him from each crown, without being able to apply the ſavings but for the good of that particular kingdom. The third and moſt important was, that each kingdom ſhould retain its own laws, cuſtoms, ſenate, and privileges of every kind; and that the garriſons of every kingdom ſhould be maintained at the expence of that particular ſtate, and defended by its forces; and that the ſubjects of one kingdom ſhould not be raiſed to poſts of profit and power in the other, but ſhould be reputed foreigners, except in their own native country. A. D. 1397. *The union of Calmar concluded.*

WHILE the congreſs ſat at *Calmar*, *Albert*'s ſon *Eric* died; a melancholy accident that made ſuch an impreſſion on the unhappy king, as to make him give up all hopes of remounting the throne of *Sweden*; for notwithſtanding the conditions on which he obtained his liberty, he never deſpaired till now of recovering his crown. *Stockholm* was not given up agreeable to the treaty; but he now wrote to his garriſon to yield to the neceſſity of the times, and ſurrender themſelves to *Margaret*. The example of *Stockholm* was followed by all the other ſtrong holds, poſſeſſed by *Albert* in *Sweden*; but ſtill the queen could not recover *Gothland*, this iſland being retained by the grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* order, who pretended to hold it by right of conqueſt, as he had driven the pirates from thence. Firſt it was mortgaged to him by *Albert* for a ſum of money; but he refuſed to deliver it to that prince, when he offered to redeem it. *Margaret* determined to recover it by force of arms. She ſent an army thither, under theſe experienced officers *Algoth Magnus* and *Abraham Broder*. *Wiſby* the capital was immediately beſieged, the *Danes* puſhed the attack with ardour, and the knights defended the city with intrepidity, when the emperor interpoſed, in quality of protector of the *Teutonic* order, and offered his mediation to accommodate all differences. He called a congreſs at *Helſinburg*, Albert *reſigns all thoughts of recovering his crown.* A. D. 1398.

burg, whither he invited the queen's deputies. Here it was at length ſtipulated, that the iſland ſhould be ſurrendered to *Margaret*, on her paying a certain ſum of money to the knights: but as the money was not paid for ſome time, the knights kept poſſeſſion, which however did not prevent the queen from renewing her old alliance with them.[b]

A. D. 1399. THE following year deputies from the *Vandal* cities, which had exerciſed piracies during the late diſturbances, came to *Nicoping* in the iſland of *Falſtre*. A treaty was concluded between her majeſty on the one part, and the deputies on the other, in which it was ſtipulated, that a general pardon ſhould be granted for all diſorders committed during the late troubles, and that the preceding treaties between the contracting parties ſhould ſubſiſt in full force; particularly that treaty by which the *Vandal* cities engaged to guarantee the promiſes made by *Albert* in obtaining his liberty.

FOR the four ſucceeding years the three kingdoms enjoyed profound tranquillity, and *Margaret* applied her mind to works of piety, or rather of policy. She was well acquainted with the natural diſpoſition of her people; accuſtomed to an extreme of liberty, ſhe knew they would with difficulty bear the reſtraint of authority, which, however, was neceſſary to carry on government, and ſuppreſs perpetual inſurrections.

Margaret's deſigns in gaining over the clergy.

To eſtabliſh herſelf firmly, ſhe gained over, by affability and liberality, the principal perſons in each kingdom; made them her creatures, and oppoſed their influence to all factions formed againſt the court. The clergy were eſpecially eſſential to her views, on account of their wealth, their power, and their credit with the people. In theſe days all devotion conſiſted in donations to the church, and piety was eſtimated by the will and ability to enrich the clergy. *Margaret* was aware of this: ſhe founded monaſteries, endowed churches, augmented the power and privileges of the biſhops, admitted them to a great ſhare in the adminiſtration, and intirely won their hearts by her largeſſes. Filled with gratitude for the numberleſs marks of favour and diſtinction ſhewn them, the biſhops fell into all her views, and were followed by the inferior order of the clergy, who found their intereſt conſiſted in coinciding with the ſentiments of their ſuperiors, both on account of their dependence on them, and becauſe the protection of the court, and the queen's recommendation, were the ſureſt means of obtaining biſhopricks, and other dignities.

THE nobility and gentry, already jealous of the high power and credit of the church, beheld with chagrin this addition

[b] PONTAN. l. ix.

to

to the authority of the biſhops: they, however, durſt not expreſs their reſentment. Equally politic and powerful, *Margaret* had her creatures concealed among the diſcontented, who gave her notice of all their proceedings, broke and diſconcerted their meaſures. *The nobility and gentry jealous of the clergy.*

One remarkable occurrence is mentioned by hiſtorians to have fallen out about this time. A report prevailed that *Olaus*, the queen's ſon, was not dead: it was propagated by many of the nobility, and ſuppoſed to be firſt ſet on foot by them, in order to puniſh *Margaret* for her liberality to the clergy. The impoſtor laboured to paſs for the king, and every day gained credit, by making diſcoveries which could poſſibly have been known only to *Olaus* and his mother. *Margaret*, however, was too many for him: ſhe proved him to be ſon to the nurſe of *Olaus*, and to have got theſe ſecrets from his mother, whom ſhe had made her confidant. She next proved that *Olaus* had a large wart between his ſhoulders, which mark did not appear on the impoſtor. Laſtly, ſhe farther proved, by a cloud of witneſſes, that the king actually died upon a certain day, and was buried at *Soora*. In fine, the impoſtor was ſeized, put to the torture, and publicly burnt at a place between *Falſterbo* and *Scanora* [a]. *An impoſtor claims the crown of Denmark.*

A. D. 1404. *Freſh diſputes with the houſe of Holſtein.*

MARGARET was not happy enough to rid herſelf ſo eaſily of the continual inquietudes excited by the houſe of *Holſtein*. All her munificence to this family could not extinguiſh antient animoſity, or engage their gratitude. She could not depend on treaties concluded with them, though ſolemnly ſworn to, nor in their fealty, nor fidelity. In one word, ſhe ſeverely felt the imprudence of that act, whereby ſhe confirmed ſtrangers in the poſſeſſion of a dutchy ſo important to her dominions as *Sleſwick*. Count *Gerhard* of *Holſtein* fell in a battle fought with ſome of his neighbours in the year 1404, leaving a widow and three young children; *Henry*, the eldeſt of whom, was no more than ſeven years of age; *Adolphus*, the ſecond, but three; and *Gerhard*, the youngeſt, then in the cradle. Several guardians were appointed in his will; but *Henry*, biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, uncle to the young princes, excited great troubles, by claiming a right to the adminiſtration of *Sleſwick*, till his nephews arrived at a proper age. He found means to raiſe a faction, by means of *Segeburg* and *Rendſburg*.

On the other hand, *Margaret* beheld with uneaſineſs thoſe commotions excited in a dutchy which had been a fief of *Denmark*. With a view to apply healing remedies, as well as to

[a] Pontan. l. ix.

profit

profit by the preſent ſituation of affairs, ſhe tampered with the widow *Elizabeth*, who ſhe knew was in want of money. Thus ſhe obtained poſſeſſion of certain fortreſſes in *Holſtein*, and likewiſe of the ſtrong citadel of *Oppenrade*, by marrying *Elizabeth*, widow of count *Nicholas*, who poſſeſſed this place, to *Eric* duke of *Saxony*, paying her portion, and keeping in her own hands the fortreſs. She likewiſe, by a ſtroke of policy, got *Grotiſbach* into her hands; but this ſhe diſmantled, and preſented to the cathedral of *Sleſwick*. In a word, ſhe at length diſpoſed of every thing in the dutchy according to her own pleaſure. The oldeſt of duke *Gerhard*'s ſons was carried to *Denmark*, and had three of the principal nobility appointed his guardians: *Adolphus*, his ſecond brother, lived with his uncle, who conceived a ſtrong affection for the boy, and had him at length raiſed to a high place at the emperor's court (A). Some writers allege, that the dutcheſs *Elizabeth*, and all the great lords of *Sleſwick*, put themſelves voluntarily under the queen's protection, acknowledged her ſovereignty, and did homage to her as ſuperior of the dutchy. They add, that ſhe divided between the dutcheſs, the young duke's guardians, and the chief nobility, all places of honour and profit in the dutchy, with certain yearly ſalaries, with which they became in a ſhort time diſſatisfied. What however is certain, and agreed upon by all hiſtorians, is, that peace was at this time proclaimed between *Denmark* and *Sleſwick*; and that neither the queen nor king pretended to any other rights within the dutchy, beſides thoſe of ſuperior and ſovereigns merely nominal, without power to enact laws, or impoſe taxes.

A. D. 1405. *A dearth and peſtilence in* Denmark.

In the following year *Margaret* annexed ſeveral places to the crown, which had either been mortgaged or uſurped during the laſt reign. This year had almoſt proved fatal to *Denmark*. The ſummer, and eſpecially the autumn ſeaſon, had been ſo rainy, that the fruits of the earth were deſtroyed, and the air corrupted, inſomuch that above a tenth of the inhabitants of *Denmark* periſhed of famine and peſtilence. Yet,

(A) *Crantzius* relates a circumſtance of this young prince that merits notice. *Margaret*, when he was an infant, gave him a mark of her friendſhip, by adorning his cap with a ſtring of fine pearls, which the child rejecting, ſhe offered to tie them round his arm, but to this he was equally averſe; ſhe then attempted to ſuſpend the pearls round his neck; but *Adolphus* ſtruggled ſo hard, that the jewels were broke againſt the wall. Hence, ſays our author, the ſage *Margaret* drew an omen that the young prince would one day prove a bitter enemy to *Denmark* (1).

(1) *Vid. Crantz. p.* 125.

amidſt

amidſt theſe afflictions, there occurred two events which afforded ſome conſolation to the court and people. *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, formerly king of *Sweden*, publiſhed a writing, whereby he renounced all claim to the crown of *Sweden*, and engaged never to take arms againſt *Eric*, or his ſucceſſors; but to live upon a footing of the ſtricteſt amity with them. The next circumſtance was the marriage of king *Eric* with the daughter of *Henry* IV. king of *England*, which was celebrated at *Lunden* on the twenty-fifth of *October* this year. A. D. 1406.
This princeſs, if we may credit the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, brought the king an immenſe fortune.

NOTWITHSTANDING peace had been proclaimed between *Denmark* and *Slefwick*, the *Danes* and *Holſteiners* were continually in arms, and committing perpetual ravages upon each other's frontiers. Wearied with theſe diſorders, king *Eric* reſolved to apply effectual remedies. He invited *Henry*, biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, the chief author of theſe diſturbances, amicably to terminate them by an interview at *Kolding*; but this conference breaking off abruptly, a ſecond interview was appointed in *Fionia*. Here it was agreed, that eleven thouſand marks in ſilver ſhould be paid to *Denmark*, to indemnify the loſſes ſuſtained by the inſults of the *Holſteiners*; that the towns of *Flensburg* and *Menbus* be put into the king's hands, until payment of the above ſum; or, at leaſt, until the biſhop proved that the *Holſteiners* had been equal ſufferers by the incurſions of the *Danes*. Some writers indeed alledge, that *Elizabeth*, dutcheſs dowager of *Holſtein*, put theſe towns into *Eric*'s hands, without ſtipulating any conditions. *Peace between* Holſtein *and* Denmark.

SOME differences aroſe this year between the queen and the dutcheſs dowager. Women ſeldom agree long, where they are rivals in beauty or power. *Margaret*, imagining that the dutcheſs wanted to prevaricate about the promiſe of ſurrendering *Gottorp*, advanced to take poſſeſſion of that city; but whether it was that ſhe dreaded a body of armed men, reported to have been lodged in a certain tower, or apprehended ſome ſecret deſigns upon her perſon, certain it is that ſhe immediately abandoned the town, and threw out ſome ſevere reflections upon the dutcheſs. A miſunderſtanding ſo ſlight ſoon broke out into a war, and the pretext was, that *Eric* by fortifying *Flensburg*, lately put into his hands, gave ſuſpicions of having deſigns upon the whole dutchy. Nor did the conduct of four *Holſtein* gentlemen, in the queen's ſervice, contribute a little towards accelerating the rupture. Theſe officers, withdrawing themſelves ſuddenly, perſuaded *Henry* biſhop of *Oſnaburg* that the dutchy of *Slefwick* would ſpeedily be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, if proper meaſures A. D. 1409. *Differences between* Margaret *and the dutcheſs dowager of* Sleſwick.

ſures were not taken to ſubvert the deſigns of *Margaret* and *Eric*. *Elizabeth* began her operations by a ſtroke of policy, which may well be deemed treacherous. She found means to draw the conſuls of *Flensburg* into her power, and then detained them priſoners, till they engaged the citizens to put the town into the hands of the *Holſteiners*. Her ſcheme ſucceeded; the gates were opened to her forces, and every inhabitant revoked the oath of allegiance ſworn to *Eric*. Hoſtilities were now commenced, ſeveral places were ſurpriſed, and among others the fortreſs of *Swabeſtede*, and the citadel belonging to the biſhop of *Sleſwick*, the uſual place of his reſidence [a].

No ſooner had *Eric* notice of theſe tranſactions, than he reſolved to make repriſals. Accordingly he invaded the iſlands of *Arroe* and *Alſen*, of both which he ſoon became maſter. Next he concluded a treaty, offenſive and defenſive, with the inhabitants of *Dithmarſh*, and immediately ſent a body of troops againſt the *Friſons*, under the conduct of general *Monk*, who had for lieutenants three very experienced officers, *John Scarpenberg*, *Nicholas Thuon*, and *Henry Cabel*. This corps, amounting to eight thouſand men, without cavalry, had orders to march to *Tunderen*, *Eric* being deſirous of ſubduing the country round. They came loaded with booty to the neighbourhood of *Huſum* and *Bredſtedt*, where they were ſuddenly attacked by *Adolphus* of *Schawemburg*, and cut in pieces. *Monk* the general, and *Nicholas Thuon*, were left dead on the field, together with fourteen hundred inferior officers and private men. *Scarpenberg* was taken priſoner, and at length obtained his liberty at a ranſom of eight thouſand marks in ſilver. It was reckoned that this unfortunate expedition had coſt *Eric* two hundred thouſand marks, beſides the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers (A).

The Danes *defeated by* Adolphus A. D. 1410.

[a] Meurs. l. v.

(A) *Crantzius* differs conſiderably from the *Daniſh* hiſtorians in his relation of this action. According to him the *Danes* amounted to fifteen hundred cavaliers; but no mention is made of the number of foot ſoldiers. *Schawemburg*'s army did not exceed eight hundred men, raiſed in a hurry about *Lunenburg*, in the dioceſe of *Bremen* and *Weſtphalia*. He adds, that about this time *Eric Crummedick* ſurpriſed *Flenſburg*; that the king's troops, however, defended the citadel; and that the *Daniſh* fleet laid ſiege to the town, but were not able to force the garriſon, which, in ſpite of all hardſhips, remained firm to the young duke (1).

(1) *Vid. p.* 129.

After

ER this defeat *Eric* followed the advice of his ſenate, ade overtures to accommodate differences with the n princes. His propoſals were embraced by the dut- *Elizabeth*, who conſented to refer the matter to arbi- A certain number were appointed by each ſide, but nclusion was formed till two years after.

E tumult of arms gave place for ſome time to public ngs and feſtivals on account of the marriage of the ſs *Sophia*, or according to ſome writers *Catherine*, ſiſter ic, to *John* duke of *Bavaria* and *Newburg*, ſon to the or *Rupert*. The marriage was celebrated at *Ripen*, orty thouſand florins given for the princeſs's fortune. led ſhe ſurvived her huſband, a jointure of an equal as ſettled on her; four weeks were allowed her before mmation, and in the mean time her fortune was to be into the hands of her huſband. *The princeſs Sophia of Denmark marries John of Bavaria.*

TWITHSTANDING the propoſitions for peace, and the rences held for terminating the differences between *ark* and the houſe of *Holſtein*, both ſides did not fail to nit numberleſs hoſtilities. It was neither perfect peace eclared war, yet each ſide bore the moſt inveterate ha- o the other. Some gentlemen of *Holſtein*, to whom ing had committed certain towns in truſt, upon their g an oath of fidelity to him, perfidiouſly ſurrendered them e dutcheſs, and took all opportunities of inſulting the s garriſons in theſe parts. Enraged with theſe diſorders, was forced to come to the laſt extremity, and declare to utcheſs, that, unleſs they were ſpeedily redreſſed, he would y all the force of *Denmark* to reunite the dutchy of *ick* to the crown. His menaces had the deſired effect; utcheſs and princes declared publicly, that they would vour all in their power to accommodate matters to his ction; for which purpoſe a new congreſs was held at *ng*, where a truce for five years was concluded, during time the umpires were to give their verdict, and final on, reſpecting the fortreſſes raiſed or taken by either ; as well as all other grievances. Immediately ſeveral es, of little conſequence, were concluded between queen *aret* and the dutcheſs. They ſerved, however, to diſtin- the ability, the moderation, the ſolid judgment, and e diſpoſition of *Margaret*. All the *Daniſh* hiſtorians are f her praiſes upon this occaſion; but they neglect the re- of thoſe circumſtances which alone could form our nent of her conduct. It was ſoon after theſe tranſac- that ſhe was carried off by a ſudden death, in the fifty- A. D. 1411. *A truce concluded between Denmark and the dutcheſs of Sleſwick.*

ninth year of her age, and thirty-ſixth of her reign, if we include the time of her regency.

Margaret's *death and character.*

THE characters drawn by the *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* hiſtorians are very different. According to the firſt, *Margaret* was poſſeſſed of every virtue belonging to a ſovereign: ſteady, penetrating, active, and bold, ſhe gained the love of her ſubjects, commanded the reſpect of her neighbours, and was the terror of her enemies. According to the latter, ſhe was ſo ambitious as to endeavour the extenſion of her power at the expence of public liberty. She was pious from policy, moderate from intereſt, affable and familiar only with her creatures, proud to all beſides; rigid and inflexible in the adminiſtration of private juſtice; but regardleſs of oaths and treaties, when placed in competition with her intereſt or ambition. In a word, a woman of great ability, but little integrity; of a ſound head, but a corrupted heart. It is probable, that too much prejudice prevails in both theſe characters. The *Swedes* flattered themſelves, that the union of *Calmar* would have extended their liberties, and they found them retrenched by *Margaret*. She was too ambitious, too powerful, to reſt ſatisfied with a limited authority. No ſooner was ſhe declared queen of *Sweden*, than ſhe formed ſchemes for extending the prerogative: ſhe recovered, by degrees, the chief fortreſſes out of the hands of the gentry, by ſeaſonable grants to them of another nature, which did not render them independent on the court. Moſt of the *Swediſh* governments ſhe diſpoſed of to the *Daniſh* nobility, contrary to the expreſs words of the treaty of *Calmar*; removing, inſenſibly, the native nobility from all places of truſt and profit. *Abraham Broderſon* was the only favourite among all the *Swedes*. He was a young nobleman of fine addreſs and handſome perſon; but otherwiſe of little conſideration, either in influence or ability. On him ſhe beſtowed the government of *Halland*, honoured him with a great ſhare of her confidence, and heaped favours upon his family; a conduct that increaſed the diſcontent of the *Swedes*, and gave room for ſuſpicion, that her majeſty regarded only the perſonal attractions of *Broderſon*. It furniſhed them with freſh cauſes of complaint againſt the queen, and additional reaſons for lamenting the union, which occaſioned the loſs of their liberties, at leaſt of their own weight and influence in the ſcale of government. They preſented themſelves in a body to her majeſty, with a remonſtrance of their rights, and a copy of the treaty of *Calmar*, the infraction of which was the ſubject of their complaints. All the anſwer they received was, that they might guard thoſe rights with the ſame diligence

diligence ſhe would maintain the fortreſſes of the kingdom. Thus the ambitious and haughty princeſs reigned with an almoſt deſpotic authority in *Sweden*. She impoſed taxes before unheard-of in that country, and ſtrengthened her own power by removing the nobility from public affairs, and reducing the people to ſo low a condition, as deprived them of the abiſity of redreſſing themſelves, or ſeeking a change in the government.

MARGARET has likewiſe been reproached with exerting exceſſive cruelty againſt certain *Daniſh* lords, whom ſhe perſecuted out of reſentment, until ſhe took away their lives in a manner the moſt ignominious and excruciating. But theſe are the malicious ſuggeſtions of envy and calumny. The three lords were juſtly put to death for crimes of the worſt complexion: ſhe even would have interpoſed her clemency; but juſtice, and the public good, required that they ſhould ſuffer. In a word, if *Margaret* was inferior in ſome of the qualities of the heart, which gained a few of her predeceſſors the glorious title of Father of their People, ſhe was exceeded by none in prudence, in policy, juſtice, and true magnanimity; qualities which diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo early in this princeſs, that her father *Valdemar* ſaid on a certain occaſion, "That Nature had erred in producing her a woman, ſince "ſhe was originally intended for a man[a]."

[a] PONTAN. l. ix. MEURS. l. v. JOHN GOTH. p. 109.

SECT. X.

Containing the public Tranſactions until the Reign of Chriſtopher III.

ERIC X.

DENMARK loſt a great princeſs at the death of *Margaret*; but it was generally believed that this loſs, great as it was, would be happily repaired in the perſon of *Eric*, formed to reign by the counſels and example of a miſtreſs ſo ſkilled in the art of government. No prince ever aſcended the throne with greater applauſe and expectations from the people than *Eric*. The *Danes* flattered themſelves they ſhould experience in him the ſame qualities they admired in the queen: the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, eſpecially the former, hoped for the recovery of thoſe privileges, the loſs of which had occaſioned Eric X. *ſurnamed* Pomerania.

ſioned all the murmurings in the preceding reign. *Eric* ſucceeded to the crown and dominions of *Margaret*; but he inherited neither her power nor policy. Far from recovering their liberties the *Swedes* found the yoke of oppreſſion rendered more grievous. He did not, however, run immediately into exceſs; but ſuffered himſelf to glide gently into the meaſures of deſpotiſm and tyranny.

On his acceſſion we ſee him promiſing to conform to all the treaties made with *Margaret*, to confirm her donations to the church and clergy, to preſerve the people in their rights, and to ſee all wills duly executed agreeable to the intention of the deceaſed. We ſee him aggrandizing the city *Seby* in *Schonen*, and endowing it with the ſame privileges and immunities as *Lunden* and *Malmogen*. In a word, we behold him purſuing the ſteps marked out by his predeceſſor of glorious memory, the intereſt of his people, and the true conduct of a politic prince. At this time *Eric* reſided at *Stockholm*, and the *Swedes*, ſenſible of the advantages reſulting to them from the preſence of the court, ſtrove to give him new proofs of their attachment. Jealous however of their liberties, they did not omit ſeizing the favourable opportunity of confirming them. The nobility, biſhops, and ſenate, all endeavoured to obtain a general diet of the ſtates; but in vain: for *Eric* apprehended leſt meaſures contrary to his deſigns might here be concerted. He therefore returned to *Denmark*, without granting this ardent requeſt of the whole nation [a].

Congreſs for eſtabliſhing a ſolid peace with Holſtein.

ERIC found full employment in this kingdom. The truce between *Margaret* and the houſe of *Holſtein* had for a time ſuſpended hoſtilities; but yet the cauſe of their mutual animoſity ſubſiſted. The umpires were to give judgment within five years after the date of the truce, and now there was no time to loſe. Accordingly *Wratiſlaus* duke of *Pomerania* and *Stetin* appeared for *Eric*, and *Henry* duke of *Brunſwick-Lunenburg*, on the part of the dutcheſs *Elizabeth*. They met to give final ſentence at *Flenſburg*, and the firſt thing determined was mutually to releaſe all priſoners made ſince the peace mediated by *Ulric* of *Mecklenburg*. This far was perfectly conſiſtent with the meaſures taken in the life-time of *Margaret*; but the poſture of affairs was greatly altered. The king was no longer in the humour to compromiſe pretenſions which he was in a condition to enforce by arms. He likewiſe held it diſhonourable to treat and negotiate with vaſſals, nay, with rebels, who had taken arms againſt him, neglected their oath, and, contrary to the reſpect due to their

[a] Pontan. l. ix.

ſovereign,

ſovereign, had preſumed to demand, within the ſpace of a year, the inveſtiture of *Sleſwick*, vacant by the death of *Gerhard*. Such were this prince's notions of the royal prerogative. Thus, inſtead of ſubmitting the difference to umpires, *Eric* took a method totally different; but agreeable, as he imagined, to his dignity. He cited the duke of *Lunenburg*, the dutcheſs *Elizabeth*, and the princes of *Holſtein*, *Henry*, *Adolphus*, and *Gerhard*, to appear at the next diet to be aſſembled at *Neoburg*, in order to terminate matters before that high tribunal.

Eric's *conduct at the congreſs.*

THE parties met on the day appointed, attended by the dukes of *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, *Stetin*, *Saxony*, and *Brunſwick*; this laſt taking an oath in quality of uncle and guardian to *Gerhard*, the deceaſed duke of *Sleſwick*. He repreſented, that *Gerhard* received the inveſtiture of the dutchy as a voluntary bounty of the king and kingdom, and that his children now claimed the ſame favour. To this *Eric* replied, that *Margaret* had indeed formerly granted that dutchy to the houſe of *Holſtein*, as a fief of the crown; but that the princes had refuſed to accept it under that title. *Henry* denied this in fact; and the king made anſwer, that it was to no purpoſe to deny facts that could be proved by authentic documents. It was notorious, he ſaid, that the duke had preferred the function of a ſoldier during the wars, to the poſſeſſion of *Sleſwick* as a fief. He then ordered the proofs to be produced; to which *Henry* having nothing to oppoſe, he had recourſe to intreaties and prayers, that the affair might be ſubmitted to arbitrators, promiſing ſolemnly to ſtand by their award, or by the articles of the laſt treaty, whereby it was agreed, that all conqueſts made on either ſide ſhould be reſtored, and matters put on the antient footing.

As this propoſal was not agreeable to *Eric*, he again cited before the diet all the princes of the houſe of *Holſtein*. They appeared, and the king from his throne opened the aſſembly with a full explication of the circumſtances of the diſpute. When he had finiſhed his ſpeech, he ordered the archbiſhop of *Roſchild*, chancellor of *Denmark*, to deliver his ſentiments, and what the laws of the kingdom required. The archbiſhop made a laboured harangue, in which he inſiſted chiefly on that ſtatute which ordains, that all ſubjects of the crown, who have connected themſelves with foreigners and joined againſt their ſovereign, made incurſions into the country, or otherwiſe diſturbed or infringed the laws, ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of their effects and eſtates, and be deemed guilty of high treaſon. He then pronounced the following ſentence, as preſident of the diet; that the princeſs *Eliza-*

The sentence passed with respect to Sleſwick.

beth and duke *Henry* of *Brunſwick*, as tutors and conſ to *Eric*'s children, had forfeited all right to the duk *Sleſwick*, in conſequence of having taken arms againſt lawful ſovereign; that all expences occaſioned by th tumults ſhould be indemnified to the crown by the of *Holſtein*; and laſtly, that the dutchy in queſtion w in full right, and ſhould hereby be annexed to the of *Denmark*[a].

SCARCE had the chancellor pronounced ſentence, the young *Henry* threw himſelf at the king's feet, ſought him to grant the inveſtiture of the dutchy as but the king only replied, that he muſt firſt ga ſeſſion, that he might then have full power to g upon the terms he might think proper. As this me beſtowing fiefs was new to the *German* princes, it unjuſt, and confirmed them all ſtrenuous defender *Holſtein* family. An alliance was formed between *B* prince of *Vandalia*, *Henry* of *Brunſwick*, the uncles an dians of the young princes, and *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, raviſhed with the opportunity of revenging on the her ſucceſſor the affront put on him by *Margaret*, in him out of the throne of *Sweden*. On the other han *Cronandeck*, *Otton Sifted*, and ſeveral other nobility and power, deſerted the *Holſtein* family, and went *Eric*. This was a conſiderable loſs; but not ſufficie vert their intention of ſeriouſly preparing for war.

A. D. 1414. THIS year the celebrated council of *Conſtance* ſa which time the emperor *Sigiſmund* wrote to *Eric*, s him to employ all his intereſt and power to induce th *Lubec* to re-eſtabliſh their ſenate, which they had about ſeven years before. To oblige the emperor, all his endeavours to reſtore the ſenate; but finding *beckers* obſtinate, he declined uſing force, not chuſi creaſe the number of his enemies. He contented with ſending *Sigiſmund* an account of his proceedi requeſting that he would not protect the houſe of Pleaſed with *Eric*'s compliance, the emperor confi ſentence paſſed againſt the *Holſtein* princes, declar all the proceedings of the diet were perfectly reg conſiſtent with equity and law. This letter bears fourteenth of *June*, 1415.

A. D. 1415. Eric *enters* Sleſwick *with an army.* SURE of *Sigiſmund*'s countenance, *Eric* did not lon rate in what method he was to act. Immediately he field, and entered the dutchy of *Sleſwick* with a n

[a] MEURS. & PONTAN. ibid.

r. Perceiving that all the *Holſtein* forces were aſſembled
d the cities of *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp*, while the reſt of the
ntry was left defenceleſs, he haſtily erected two fortreſſes
ne mouth of the *Sley*, the one called *Sleymund*, and the
r *Conigsburg*. The ſame he did on the weſtern ſide of
dutchy, where the fortreſſes of *Freſenberg* and *Wiidipang*
built on the banks of the *Trèe*, a method which he took
oſſeſs himſelf the more eaſily of the dutchy.

HAVING taken theſe precautions, he again applied to the
kers in favour of the ſenate. It is probable, that *Sigiſ-*
d renewed his inſtances upon this head; for we find *Eric*
entering upon more vigorous meaſures. He ordered all
fiſhermen in *Schonen* to be ſeized, and their effects con-
ed; giving at the ſame time directions to the governor
rgue to ſeize all the effects belonging to the merchants of
, within his juriſdiction. Thunder-ſtruck with this ſud-
low, the *Lubeckers* recalled the ſenate; and thus the king
n obligation on the emperor, while he at the ſame in-
ſtrengthened his own intereſt by the faſt friendſhip of
ſenate, who owed their liberty and preſent felicity to
onduct.

A view of the affairs of Holſtein.

the mean while the affairs of the *Holſtein* family were
the decline. *Henry* of *Brunſwick*, uncle to the young
s, held the towns of *Gottorp*, *Ploen*, *Honraw*, and
ldop, in ſecurity of a ſum of money which he had lent
rinces; and as he now wanted money, and they were
e to redeem the towns, he offered them to *Eric* on the
conditions: but the king rejected his propoſal, by
lvice of *Crommedich*, who perſuaded him that he would
reduce them by force, as they were every way unpro-
for a long defence. Beſides this, all the cities of *Van-*
Hamburg excepted, were in alliance with the king,
of conſequence enemies to the princes of *Holſtein*. The
of *Saxony*, on account of a private quarrel, marched
: head of an army to burn *Odeſloe*, and pillage the ad-
: country. The dukes *John* and *Albert* demanded pay-
of the marriage portion of their niece *Ann*: in a word,
thing ſeemed conſpiring to effect the downfal of this
r. Nothing indeed could be more unequal than the
ſt between *Eric* and the young princes. On the one
vas a powerful monarch, maſter of three great king-
, and in alliance with the greater number of his neigh-
: on the other, a greater number of princes it is true,
overeigns only of petty ſtates, at variance with each
and now united rather out of pique to *Eric*, than at-
ient to each other, or any well-digeſted ſcheme of po-

licy. Still, however, the *Holſteiners* maintained a good countenance, and determined to make vigorous efforts in their own defence [a].

A. D. 1416. EARLY this year the king a ſecond time entered the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, and immediately beſieged the cities of *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp*; and to cut off all communication between them, he erected a fortreſs called *Halberſburg*, in the intermediate ſpace. All his endeavours proved abortive; for theſe places being well provided with every neceſſary of defence, made ſeveral briſk and ſucceſsful ſallies, which obliged the king to withdraw his army. Nor was this the only diſappointment he ſuſtained. On the one ſide *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, and *Balthaſar* of *Vandalia*, were marching at the head of an army to the aſſiſtance of the *Holſteiners*. On the other, the *Friſons*, induced by *Henry* of *Oſnaburg* to take arms againſt the king, were making a diverſion. The former beſieged and took *Freſenburg*, and the latter formed the ſiege of *Tonderen*, and ſoon got poſſeſſion of a place too weak to make any long defence.

Eric's loſſes in Sleſwick.

INCENSED with theſe loſſes, *Eric* decamped from before *Gottorp*, reſolving to lay the country of the *Friſons* in aſhes; and this reaſon the *Daniſh* hiſtorians aſſign for raiſing the ſiege of that city. When the king was preparing to croſs the *Eyder*, he diſcovered *Henry* of *Oſnaburg* poſted in ſuch a manner as to obſtruct his paſſage. This prince had narrowly watched the motions of the *Daniſh* army, and ſeemed determined to make a ſtand, which obliged *Eric* to relinquiſh his deſign and plan of revenge upon the *Friſons*. Inſtead of entering their country, he attacked *Henry*'s army, and was received with ſo much unexpected reſolution as quite diſconcerted him, and forced him to return to his fleet, and embark for *Denmark*; fully determined, however, to revenge the following year all the diſgraces he encountered.

Eric repulſed.

HIS retreat encouraged the *Holſtein* princes to enter upon action. They firſt made a deſcent on the iſland *Femeren*, all which they reduced, except the fortreſs of *Glambeck*, which *Ivar Bruſk*, the governor, bravely defended. They had inveſted this place for the ſpace of two months, and finding all their endeavours to take it by the regular method of ſiege, fruſtrated, they determined to ſtarve the garriſon. *Bruſk* was obſtinate, and his ſoldiers reduced to the laſt extremity, when he received advice that a *Daniſh* ſquadron was hovering along the coaſt. Immediately he took boat, eſcaped the beſiegers, and preſented himſelf before the king, from whom he obtained ſe-

[a] Vid. Pont. l. ix. p. 578.

veſſal ſhips laden with men, proviſion, and ammunition. On his return he found all the paſſages to the fortreſs cloſely blocked, the princes who had got notice of this motion giving directions to that purpoſe. He tried every means to force his way; but being conſtantly diſappointed, the garriſon almoſt ſtarved to death, at length capitulated, upon no other condition than that their lives and liberty ſhould be granted. During the winter the king was buſied in preparations for the enſuing campaign, which he reſolved to puſh with the utmoſt vigour. His fleet was formidable, and his army ſo numerous, that it amounted to an hundred thouſand fighting men; but as he knew that the enemy conſiſted of foreigners who could not be long maintained, he contented himſelf with annoying them by ſea. This would have been admirable policy, if the princes had no other reſources than what *Eric*'s heated imagination preſented to him. But as ſoon as they diſcovered his deſign, they cantoned their army in the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, where they were plentifully ſupplied with every neceſſary. Finding this project diſconcerted, *Eric* landed his army, which he divided into two bodies, forming the ſiege of *Sleſwick* with the one, and of *Gottorp* with the other. The firſt of theſe cities capitulated on the 17th of *July*; duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, who commanded the garriſon, making a particular treaty with the king. It was ſaid, that he had liberty to retire wherever he pleaſed, on condition that he never ſhould carry arms againſt *Denmark*. A. D. 1417.

As ſoon as the biſhop of *Oſnaburg* was informed, that *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp* were inveſted, he poſted to *Hamburgh*, and repreſented to the magiſtrates, that if theſe two cities were taken, the *Daniſh* forces would over-run all *Holſtein*, and the city of *Hamburgh* would then have every thing to fear from ſuch neighbours; but not being able to obtain any more than a promiſe of a ſum of money, he harangued the people in the market-place with ſo much eloquence, and energy of diction, that they inſtantly reſolved to declare war againſt *Eric*, and raiſe forces. The reſolution of the *Hamburghers*, the army they were preparing to march into the field, and the operations of the *Holſtein* family to attack him as ſoon as they were reinforced, made a ſtrong impreſſion on *Eric*'s ſpirit, and determined him, without heſitation, to raiſe the ſiege of *Gottorp*, which he had now twice unſucceſsfully inveſted. His reputation was greatly affected by this meaſure, the conſequences of which became more viſible every day; for the enemy's courage encreaſed in proportion as they obſerved him ſeized with fear. They now took the field with an army of thirty thouſand men, beſides cavalry, marched ſtreight to

Eric *inveſts the cities* Sleſwick *and* Gottorp.

Hamburg *joins in the conſederacy againſt* Eric.

Halleusburg, and took it ſword in hand. Thence they marched to *Sleſwick*, and met with equal ſucceſs. They likewiſe forced *Conigsburg*, and ſeveral caſtles in the dioceſe of *Sleſwick*, which they pillaged and deſtroyed.

Propoſals for a peace.

In the autumn ſome overtures were made for eſtabliſhing a peace. *Dalman*, biſhop of *Lubec*, was charged with a commiſſion from the pope, to mediate a reconciliation between the houſes of *Denmark* and *Holſtein*. He waited for this purpoſe on *Eric*, and found him diſpoſed to liſten to terms of accommodation; nor were the princes at all averſe to reaſonable propoſitions. A truce was ſigned till the month of *September* in the following year, in which time ſeveral conferences were held between the two powers. At laſt the affair was ſubmitted to the arbitration of two *German* princes, and the deputies of four of the hanſe-towns; but on condition that if they could not come to any deciſion, the final determination ſhould be left to the dukes *Bernard* of *Brunſwick*, and *Bugiſlaus* of *Pomerania*. It was alſo agreed, that, during the truce, both ſides ſhould actually lay down their arms, as if in the midſt of profound peace; that no annoyance ſhould be given to commerce, or the ſubjects of either power, and that no new fortreſſes ſhould be erected.

The appointed day being come, the king's deputies did not appear; they were driven to ſea by a ſtorm, and detained a day beyond the time propoſed. Pleaſed with an opportunity of breaking off the conference, the *Holſtein* princes took inſtruments of their having appeared to the day, and departed. Thus all the endeavours of the biſhop of *Lubec* to eſtabliſh peace were rendered abortive, by an accident on the one ſide, and from want of inclination on the other (A).

Treaty broke off by the Holſtein *princes.*

The *Holſteiners* did not remain long inactive, after this open declaration of their intentions. They did not, however, in their own perſons commence the firſt hoſtilities; that would be too palpable a violation of the truce; it was ſufficient for them that the *Friſons*, their allies, made incurſions into the king's territories. An attempt was made to ſurpriſe *Swabſtide*,

(A) It was about this time that *Eric* received *Martin* the fifth's decree for founding an univerſity in his dominions, with the ſame privileges as that of *Paris*, excepting only theology, which the *Danes* were required to ſtudy at *Rome*. But though this prince was ſtrongly inclined to patronize learning and ſcience, the continual wars in which he was engaged, prevented the execution of his projects, until *Chriſtian* I. put the finiſhing ſtroke to them (1).

(1) *Pontan.* l. ix.

a for-

fortreſs belonging to the archbiſhop of *Sleſwick*, who had ined with *Eric*, but it proved unſucceſsful.

His majeſty, irritated with the prince's obſtinacy, again took ms, and made an attempt to recover *Femeren*; but finding at the inhabitants joined with the *Holſteiners* to oppoſe his nding, he relinquiſhed the deſign, landed his troops at *Hel-erhoven*, and made terrible incurſions into the country nd *Oldenburg* and *Wolſtadt*; after pillaging thoſe two ci-s, encouraged by the large booty, he renewed his attempt *Femeren*, but was repulſed, and inſolently treated by the ffs of the inhabitants. This treatment wrought the king to the higheſt pitch of rage; he exhorted his ſoldiers ei-r to revenge the affront, or periſh in the attempt. Another ſet was made with ſuch deſperate fury, that a landing was ected, and the inhabitants driven from the ſhore with great ghter; which advantage was immediately ſucceeded by the uction of the whole iſland, and the ſevere puniſhment of eral of the leading perſons among the inhabitants. The intry was pillaged, the villages ſet on fire, churches de-yed, married women and virgins given up to the luſt of the liers, and every diſorder committed, that rage and the wer of revenge could dictate. The citadel of *Glambeck* alone nained unconquered; and it was attacked with ſo much vi-r, that the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war in leſs than days. A. D. 1419.

PONTANUS makes mention of a treaty concluded this r, between *Eric* and *Vitold*, king of *Poland* and duke of *huania* [a]. In this they engaged mutually to defend each er againſt all enemies, eſpecially the knights of the *Teuto-* order. It was alſo ſtipulated, that when either king in-ged the treaty, their ſubjects ſhould be abſolved from their giance; that neither ſhould declare war, or conclude ce, without the conſent of the other. That all conqueſts uld remain with thoſe to whom they belonged; that is, h the party who could produce the moſt authentic docu-nts of right; that the booty ſhould be divided equally be-een both nations; and that neither party ſhould claim to be mburſed for the expences of marching to the aſſiſtance of other. *Treaty between* Denmark *and* Poland.

On the other hand, *Eric* publiſhed a writing that furniſhed m for ſpeculation. It regarded the dowry of his queen, t is not material to our deſign, farther than that it created a picion in the minds of the people, that he was deſirous extending his prerogative, and rendering himſelf indepen-nt on the diet of the ſtates.

[a] L. ix.

A. D. 1420. Eric *defeated by the* Holſteiners.

ALL this time the *Holſteiners* were in arms, and the king was meditating how to come to a deciſive action with them. This he attempted near *Immerſwed*, and was defeated with great loſs, inſomuch that his flight became a proverb, *At Immerſwed the Danes were driven to the devil* [b]. Although this defeat did not terminate the war, it occaſioned a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and produced a truce, in order to ſettle preliminaries for a peace. Umpires were choſen, and the whole affair of the dutchy of *Sleſwick* again canvaſſed. The emperor had confirmed the ſentence paſſed by the archbiſhop of *Reſchild*, at the diet; it was indeed agreeable to law, but a very diſputable point in equity. However, the princes had urged no unanſwerable arguments why it ſhould be repeated, and they now rather choſe to decide the difference by the ſword. They had conſented to a truce, only to prevent increaſing the number of their enemies by their obſtinacy; but they embraced all occaſions of fruſtrating the intention of it. *Eric* perceived this, and accordingly equipped a fleet with deſign to invade the iſland of *Alſen*. Here he met with little ſucceſs or honour; the troops were repulſed in attempting to land; *Ivar Brusk*, admiral of the ſquadron, died on ſhipboard, and at laſt a ſtorm diſperſed and ſhattered the whole fleet. Nor was *Eric* more happy in an attempt on the herring fiſhery on the coaſt of *Schonen*; for the *Vandal* cities, apprized of his deſign, ſent powerful ſuccours to their countrymen: at the ſame time a ſquadron from *Hamburgh* ravaged the coaſts of *North Jutland*, and took three of the king's ſhips.

A. D. 1421.

IT muſt be owned, that *Eric* had a better turn for civil policy than for military operations: in the latter he was ſeldom ſucceſsful, but almoſt always in the former. Sundry wholeſome regulations were made in ſeveral cities of *Denmark*, and the police of *Copenhagen*, in particular, placed on the beſt footing. One law was paſſed prohibiting mechanics to be raiſed to the dignity of conſuls or ſenators; another, depriving the populace of the right they aſſumed of depoſing their magiſtrates; and a third, whereby the city was endowed with all the privileges granted to *Lunden* and *Malmogen*. Beſides theſe, ſeveral private regulations for the good order of the city were made, but though excellent in themſelves, they ſcarce merit attention in a general hiſtory.

As to arms, every new attempt of *Eric*'s produced freſh diſgraces. *Tonderen* was long beſieged by his troops, without making any conſiderable progreſs in its reduction. *Crommedie*, who commanded the *Danes*, wearied out with the length

[b] MEURS. l. v. part ii. p. 108.

of

of the ſiege, reſolved upon ſcaling the walls in different places. No annoyance was given by the beſieged, while he was fixing the ladders; but as ſoon as they perceived the trenches filled, and the ladders crowded with ſoldiers, they poured ſuch quantities of burning pitch, and heaps of large ſtones upon them, as killed and wounded great numbers, occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion among the *Danes*, and gave an opportunity to the beſieged to make terrible deſtruction with their arrows, without any danger to themſelves. In a word, the ſiege was raiſed, after it had coſt *Crommedic* near half his army.

THE *Danes* were alſo obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Dorning*, on hearing that *Henry* of *Brunſwick* had thrown in ſupplies of men, ammunition, and proviſion. They likewiſe loſt *Haderſleben*, taken by the ſame prince. *Eric* was every where diſcomfited and diſgraced; he endeavoured therefore to repair his loſſes by forming powerful alliances. The firſt he concluded was with the cities of *Vandalia*. With theſe he ſtruck up a treaty offenſive and defenſive, intended to be perpetual, as the king included all his ſucceſſors, and the magiſtrates of the towns, with all their deſcendants. The cities engaged in this alliance were *Lubec*, *Wiſmar*, *Roſtock*, *Stralſund*, *Lunenburg*, *Gripſwald*, and *Anclam*; all of which ſtipulated, that independent of this treaty, they ſhould have liberty to perform all prior engagements to other princes and ſtates.

In the next place *Eric* ſent complaints to the pope, the emperor, and neighbouring princes, of the obſtinacy of the *Holſtein* family, which refuſed all terms of accommodation, and violently retained the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, though legally annexed to the crown of *Denmark*. His remonſtrances gained him the friendſhip of almoſt all the princes and cities to whom he had wrote; *Hamburgh* alone continuing firm to her engagements to the *Holſteiners*. Among others, the duke of *Lunenburg* publiſhed an edict, prohibiting all his ſubjects, under heavy penalties, to inliſt in the *Holſtein* ſervice, or any way to aſſiſt them againſt the crown of *Denmark*. The regency of *Lubec* went farther. They wrote to the *Holſtein* princes, acquainting them, that his *Daniſh* majeſty had laid before them certain complaints, which they muſt ſubmit to arbitration, or ſtand the conſequence of their joining the whole power of the hanſe-towns to the king's forces, to procure redreſs of grievances, now become inſupportable, through their obſtinacy. To this they were anſwered by the *Holſtein* nobility, that although it was notorious their lords were in poſſeſſion of *Sleſwick*, duke *Gerhard* having obtained the inveſtiture of that dutchy from king *Olaus*; yet there ſeemed no neceſ-

A. D. 1423.

ſity

ſity for ſubmitting to arbitration an affair which admitted of no difficulty.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of *Dithmarſh* exhorted the princes to reſtore *Sleſwick*, and threatened, in caſe of refuſal, to declare in favour of *Eric*. They received the ſame anſwer as the *Lubeckers*, and ſeemed perplexed in what manner to act, as the point in queſtion was a caſe of right, which they could not pretend to decide.

JOHN, archbiſhop of *Lubec*, armed with the pope's authority, purſued the ſteps of his predeceſſor, and endeavoured to negotiate a peace; but with as little ſucceſs as ſuch an attempt had hitherto met with. At laſt the emperor, at *Eric*'s requeſt, ſent *Rumpold*, duke of *Sileſia*, to take cognizance of the affair in his name. *Rumpold* paſſed through *Lubec* to *Flenſburg*. While he reſided at this laſt place, the *Holſteiners* attacked the town, forced open the gates, and ſoon became maſters of the garriſon. The *German* deputy was not diſconcerted with this violence. He went up to the princes, and told them, that he was come by the emperor's orders in quality of a mediator; that his inſtructions were firſt to viſit the king, of whoſe good intentions, and pacific diſpoſition, he was ſatisfied; ſo that he had no doubts of effecting an accommodation advantageous and acceptable to both parties. He exhorted the princes heartily to embrace the ſame ſentiments, and to labour in bringing over the nobility and princes of their houſe to terms of peace, ſo ſalutary and neceſſary. His eloquence wrought ſuch an effect, that the princes yielded to the force of his arguments, and conſented he ſhould purſue his journey to the king. *Rumpold*, and the biſhop of *Lubec*, prevailed on *Eric* to grant an interview to *Henry* of *Holſtein*; and things were in an excellent train, when the death of the *German* deputy put a ſtop to the negotiation; for though the emperor immediately ſupplied his place by another, into whoſe hands the king put all the papers and proofs relative to the dutchy in queſtion, yet the princes of *Holſtein* refuſed to produce their titles, and in effect broke off the treaty.

A. D. 1424. In the year 1424, the king made a progreſs through *Pomerania* to eſtabliſh ſome regulations, and conclude certain treaties with the princes and cities of that country. From thence he went to *Buda*, by the emperor's invitation, to be preſent at the deciſion of the diſpute concerning *Sleſwick*. According to *Crantzius*, *Eric* cited *Henry* and his brothers to attend at this judgment. On the contrary, the *Daniſh* hiſtorians allege, that *Henry* went thither, contrary to the advice of his council, who were of opinion that, as a prince of the empire, he could not be cited out of the bounds of the empire,

or culpable for refuſing to comply with ſuch a ſummons. Beſides, they looked upon his imperial majeſty as a partial judge, and therefore adviſed *Henry* to ſubmit his cauſe to the pope. Be that as it will, *Sigiſmund* pronounced ſentence on the twenty-eighth day of *June*, in the following manner: That all *South Jutland*, containing the cities of *Sleſwick*, *Gottorp*, and others, together with the *Daniſh* foreſt, the iſland of *Alſen*, and the province vulgarly called *Friſeheiden*, with all their rights and dependencies, ſhould henceforward be annexed in full right to the crown of *Denmark*: that the king be put in immediate poſſeſſion of the ſaid dutchy and dependencies; and the *Holſtein* princes, *Henry*, *Adolphus*, and *Gerhard*, neither have nor lay claim to any right over any part of the ſaid dutchy. The *Holſtein* annals add, that, after paſſing this ſentence, the emperor offered, in the king's name, in order to facilitate an accommodation, to cede to them the iſland of *Zealand*, together with a ſum of three hundred thouſand marks; but the princes rejected the propoſition [a].

HERE it was that *Eric* reſolved upon a pilgrimage to *Paleſtine*, which he only deferred to attend the coronation of queen *Sophia*. This religious progreſs had almoſt coſt him dear; for he was led into a ſnare by an artful *Syrian*, and forced to extricate himſelf by the immediate payment of a large ſum of money. Nor was this the only bad conſequence of this unſeaſonable journey. The abſence of princes is generally injurious to their ſubjects, and it proved ſo to the *Danes*. He had appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and advantages were taken of a female government. On the one ſide, the biſhop of *Arhus* claimed juriſdiction over certain lands, which the king had committed in truſt to his predeceſſor. This diſpute, however, was amicably terminated by certain mutual conceſſions. On the other ſide, the *Holſtein* princes were diſſatisfied with the emperor's award, although they promiſed to ſtand by it. They complained loudly, and ſent ambaſſadors to pope *Martin* V. of whom they obtained an order for the biſhop of *Cologn*, and a certain cardinal, whoſe name is not mentioned, to take cognizance afreſh of the diſpute, and reviſe the ſentence paſſed by *Sigiſmund*.

IN this ſituation of affairs *Eric* returned to his dominions, and immediately conſented to an interview with the princes at *Flenſburg*, where each party ſhould be attended by four aſſiſtants, two eccleſiaſtics, and as many laics, who ſhould exert all their endeavours to bring this tedious affair to an amicable and definitive iſſue. Nothing, however, reſulted A. D. 1425.

[a] KRANTZ. p. 135.

from

from the congreſs. The king refuſed to grant the inveſtiture of the dutchy, but as a perſonal fief; and the princes inſiſted upon having it hereditary. Such was the conſequence of that imprudent grant of *Olaus*, that intailed an expenſive and ruinous war on his ſucceſſors. Both ſides were obſtinate, and recourſe was had again to the ſword, the final reſort of princes. *Eric* raiſed a powerful army, without declaring its deſtination, or indeed intimating where the ſtorm would fall; but the princes, rightly judging that his preparations were intended againſt them, took meaſures for ſtanding in their own defence. Not contented with reinforcing the garriſons of *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp*, they new-modelled the fortifications of the former, and drew a deep ditch around. To give an appearance of juſtice to their cauſe, they publiſhed manifeſtoes, ſetting forth their willingneſs to end the diſpute by arbitration, as was plain from the letters obtained from his holineſs, appointing the biſhop of *Cologne* umpire. After giving this gloſs to their own conduct, they ſolicited the *Vandal* cities to arm in their favour; and found means to perſuade them that juſtice was wholly on their ſide: for what could be more extraordinary, ſaid they, than that an emperor of *Germany*, where all fiefs are hereditary, ſhould judge that *Sleſwick* alone was perſonal. Yet all their reaſoning would have made but a ſlight impreſſion, had not the *Hamburgers*, conſtant in their attachment to the houſe of *Holſtein*, repreſented to them the injury that would ariſe to their commerce from the oppreſſion of the princes, and the increaſed power of the king; demonſtrating, that the only method of terminating a deſtructive war was to hold the ballance equal, by which means both parties would ſoon tire of military operations, and return with eagerneſs to trade, agriculture, and whatever could repair the loſſes and poverty conſequent on the war. An alliance with *Holſtein* was ſtruck up; but before they declared war, they ſent deputies to the king, in the name of all the hans towns, exhorting him to conclude peace. *Eric* replied, that he was ready to ſtand by the emperor's deciſion: the deputies returned with this anſwer, and their return was a ſignal to the cities for declaring war.

A. D. 1426.

Eric *enters* Sleſwick *a third time, and lays ſiege to the cities* Sleſwick *and* Got-

In the mean time *Eric* entered *Sleſwick* with a powerful army, with which he hoped ſoon to reduce the princes to reaſon. Immediately he inveſted *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp*, and drew lines, which ſecured him againſt the attacks of the *Holſtein* army without. Both ſieges were puſhed with great vigour; and the cities would probably have been forced to ſurrender, in ſight of their army, had not *Eric* ſuddenly broke up his camp, on receiving menacing letters from the *Vandal* cities, in which

they

they told him, that, finding all their remonſtrances to him deſpiſed, they determined to join with his enemies, and oblige him by force to hearken to reaſonable terms of accommodation. It was in vain that *Eric* wrote circular letters to the hans-towns in his own vindication: theſe had no other effect than exciting popular tumults in the cities, which ended in the deſtruction of one or two of their magiſtrates; but produced no ſalutary effects to *Eric* [a].

EARLY in the ſpring the *Vandal* cities ſent a ſtrong fleet to ſea, which committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Denmark*. *Gerhard* of *Holſtein* commanded this fleet, and his brother *Henry* was at the head of an army, with which he laid ſiege to *Flensburg*, where he was killed with the ſhot of an arrow; a blow which had almoſt proved fatal to his family. Immediately his army was ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation; the ſoldiers diſbanded themſelves, notwithſtanding all the promiſes and intreaties of *Adolphus*, who put himſelf at their head. On this occaſion might be ſeen what had frequently before been obſerved, the deſtiny of the general determining the fate of a whole army. A general rout began; and the auxiliary troops of *Hamburg* and *Lubec*, who the moment before had ſhewn inconceivable ardour, were now the firſt to lead the flight. A. D. 1427. *The Vandal cities arm in favour of Holſtein.*

ERIC, in the mean time, gained ſome conſiderable advantages at ſea. His fleet defeated a ſquadron of *Vandal* ſhips: after which ſucceſs the *Danes* attacked thirty *Lubeck* merchantmen, all of whom they took or deſtroyed, after an obſtinate engagement; yet was he no leſs deſirous than before of accommodating matters with the hans-towns. He knew their power, and the difficulty he would have in reducing the houſe of *Holſtein*, ſupported by ſuch an alliance. Even his victories afforded no ſatisfaction, ſince they more firmly rivetted the hans-towns to *Holſtein*. He therefore not only wrote himſelf, but induced the emperor *Sigiſmund* to exert all his influence and authority with thoſe cities, in bringing them to a right underſtanding with *Denmark*; but neither arguments, influence, nor the imperial authority, could prevail. *Sigiſmund*'s menaces ſerved only to inflame them the more, and made them write ſharp letters to *Eric*, that breathed nothing but war and vengeance [b].

THE emperor, who thought his honour was engaged in concluding this affair, and who was particularly incenſed at a war undertaken to fruſtrate the effects of his ſentence, now reſolved to go through with the work he had begun. Accordingly

[a] MEURS. l. v. [b] PONTAN. l. ix.

ingly he ſent *Nicolas Stock*, one of the lords of his bedchamber, to negotiate a peace. The ambaſſador ſet out for *Lubec*, where he declared to the ſenate his imperial majeſty's inſtructions. He ſet forth, that his maſter was extremely exaſperated at the war declared againſt *Denmark*, to the great prejudice of all *Chriſtendom*: that he was aſtoniſhed the ſubjects of the empire ſhould, without his conſent or knowledge, take arms to prevent the execution of an imperial decree, contrary to the laws and conſtitution of the empire. He exhorted them to recal their fleets, disband their armies, and conſent to a truce for ſix months, during which a general peace might be negotiated on an amicable footing. *Stock* concluded with repreſenting to the ſenate, that it was their intereſt in particular not to offend againſt the laws of the empire, or to incur the diſpleaſure of his imperial majeſty, from whom they deduced ſo many advantages. He next went to the *Holſtein* princes, and urged the ſame arguments to them; but without effect. He then returned to *Lubec*, and demanded the ſenate's final reſolution. This however they declined, under pretence of its being requiſite to know the king's diſpoſition before they gave their anſwer. *Stock*, who was indefatigable in executing his commiſſion, ſet out for *Denmark*, and found *Eric* in the very ſentiments he could wiſh. That prince deſired nothing ſo much as peace: he granted full powers to *Stock* to appoint a congreſs for adjuſting preliminaries. Accordingly the ambaſſador fixed upon *Flensburg*; but this the *Holſteiners* haughtily rejected, demanding that the congreſs might ſit at *Nicoping*, which was granted. A truce was agreed upon, and every thing ſeemed to conſpire in bringing about the much wiſhed-for reconciliation.

The emperor mediates a peace.

Treaty broke off.

THIS, however, proved otherwiſe. Without regarding the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, the *Vandal* and *Holſtein* fleets committed the moſt terrible diſorders, burning and plundering the *Daniſh* coaſts and ſhipping, giving quarter neither to men, women, nor children. *Eric* was ſhocked with this perfidy; but he reſolved to ſuppreſs his reſentment, and wait the effects of *Stock*'s negotiation. A ſafe convoy was demanded for the deputies; but, far from attending to the iſſue of the congreſs, or the articles of the truce, the confederates ſent another fleet to ſea, with twelve thouſand fighting men, beſides ſeamen, on board. Their deſign was to lay ſiege to *Copenhagen*; but the coaſts were ſo well guarded by the king's ſhips, that the enemy found a deſcent impracticable. Inſtead of loſing courage and preſence of mind at the ſight of ſo formidable an armament, all the inhabitants of *Zealand*, and the other iſlands, were aſſembled, arms put into the hands of all

thoſe

those who were able to use them, and rewards promised to all those who should acquit themselves satisfactorily in the defence of their country. By this animated conduct, all the enemy's attempts were baffled, and not a single *Vandal* or *Holsteiner* landed on the islands [a].

A. D. 1428.

The pirates were more successful in *Schonen* and *Norway*; for after having pillaged and reduced *Landscroon* to ashes, they got possession of *Bergue*, and then retired with an immense booty to *Wismar*. Their lawless conduct, indeed, began to raise apprehensions in the *Holstein* princes and *Vandal* cities, that the emperor would put them under the ban of the empire. In order to appease his wrath, they had recourse to intreaties and supplications, it being impossible to excuse or palliate actions so contrary to the law of nature and nations. They published a manifesto, setting forth, that their view in declaring war against *Denmark* was only to preserve their own rights and liberties, without intending to countenance the doctrine of the *Hussites*, or protect pirates, whom they beheld as the pests of society, and the enemies of mankind in general. They farther declared their readiness to obey the see of *Rome*, his imperial majesty, and to assist against the hereticks of *Bohemia*. They affirmed, that contrary winds, and not inclination, had prevented their deputies from attending the appointed congress at *Falsterbo*: that they were now ready to attend wherever his imperial majesty should command; but they intreated him to consider, that, being the kinsman of his *Danish* majesty, he was an improper judge of their disputes, since it would be impossible to avoid some partiality in favour of those with whom we are connected. They therefore intreated him to name some other *German* prince for umpire, or to leave the decision of the whole dispute to his holiness. Finally, they requested the bishop of *Ratzburg* to forward their request to the imperial throne.

Piracies committed by the Vandal fleets.

Proposals made by the Holstein princes.

In consequence of this manifesto the emperor published a decree, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the pope, or any other power spiritual or temporal, over civil affairs, within his jurisdiction. He forbid ecclesiastics from at all meddling with the difference between *Denmark* and *Holstein*, it being a case purely civil; and commanded the princes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg* to assist *Eric* with all their forces, and by every way possible oblige the house of *Holstein* to submit to the imperial decree. *Sigismund*'s proceedings induced the pope to withdraw the commission he had granted the bishop of *Cologne*: still, however, the *Holsteiners* continued

[a] Meurs. l. v.

the

Rejected by the emperor:

their claim; but to ſhew their deſire of complying with Sigiſmund's commands, they conſented to the conference appointed at *Nicoping*, and attended there in perſon; but raiſed ſo many obſtructions, that nothing was determined, the king leaving the final deciſion to the emperor, and the princes to the pope [a] (A).

A. D. 1429.

ABOUT this time the queen, encouraged by her ſucceſs in defence of *Copenhagen*, and protection of the iſlands, reſolved to avenge the affront. She equipped a ſquadron, on board which ſhe embarked fourteen hundred land-forces, ordering them to pillage and deſtroy all the country round *Stralſund*. Courage is not always attended with ſucceſs. The enterprize was attempted with ſpirit, and the *Stralſund* fleet was vigorouſly attacked by the *Danes*; but receiving ſtrong and ſeaſonable reinforcements, they became ſuperior in force, made three hundred of the king's troops priſoners, and deſtroyed ſome of his ſhips, the reſt eſcaping under favour of the night. This miſcarriage afflicted the king in a very ſenſible manner. He blamed the queen for it, which ſhe took ſo much to heart, that it is juſtly reputed the cauſe of her death, which happened ſoon after. No princeſs was ever more regretted by her ſubjects, or admired by all for the moderation, ſweetneſs, and true magnanimity of her temper; but it was when too late that *Eric* began to entertain a due ſenſe of her merit.

The Daniſh fleet defeated.

A. D. 1430.

IN the beginning of the following year the cities of *Stralſund* and *Roſtock*, wearied out with a tedious war, concluded a ſeparate peace with *Denmark*, which they promiſed to keep inviolable. Negotiations were ſet on foot for accommodating matters with the other cities; but they proved abortive, and hoſtilities continued as uſual. A *Swediſh* admiral attacked four *Lubec* merchant-ſhips, richly laden, three of which he took, the fourth eſcaping with difficulty into the *Trave*.

Stralſund *and* Roſtock *make peace with* Eric.

[A. D. 1431.

THIS year an ambaſſy arrived from *Henry* VI. of *England*, demanding a renewal of the ancient alliance between the two crowns. The ambaſſador was charged in particular with in-

[a] PONTAN. l. ix.

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that *Eric* this year incurred the ill will of his ſubjects, by coining large ſums of money greatly below the ſtandard. The queen obſerving the effects this produced on the minds of the people, found means, without the king's knowledge, to procure a new coinage that compenſated the baſeneſs of the former. Other writers place this event three or four years earlier: but we chuſe to follow the authority of the elaborate and learned *Pontanus*.

ſtructions

ſtructions reſpecting ſome injuries done to the *Engliſh* merchants by the fleets of *Norway*. *Eric*'s anſwer to the *Engliſh* monarch's remonſtrance was ſpirited and ſenſible. He vindicated the honour of his crown, without derogating from the reſpect due to *Henry*: in a word, the alliance was renewed; but the grievances complained of remained unredreſſed, becauſe they required the puniſhment of certain ſubjects of the crown of *Norway*.

THE advantages of ſuch an alliance were rather imaginary than real, and, had they been more beneficial, would be more than compenſated by the loſſes on the other ſide. *Flenſburg* was ſurpriſed by the *Holſteiners*, and the citadel cloſely inveſted, when *Eric* found means to throw in ſeaſonable ſupplies. Notwithſtanding this, the princes, now in poſſeſſion of the city, obſtinately perſiſted in beſieging the fortreſs; and at length the garriſon was forced to ſurrender, after ſubſiſting for weeks upon the fleſh of dogs and horſes. *A treaty concluded between* England *and* Denmark.

IT was now expected that the flames of war would have blazed out with redoubled vigour; but it happened otherwiſe. The *Hollanders*, profiting by the diſturbances in the North, and ever watchful of every opportunity of extending their commerce, had eſtabliſhed a footing in the *Baltic*. All of a ſudden their trade became ſo conſiderable, that they trafficked to all the ports of *Muſcovy*, *Livonia*, and *Pruſſia*; a branch of trade formerly engroſſed by the hanſe-towns. It was this that firſt opened the eyes of the *Vandal* cities, and made them now demand peace more eagerly than ever they had ſought war. Their deputies were immediately ſent to *Horſen*, where they concluded a truce for five years, during which proper meaſures ſhould be concerted for eſtabliſhing a ſolid and firm peace. A congreſs was appointed to meet for this purpoſe at *Swinburg*, and liberty of trade was in the mean time mutually permitted. A. D. 1432. *The hanſe-towns offer peace.*

PONTANUS relates, that *Eric* appointed commiſſioners, towards the cloſe of this year, to terminate the difference between the crowns of *England* and *Denmark*[a]. They met the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors at *Callenburg*; and here it was agreed, that the *Engliſh* and *Norwegians* ſhould give mutual ſatisfaction, and indemnify the loſſes to each other: that all priſoners ſhould be mutually releaſed: that perſons, of either nation, trading contrary to law, ſhould be puniſhed by death: finally, that perpetual amity ſhould ſubſiſt between the nations, and mutual aſſiſtance be given, when required. This was the firſt treaty concluded between *England* and *Denmark* ſince the

[a] PONTAN. l. ix.

Danes were driven out of *England*; at leaſt, it is the firſt expreſly mentioned by the *Daniſh* or *Engliſh* hiſtorians, although commerce had been carried on long before between the two nations. It might poſſibly have been too inconſiderable to merit a particular treaty.

A. D. 1433. *Congreſs at* Swinburg.

NEXT year the congreſs ſat at *Swinburg*; but nothing was concluded. Both parties were too much inflamed with paſſion to reaſon coolly on their intereſt: accordingly it was prorogued, and fixed for the following year, when it was hoped their mutual reſentments would ſubſide. It appeared, by *Eric*'s anſwer to the deputies from *Stralſund*, that he had not forgot the hoſtilities committed on his coaſts, and the injuries done to his ſubjects by the troops of that city. They now demanded the liberty of trading with *Denmark* on the ſame footing as before the war; and to this the king replied, that they ought to reflect how lately they had put forty *Danes* to death in cool blood, whoſe relations and friends now breathed vengeance; that for the reſt, provided they would run the hazard, he had no objection to their trading in his ports; but he thought this notice due to his own reputation, as he could not anſwer for the conſequences.

Complaints againſt Eric *in* Sweden.

ABOUT this time certain diſturbances appeared in *Sweden*, which at firſt gave the king but little uneaſineſs, as they were only the murmurs of a few individuals never to be ſatisfied. This at laſt was the view in which the court repreſented it, though in fact the whole nation complained loudly of the extortions of the governors appointed by the king; while the court, contrary to the treaty of *Calmar*, reſided conſtantly in *Denmark*. They treated the people like ſlaves, and conducted themſelves like petty tyrants, deſpotic in proportion to the duration and limits of their authority. Every day the evil increaſed, new taxes were arbitrarily impoſed and rigidly levied. The people carried their complaints to the throne, particularly againſt one *Jeſſon Aſdal*; but they were imprudently rejected, with marks of contempt, altogether inſupportable to the ſpirit of that free and warlike nation.

Engelbert *lays their grievances before the king.*

The *Dalecarlians* broke out into open invectives, and *Engelbert*, a nobleman of rank, influence, and courage, undertook to go over to *Denmark* and plead their cauſe. He intrepidly accuſed *Jeſſon* before the king, and offered to ſtake his head if he did not undeniably prove every material circumſtance of the charge. This bold remonſtrance was not altogether without effect. *Eric* wrote to the ſenate to ſend proper perſons to inquire into *Jeſſon*'s conduct, but without diſplacing him before he was found guilty by the court, and a ſpecial commiſſion iſſued for that purpoſe. The deputies went to *Dalecarlia*,

carlia, and *Jeſſon* was found guilty of divers acts of violence and oppreſſion; upon which *Engelbert* ſet out with the information to court, and to ſolicit his removal and puniſhment. This he did with ſuch ardour and freedom of ſpeech, that the king forbid him his preſence, and ordered him to leave *Denmark*. "That I will, replied *Engelbert*, but to return in a different manner."

Dalecarlians *revolt, headed by* Engelbert

THE *Dalecarlians*, ever watchful of their liberties, and the avowed enemies of oppreſſion, were no ſooner informed of *Engelbert*'s reception, than they deſpaired of redreſs without a change of government. It was therefore reſolved to throw off a yoke become inſupportable, and rather to die like free men with their arms in their hands, than to live like ſlaves under the laſh of tyranny. They aſſembled in great numbers, choſe *Engelbert* for their leader, entered *Weſtmania*, and determined to exterminate all the *Danes*. Immediately the ſenate was alarmed at their proceedings; they went in perſon to prevail on the *Dalecarlians* to return to their duty, but could prevail only on condition, that they ſhould be exempted from all taxes, and obedience to *Jeſſon*.

HOWEVER formidable ſuch an inſurrection might appear to others, certain it is, it gave the king no great diſturbance. Nothing calls more loudly for the attention of a prince than the juſt complaints of an injured people; but *Eric* was wrapt up in negotiations, and wholly neglected *Sweden* for the intereſt of *Denmark*. Inſtead of redreſſing the grievances of the *Dalecarlians*, he was waſting his time in uſeleſs debates with the *Holſtein* and *Vandal* deputies; uſeleſs becauſe paſſion and prejudice ſwayed beyond reaſon and intereſt.

Dalecarlians *revolt a ſecond time.*

THE conditions on which the malcontents laid down their arms, were ſo injurious to *Jeſſon*, that, relying on the protection of the court, he exerted all the means of vengeance in his power. He contrived new taxes, and made it capital to refuſe payment on a certain day, without regard to the ability of the delinquent. This was the cauſe of a new inſurrection; but ſtill the influence of the ſenate prevailed on them to lay down their arms; on *Jeſſon*'s being removed from the government, and a promiſe made that every demand conſiſtent with law ſhould be granted[a].

TRANQUILITY ſeemed to be re-eſtabliſhed, when a report prevailed that the king was preparing to puniſh the rebellion of the *Dalecarlians*. Immediately they flew a third time to arms, ſwearing they would never lay them down until they rid themſelves of the *Daniſh* yoke. *Engelbert* was always

[a] PONTAN. & MEURS. ibid.

at their head: he led them into the neighbouring provinces, and reduced a great number of places, which ſucceſſes drew whole flocks of peaſants to his ſtandard. The nobility of *Weſtmania* joined him; he marched into *Uplandia*, and in a ſhort time reduced the whole country. His conduct induced other provinces to revolt, or rather his promiſes to aboliſh taxes, and diſmantle all the fortreſſes erected by this king and his predeceſſors, to ſecure their authority. In a word, the whole kingdom was in a ferment, and nothing but the cry of liberty was heard over all *Sweden*. By the king's order the ſenate aſſembled at *Wadeſtene*, to deliberate upon the means of ſuppreſſing a tumult dangerous to government. *Engelbert* informed of this, marched ſecretly at the head of a body of troops, entered the aſſembly, and publicly declared, that he was determined to deliver the nation from the yoke under which it had groaned for ſome years paſſed. He ſaid, that from the days of *Magnus* the ſubject had been wantonly oppreſſed with taxes, and expoſed to all the injuſtice and ſeverity of uſage that petty tyrants could ſuggeſt. He added, that it was aſtoniſhing the ſenate, which ſhould be firſt in redreſſing theſe grievances, ſhould remain inactive, and ſuffer others to gather thoſe laurels which muſt neceſſarily reſult even from the attempt to reſcue one's country from ſlavery. To this the ſenate anſwered, that they could not conceive the honour conſequent on withdrawing their allegiance from a prince to whom they were bound by ſolemn oaths. "The king, replied *Engelbert* ſharply, has made promiſes by his coronation oath, which he makes no ſcruple of breaking. Your oath is founded on the performance of his; you promiſe allegiance, provided he governs according to law. Has he done ſo? Are theſe governors the inſtruments of lawful authority? Has he fulfilled by his reſidence among us, the chief article of the treaty of union? Are not our revenues ſquandered in *Denmark*, and ourſelves enſlaved by *Danes*? Obſerve how well he has kept his oath, and yet you are denied equal liberty."

Engelbert's conduct.

Engelbert's ſpeech to the ſenate.

STILL the ſenate perſiſted in their obedience, and uſed many arguments to ſhew how dangerous it was in the leaſt to violate an oath. They ſaid that the breach of one article did not abſolve the ſubjects from their duty, ſince in that caſe there would be an end to all government, it being impoſſible to find a king who would adhere in every particular to his promiſes. In a word, they ſtood up for the divine right of kings, their independency, and the bad conſequences of ſubjecting their conduct to the judgment of their people. Enraged at their diſcourſe and arguments in favour of deſpotiſm, the ge-

nerous *Engelbert* cried out in a fury, "'Tis well! henceforward I will treat as the tools of tyranny, all who refuſe to ſuccour their oppreſſed country; my poignard ſhall be plunged into the breaſt of the firſt man who oppoſes public liberty." Terrified with his vehemence, the ſenate paſſed an act, whereby they renounced their allegiance to king *Eric* [a].

ENGELBERT wanted neither foreſight nor valour. He knew he muſt make the beſt uſe of the preſent temper of the people. Accordingly he ſeized upon a number of the king's garriſons, penetrated to the province of *Halland*, and reduced *Wardberg*, *Holmſtadt*, and *Falkenburg*. The inhabitants of *Schonen* alone had reſolution enough to oppoſe themſelves againſt the general torrent of rebellion. They took arms, and determined to diſpute the paſſage of the malcontents into this province. *Engelbert* drew up his army within ſight of them, and both parties were ſeparated only by a ſmall river. Every hour it was expected would produce a bloody action; but ſome of the nobility from each army having held a conference, a treaty of peace was concluded, whereby the *Swedes* and *Schoneners* agreed to live in amity and friendſhip; and that, if either of them renounced this alliance, they ſhould give timely intimation of their deſign. A. D. 1434.

He forces the ſenate into his meaſures.

On *Engelbert*'s return he aſſembled the ſtates general of the kingdom, and here *Cropelin*, governor of *Stockholm*, attended in the king's name. The great point debated at the diet was the utility of the king's fortreſſes, which *Engelbert* promiſed to demoliſh. It broke up in diſputes, without other iſſue than encreaſing the mutual animoſity between the king and his people. In ſupporting the royal prerogative, the officers of the crown only regarded their own intereſt, perceiving that any retrenchment of the former would of courſe invalidate the latter, and reduce their authority, unſupported by a military force, to a mere ſhadow of power.

ALL this while the king was flattering himſelf, that this ſudden tumult, which aroſe from a guſt of paſſion, would of itſelf ſubſide into the wiſhed-for tranquillity; but when he was informed that the diet was broke up, without determining upon meaſures for eſtabliſhing peace, and that the malcontents were ſtill in arms, he determined to uſe force, and compel them to their duty. He ſteered for *Stockholm* with a formidable ſquadron; but heaven would ſeem to have taken part with the friends of liberty. His fleet was ſeparated in a tempeſt, and the greater part ſwallowed up by the waves. With

Eric's *fleet is deſtroyed in a ſtorm.*

[a] PONTAN. l. ix. PUFFEN. t. iv. l. v.

a ſingle ſhip *Eric* with difficulty made the port of *Stockholm*, where he was immediately inveſted by *Engelbert*'s army. Not diſconcerted by this unfortunate accident, he propoſed obtaining by perſuaſion what he found was not to be gained by compulſion. He demanded an interview with the ſenators and chief nobility of the realm; and having this requeſt granted, he intreated them to acquaint him what motives could induce them to take arms againſt him, and renounce the allegiance they had ſworn. With one voice, the diet made anſwer, that their intention was not to throw off their allegiance, but defend their liberty and the privileges which he had ſolemnly ſworn to maintain at his coronation. They inſiſted that what they had done was agreeable to the laws of nature and nations, in teſtimony of which they took all free nations to witneſs. His majeſty's reply was by no means ſatisfactory; however, a truce for one year, or, as *Meurſius* alledges, until the following ſpring, was concluded; after which *Eric* returned to *Denmark*.

A. D. 1435. No ſooner was his majeſty departed than a new diet was held at *Abo*, and *Engelbert* declared prince of all *Sweden*. *Cropelin* ſtruck with this unexpected reſolution, diſpatched letters to the aſſembly, acquainting them that he had affairs of the laſt conſequence to lay before them. A meeting was appointed at *Sigtun*, and hither *Cropelin* came attended by the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order. In their turns they harangued the aſſembly with ſo much eloquence and energy of argument, that they obtained a decree for accommodating matters amicably with the king. A bill of grievances was drawn up and preſented to *Eric*; upon which he aſſembled the *Daniſh* diet at *Holmſtadt*, to deliberate upon meaſures for bringing to an iſſue this now ſerious diſpute. The aſſembly was held on the 4th day of *May*, and the king went before the end of *July* to *Stockholm*, where, in the preſence of twelve ſenators, he redreſſed the public grievances, received a promiſe, that all the fortreſſes taken from him ſhould be reſtored; that he ſhould be acknowledged king of *Sweden* on the terms of his coronation oath; and that he ſhould ſwear afreſh never again to violate the laws, or attempt to encroach on the privileges of the people. With reſpect to *Engelbert*, the aſſertor of *Swediſh* liberty, it was ſtipulated, that for life he ſhould poſſeſs the city *Orebro*, which was to revert to the crown at his death (A).

Matters accommodated with the ſenate.

PEACE

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that before the twenty-fifth of *Oct.* *Eric* did not arrive in *Sweden* (1). He was no ſooner

(1) *Pont. l.* ix. *p.* 599.

come

PEACE was thus reſtored to *Sweden*; but the arbitrary ſpirit of *Eric* made it of ſhort duration. Unmindful of what was paſt, he thought of nothing but eſtabliſhing his prerogative above law. Promiſes and oaths could not bind him, as they were things of courſe, intended only to anſwer certain purpoſes. Immediately he turned out the *Swediſh* governors appointed in the different provinces, and committed theſe important truſts to foreigners, on whoſe attachment he could rely. So ſudden a violation of a ſolemn contract alarmed all *Sweden*; they ſent a deputation to the king of ten of the principal lords of the realm, to beſeech him to perform his obligations, and not deſtroy in a moment a compact, the reſult of much labour and bloodſhed. They intreated him to obſerve, that the *Swedes* were perfectly diſpoſed to comply with the late treaty; but they would hazard every thing rather than ſupport the loſs of liberty. At firſt *Eric* received them with indifference, and on their aſſuming an air of auſterity, replied, that he was reſolved not to be governed by his ſubjects. He knew the machinations of *Engelbert*, who had excited the nobility to theſe remonſtrations, and would take care of him.

Eric *again violates the union of* Calmar.

FROM hence it was obvious to the deputies, that *Eric* had formed a plan for governing deſpotically, and that he breathed nothing but vengeance for what was paſt. His turning *Cropelin*, to whom he owed his re-eſtabliſhment in *Sweden*, out of the government of *Stockholm*, only becauſe his conduct was moderate and agreeable to the people; his placing a *Daniſh* gentleman of a different diſpoſition in his place, together with a thouſand other circumſtances, all concurred to convince the deputies, that *Sweden* could never enjoy happineſs under *Eric*. But what moſt irritated the *Swediſh* nation happened ſubſequent to their deputation; for the king immediately reinforced the garriſon at *Stockholm*, and ſoon after went in perſon with a ſtrong fleet to depoſe all the *Swediſh* governors. Not contented with this infraction of the late peace, he committed the moſt notorious enormities, in pillaging and ravaging the country, and deſtroying a great number of towns and villages.

HEAVEN and the *Swedes* would not ſuffer ſuch perfidy to go unpuniſhed. A furious tempeſt deſtroyed the greater part of *Eric*'s fleet; and the inhabitants of the coaſts flocked in crowds to *Engelbert* to complain of the injuries done to them

The Swedes *revolt.*

come to *Stockholm*, than the bill of grievances was preſented to him, containing in ſubſtance little more than we have had occaſion to recite in our account of the cauſes of the revolt.

by the king, declaring ſolemnly they would never more acknowledge his ſovereignty [a].

He makes peace with Holſtein.

On *Eric*'s return to *Denmark*, he began ſeriouſly to reflect on his ſituation. He doubted not but a revolt would immediately ſucceed what had happened in *Sweden*: he conſidered that *Denmark* had been for the ſpace of twenty-nine years at war with the houſe of *Holſtein*, and upwards of nine years with the cities of *Vandalia*, without gaining any conſiderable advantage, to counterbalance the immenſe conſumption of blood and treaſure. He conſidered, that ſhould he be attacked on theſe three ſides, it would not be poſſible for him to make head againſt ſuch a number of enemies: he therefore determined to make peace with the *Holſtein* princes; and came ſoon to an agreement with that family, that *Adolphus* ſhould enjoy, during his life, that part of the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, of which he was now in poſſeſſion, together with the iſland *Femeren*, and the *Leſſer Frieſland*, which his heirs ſhould likewiſe enjoy for two years after his deceaſe; but that after this time the king of *Denmark*, and the houſe of *Holſtein*, ſhould reconſider their ſeveral claims to the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, and adjudge to each their rights. Other clauſes were annexed to this treaty, reſpecting the homage to be paid by *Adolphus*, and the re-eſtabliſhment of trade. Upon the whole, it was apparent, that *Eric* wanted only to ſuſpend this war, leaving full room for commencing hoſtilities as ſoon as he found it neceſſary.

It was next thought neceſſary to accommodate matters with the northern hanſe-towns; nor were the cities of *Hamburgh*, *Lubec*, *Lunenburg*, and *Wiſmar*, backward in making their ſubmiſſion, having feeling experience of the importance of the *Daniſh* trade to their well-being. They entreated the king to pardon the fault they committed in breaking with him, and to reſtore them to their former privileges of commerce. This was juſt what *Eric* deſired; yet he artfully made ſome difficulty about granting their requeſt, with which he at length complied, on their promiſe of paying him a yearly ſum of money, by way of reparation for the damages ſuſtained by *Denmark*.

He quarrels with his ſubjects by nominating a ſucceſſor.

Hitherto *Eric* had lived in perfect harmony with his *Daniſh* ſubjects; but the plan he concerted for ſettling the Daniſh ſucceſſion, made his beſt friends fall off. It was at a diet aſſembled at *Wardenburg*, that he firſt broke the propoſal. He ſet forth, that he was now advancing in years, after ſupporting for forty years the weight of a triple crown, to which he became unequal. That for this reaſon he beſought the diet

[a] Meurs. l. v.

to

to permit him to appoint his nephew *Bugiſlaus*, duke of *Pomerania*, for his ſucceſſor; in the ſame manner they allowed *Margaret* to ſettle the ſucceſſion on *him*. He added, that this prince was in the flower of his age, better able to direct the reins of authority than he was, and merited the diſtinguiſhing regard of *Denmark*, as he had ever ſhewn the moſt inviolable attachment to the intereſt of the kingdom in general, and even of individuals. Although the diet was not ſurpriſed at this propoſition, having before had frequent intimations of the king's intention, yet they expreſſed themſelves diſſatisfied with it. They told his majeſty, that their firſt prayer to heaven would be to preſerve his majeſty's life, during which they had no thoughts of chuſing another ſovereign; but that if it pleaſed his majeſty to abdicate, contrary to the earneſt deſire of his ſubjects, the right of election then devolved upon them, and they would never permit a fundamental law of their conſtitution to be reverſed, by making the right of ſucceſſion hereditary in the crown. An anſwer ſo explicit convinced *Eric*, that it would be fruitleſs to inſiſt upon his requeſt; he therefore waved it for a new propoſition. This was that they would allow him to chuſe ſome perſon to aſſiſt him in the government of the kingdom. To this the diet replied, that he certainly had a right to appoint a coadjutor, provided the perſon fixed upon ſhould derive from thence no claim to the crown. They likewiſe declared, that the king was at liberty to commit the government of the ſtrong holds and garriſons of the kingdom to ſuch perſons as he thought proper[a].

He propoſes the duke of Pomerania *to ſucceed to the crown.*

The diet offended.

WITHOUT inſiſting further on theſe particulars, *Eric* withdrew ſuddenly into *Pruſſia*, without giving the leaſt intimation to the ſenate, as if he intended to abdicate the throne. Upon the firſt notice of his retreat, the ſenate ſent a deputation, intreating him not to expoſe the kingdom to freſh troubles by his abſence, and repreſenting to him that it would be more expedient to proceed with diligence to *Abo*, where the *Swedes* had convoked a general diet. Although *Eric* took but little concern in the intereſt of his people, yet he was prevailed on to return to *Denmark*. Probably his ambition was not yet wholly extinguiſhed, though, for a time, obſcured by a fit of diſguſt. On his return he made ſeveral promotions: to the duke of *Pomerania* he committed in charge the fortreſſes of *Neoburg*, *Hadenſcow*, and *Hendſgavel*; to duke *Barnim*, that of *Anholm*; count *Eberſtein*, he made governor of *Trankiar*, and to duke *Wratiſlaus* he gave the government of *Ravenſburg*; a preference of foreigners no way pleaſing to the *Danes*[b].

He withdraws out of the kingdom.

He returns to Denmark, *and raiſes foreigners to all poſts of honour and truſt.*

[a] PONTAN. l. ix. [b] MEURS. l. v. etiam PONTAN. ibid.

IN

A. D. 1436. *An account of the Swediſh affairs.*

In the mean time a very full diet of the *Swedes* aſſembled at *Abo*, and reſolved upon firſt trying gentle methods. With this view a letter to the king was drawn up, reminding him of the oath he had taken, and intimating the reſolution of the diet to renounce their allegiance, if he perſiſted in violating it. What his majeſty's anſwer was we are not informed; hiſtorians only relate, that he ſoon after went to *Stockholm* with his nephew *Bugiſlaus*, and perſiſted in rendering himſelf more unpopular. Here it was that he reſolved to reſign his crown to *Bugiſlaus*, the governor of *Stockholm* having already ſworn allegiance to that prince. This news was received with equal ſatisfaction by the *Danes* and *Swedes*; both began to take meaſures for ſecuring their liberties, but the *Swedes* firſt began their operations. *Engelbert* was again applied to by the populace: he raiſed forces, and marched with the ſenate to *Stockholm*, the gates of which were ſhut againſt him by the governor. The ſenate demanded entrance, and were refuſed. They next demanded to ſpeak with the conſuls of the city, who were ſent to them, and confined. After this they demanded to know by what authority ſuch an affront was put on the ſenate, and were anſwered by order of the court. This was a ſignal for hoſtilities, and immediately the city was inveſted by *Engelbert*. Scarce had the ſiege began, when the citizens, impatient at the confinement of their magiſtrates, took up arms, ſeized upon the gates, and opened them to *Engelbert*, who, marching in with the ſenate and his forces, erected his ſtandard in the market-place, inviting all the friends of liberty and their country to range themſelves under it. The greater part of the inhabitants flocked eagerly to him, ſeized upon all the advantageous poſts, and drove the governor into the citadel.

CHARLES CANUTSON, grand-marechal of *Sweden*, was raviſhed with the proſpect of his countries being delivered from the *Daniſh* yoke. He joined himſelf to the ſenate, and entered into all their meaſures; but this acceſſion of power had almoſt ruined the cauſe of liberty. A rivalſhip commenced between *Canutſon* and *Engelbert*; each was for commanding, and each had his faction. Both were fired with the glorious emulation of being the deliverers of their country. The firſt was ſupported by the ſenate and nobility; the latter by the gentlemen and peaſants. At length the affair was compromiſed by a partition of power. The grand marechal was to continue the ſiege of the citadel, while *Engelbert* was to attempt the reduction of the king's garriſons, and the depoſition of the *Daniſh* governors.

ENGEL-

ENGELBERT in particular was extremely ſucceſsful, and things were in a fair train, when he was murdered by the artifice of his rival; between whom and *Eric Pache* a new diſpute aroſe, that once more reſtored the king's affairs. It would be unneceſſary to enlarge on all the particulars of this revolution, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate them particularly in the hiſtory of *Sweden*. Sufficient it is for our purpoſe, that the ſenate, apprehending a civil war might enſue from the warmth and paſſion of theſe rivals, ſummoned a general diet at *Calmar*, and invited the king to appear there in perſon. *Eric* embraced the invitation, and went thither, attended by a crowd of *German* and *Daniſh* nobility. Here it was ſtipulated, that all fortreſſes and garriſons ſhould be put into the hands of native *Swedes*; that the king ſhould take a freſh oath to preſerve the privileges and immunities of the people; and that he would never prefer to places of truſt and profit any foreigners whatever, within the limits of the *Swediſh* monarchy. Upon his conſenting to theſe conditions, he was again declared king of *Sweden*, and other difficulties left undecided until the next diet, appointed to be held on the firſt of *September* following at *Sundercoping*[a]. *The brave Engelbert murdered.*

ERIC was now once more reſtored to the throne of *Sweden*; but numberleſs obſtructions occurred in eſtabliſhing the tranquility of that kingdom. Theſe we ſhall relate in their proper place, and proceed here to the general diet of the three kingdoms ſummoned at *Calmar*. The firſt act paſſed by this diet, was a confirmation of the treaty of union made in the laſt reign. To that antient treaty were ſubjoined a number of new clauſes, the principal of which were, that the king ſhould frame no new laws but what received the ſanction of the diet of that kingdom for which they were made: That the three kingdoms ſhould ſwear to live in perpetual peace and amity: That the grand bailiff of each kingdom, ſhould preſide at all cauſes carried before the king: That in the king's abſence, this magiſtrate ſhould repreſent his perſon in each kingdom: That the grand marechal ſhould be his coadjutor, and preſide over the executive, as the grand bailiff did over the legiſlative authority: That only perſons learned in the laws and conſtitution, ſhould be choſen maſters of the houſhold, or chancellors in either kingdom: That the king ſhould viſit and reſide at leaſt three months every year in each kingdom: That he ſhould always be aſſiſted by a council of three ſenators of each nation, and judge in perſon the diſputes of particulars: That when he is threatened with a foreign war, *A general diet of the three kingdoms meet at Calmar.*

[a] JOHAN. GOTH. p. 117.

the forces of the three kingdoms ſhall unite in his defence: That at the election of a new king, beſides the archbiſhops, two biſhops, grand bailiffs, and grand marechal of each kingdom, there ſhall likewiſe attend at leaſt twenty-ſix perſons from each ſenate to give their votes: That provided the deceaſed king ſhall leave a legitimate ſon thought capable of reigning, he ſhall be choſen to ſucceed him; but if he ſhould leave more ſons than one, the ſtates ſhall chuſe him whom they believe moſt deſerving of the crown, without regard to ſeniority: That in caſe the male line became extinct, it ſhould be in the power of the ſenators, and great officers above mentioned, to elect a ſtranger or native of the country: That ſhould a native of the country be fixed upon, they might proceed to election in the manner following; firſt, the names of the three kingdoms ſhould be written on as many pieces of paper, and placed before an infant of twelve months old, and the electors proceed to chuſe a king out of that kingdom whoſe name has been taken up by the infant; That if the electors differed among themſelves, they ſhould chuſe four perſons from each kingdom, two eccleſiaſtics, and two laymen, to meet in a certain place, after ſwearing they are ignorant of the buſineſs they are ſent upon, and that perſon ſhould be king whom they have unanimouſly fixed upon, or after reaſoning the caſe, agreed upon [a]. Such was the new treaty of union concluded at *Calmar*, between the three northern crowns, at which it is probable *Eric* did not preſide in perſon; for we are told that he ſoon after ſet out from *Denmark* for the iſland of *Gothland*, in order to be nearer the enſuing *Swediſh* diet. It is remarkable, that he carried a large body of troops with him, all the jewels of the crown, the immenſe wealth treaſured up by his anceſtors, and heaps of manuſcripts and deeds; nor did he forget his miſtreſs *Cecilia*, of whom he was paſſionately enamoured [b].

The Swediſh *diet aſſembles.*

THE *Swediſh* diet met at *Calmar*, but were not favoured with the king's preſence; upon which they deputed a number of biſhops, and great officers of the kingdom, to intreat the ſenate of *Denmark* to labour, in conjunction with them, in prevailing on his majeſty to come to *Sweden*. But there was an equal miſunderſtanding between his majeſty and his *Daniſh* ſubjects, who complained, that he was making continual efforts to place his nephew of *Pomerania* on the throne; that he gave away all poſts of profit and power to *Germans*: in a word, that he infringed, in divers particulars, his coronation-oath, and treaty of union at *Calmar*.

[a] PONTAN. l. ix. p. 605. [b] Idem. p. 606.

FIND-

NDING *Denmark* in the ſame ſituation with *Sweden*, leputies addreſſed themſelves directly to his majeſty, and ved a ſharp and ſarcaſtic anſwer, which ſent them back ly diſſatisfied. However, their voyage was not without lvantages; for if they could obtain nothing from the king, at leaſt connected themſelves more ſtrongly with the *Da*nobility. Their mutual diſcontents were of a nature ſo ar, as became hazardous to the king; and it is affirmed, on this occaſion the firſt plan for beſtowing the crown *hriſtopher* of *Bavaria* was concerted between the two doms.

HIS year the clergy of *Denmark* and *Norway* ſent letters A. D. ie council of *Baſil*, complaining, that in *Denmark* there 1437. a *Norwegian* biſhop, and in *Norway* a native of *Denmark* d to the ſame dignity, both choſen canonically; but the le refuſed to obey them. They therefore beſought the ers of the council to grant them powers to make an exge, for the repoſe of both kingdoms, which was accordy granted.

HE year following *Eric* diſmembered the iſle of *Rugen* A. D. the crown by a grant of it, which he made to his ne- 1438. *Bugiſlaus*. This increaſed the diſcontent of his *Daniſh* Eric ſts, and occaſioned the meeting of a new diet, at which *grants the* conduct was canvaſſed with great freedom. The chief *iſle of* Ruance, for which they ſought redreſs, was his introducing gen *to the* ign ſoldiers into all the garriſons of the kingdom, in or- *duke of* to pave the way for his nephew *Bugiſlaus* to aſcend the Pomerane, and raiſe a civil war in the kingdom. *Eric*'s deputies nia. oved this difficulty by a ſolemn promiſe, in his name, that foreign ſoldiers ſhould be removed out of the kingdom in two months; a promiſe that was never performed, indeed intirely forgot, among other diſturbances that fol-ed.

HESE commotions had their firſt riſe in the province of *enſyſſel*, and from a circumſtance ſingular enough. The ſants refuſed to pay the uſual tithes to the clergy, alledg-; that they were informed the pope had aſſembled a coun-at *Baſil* to reform the abuſes of the clergy, ariſing from ir enormous wealth: they were deſirous, they ſaid, of co-rating with the pious intention of his holineſs, and would refore not make any addition to the wealth of eccleſiaſtics. this was no more than the harbinger of greater diſances. In *Jutland* the peaſants revolted againſt the no- *Inſurrec-*:y, whom they accuſed of tyranny and oppreſſion not un- *tions in* ly; and the defection was ſo general in this part of *Den-* Denmark. *k*, as not to be ſuppreſſed either by gentle methods, or by force.

force. It was ſuſpected the king was at the bottom of this affair; but he laboured to juſtify himſelf, and, indeed, it would be difficult to aſſign reaſons for ſuch a conduct. In ſhort, matters were puſhed to ſuch extremities, that the nobility were forced to take ſhelter with the *Holſtein* princes againſt the fury of the peaſants; and to put the city of *Hadersleben*, and iſle of *Arroe*, among other places, into the hands of *Adolphus*.

A view of the affairs of Sweden.

SWEDEN was in a ſtate ſtill leſs tranquil. *Canutſon* had the direction of public affairs, by means of which he grew rich, inſolent, and deteſted by the people. The grand bailiff *Nilſon*, and ſeveral of the firſt nobility, formed a league againſt him, and engaged the *Dalecarlians* and *Wermelandians* to take arms. But *Canutſon* was not long in revenging himſelf. After defeating the *Dalecarlians*, he ſurpriſed the grand bailiff in his bed, and conducted him priſoner to *Orebro*, where demanding of him whether he would ſurrender the garriſons in his hands, fear made *Nilſon* reply, that he not only would do that, but likewiſe ſerve the marechal in any thing elſe he deſired. Many other commotions appeared in *Sweden*. The archbiſhop *Olaus* was poiſoned by order of *Canutſon*, and things tended faſt to anarchy and univerſal confuſion. This, however, is not the place to dwell on the affairs of *Sweden*, with which we have nothing to do, but as they are connected with thoſe of *Denmark*.

THE *Swediſh* diet met, at which attended the *Daniſh* deputies, to repreſent the king. Their inſtructions were to inſiſt upon having the three principal fortreſſes in the kingdom put into his majeſty's hands: this they demanded, and the diet obſtinately refuſed; upon which it broke up, without doing any buſineſs. All this while *Eric* kept cloſe in the iſland of *Gothland* with his treaſure, paying no regard to the invitations of his *Daniſh* ſubjects to return. He would either ſeem to be infatuated, or at leaſt his intellects impaired by years; for, amidſt all the troubles and confuſions in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, he lived perfectly at eaſe, regarding with indifference, and even contempt, all the remonſtrances made to him by the ſubjects of both nations. This it was that induced the *Daniſh* ſenate to ſend an ambaſſy to *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria*, to deſire his acceptance of the crown, and intreat him to take immediate poſſeſſion of the throne. A letter was drawn up to this prince, in which they complained of the king's repeated attempts to ſettle the ſucceſſion on *Bugiſlaus* of *Pomerania*, which they as repeatedly oppoſed; of his putting all the fortreſſes into the hands of foreigners, in order to ſtrengthen the intereſt of *Bugiſlaus*; of their permitting him to appoint

The Danes *invite* Chriſtopher *of* Bavaria *to accept of the crown.*

Bugiſlaus

Bugiſlaus his aſſiſtant in the government, but without deriving from thence any claim to the crown, a grant which both *Eric* and his nephew abuſed by every poſſible method; of his majeſty's putting into *Bugiſlaus*'s hands the garriſons of *Neoburg*, *Henſgavel*, and *Hadenſkow*, contrary to the laws of the realm, and expreſs treaties with his people; of his aſſembling the inhabitants of *Zealand*, and expreſly enjoining them to obey the orders of the duke in every particular as their ſovereign; of his majeſty's retreating to *Gothland*, at the very time the ſtates of the three kingdoms aſſembled to meet him at *Calmar*, and continuing there from that time, to the great prejudice of his ſubjects; of his carrying thither the jewels and treaſure amaſſed by his predeceſſors, to ſupport the honour of the *Danish* crown. They in the next place ſet forth, that, ever ſince his retreat, the kingdom had been torn with factions and ſedition; the people riſen in arms againſt the clergy and nobility; no regard paid to the laws, but every thing tending to confuſion and anarchy. The ſituation of affairs, they ſaid, was ſuch, that they every moment expected a rupture with the houſe of *Holſtein*, which muſt be of dangerous conſequence at this juncture. What had they not to apprehend in ſuch an event, from the number of foreign governors and troops in the kingdom? Beſides, they were not quite eaſy with reſpect to *Sweden*, as the king had refuſed to fulfil his treaties with that kingdom; and the three kingdoms, ſo lately united for their mutual good, were now ſeparated and divided by mal-adminiſtration. For theſe reaſons, and becauſe *Eric* had in effect abdicated the throne, they intreated his excellency, as the prince neareſt allied by blood, to protect the kingdom in this extremity, by accepting a crown to which he had the beſt right, as it was offered with the hearts and hands of all his faithful ſubjects. But if his highneſs ſhould not think proper to accept this offer, they requeſted he would give their deputies an explicit anſwer, that they might fix their choice on ſome other, who might think the crown of *Denmark* an object worthy his regard [a]. This letter bore date the twenty-eighth of *October*, 1438 (A).

In

[a] Meurs. & Pontan. in loc. citat.

(A) It deſerves notice, that the ſtates now inſiſted, for the firſt time, upon making elections abſolutely free and independent of the will of the ſovereign. This was the firſt ſtep the nobility took to raiſe their power above the royal prerogative, and the other ſtates of the kingdom, which they at laſt effected, when the royal line was extinct in *Chriſtopher* III. and the houſe of *Oldenburgh* aſcended the throne. We have ſeen,

Eric's conduct.

In the mean time *Eric* removed from the iſle of *Gothland* to *Stekeberg*; from whence he ſent to the grand marechal *Canutſon*, intreating him to come in perſon, to deliberate on the proper meaſures to be taken in the preſent unhappy poſture of affairs; but as thoſe perſons are ever the moſt ſuſpicious, who make themſelves no ſcruple of breaking oaths and engagements, ſo *Canutſon* dreaded putting himſelf in the king's power. *Eric* waited ſome time in expectation; but finding the grand marechal had no intention of coming to *Stekeberg*, he returned to *Gothland*.

It was about this time that he received a writing from the ſenate of *Denmark*, acquainting him, that they had renounced their allegiance, and ſpecifying their reaſons for ſuch a proceeding, and for electing a new king, who, they hoped, would be more regardful of his oaths, watchful over the good of his people, and more agreeable to all the ſubjects of the three crowns. It was dated at *Lubec* the twenty-ninth of *June*, 1439.

He complains of the uſage received from his ſubjects.

By the twenty-fifth of the following month *Eric* returned an anſwer to the ſenate, expreſſing his aſtoniſhment at the indignity done him, in not preſenting their accuſation in perſon, and in electing, without his knowledge, his nephew *Chriſtopher*. He ſaid, that he deſerved not ſuch uſage; and took in God to witneſs, that he was ready to anſwer every article of their charge, either before the ſenate, or commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, without paſſion or reſentment. He promiſed to conform to whatever they could reaſonably demand; concluding with a prayer, that his nephew *Chriſtopher* might be better adviſed, and the ſenate deliberate on more ſalutary meaſures, than depriving their king of a crown he enjoyed ſo long, and ſo legitimately. He wrote the ſame day to the inhabitants of *Schonen* and *Fionia*, ſending them likewiſe a copy of the writing he received from the ſenate, and demanding to know if they aſſented to their unlawful proceedings. In a word, he intreated them to uſe all their influence to prevent the ſenate from wreſting from him a crown which he held of the Almighty. All this, according to *Pontanus*, happened during *Eric*'s reſidence at *Stekeberg*, and before his return to *Gothland*.

He no ſooner arrived at his old retreat in this iſland, than he wrote an expoſtulatory letter to *Chriſtopher*, in much the

ſeen, in the ſhort ſketch given of the preſent ſtate of *Denmark*, to what an exorbitant height this power had riſen, until it brought about another revolution, deſtructive to the liberty of the people.

ame terms as the two former to the ſenate and inhabitants of *Schonen*, and to as little purpoſe. To this he added a long uſtification of his conduct, containing eleven articles, and a irect anſwer to the accuſation of the ſenate; if the denial of acts, evident to the whole world, can be called an anſwer. This he ſent to the *Fionians*, who had always eſpouſed the auſe of *Bugiſlaus*, deſiring they would tranſmit it to the ſeate, and ſupport it with all their weight and influence. To onclude, he ſummed up his intreaties and remonſtrances, in equeſting, that the difference between him and the ſenate ight be ſubmitted to the arbitration of the neighbouring rinces, of the nobility, or of deputies from the cities, proided they were diſpaſſionate and unprejudiced. In caſe this aſt requeſt was refuſed him, he proteſted that he would firſt demand juſtice of God, next of the pope, the emperor, the ings and princes of the univerſe; not doubting but he would ind ſome powers zealous enough in the cauſe of equity to rereſs his grievances, and puniſh the injuries and inſults put on ajeſty and God's anointed.

But all his remonſtrances and menaces, unſupported by power, were diſregarded. He was formally depoſed, and his nephew *Chriſtopher* crowned king, according to the forms equired by law; after which *Eric* ſpent the ten following ears ſhut up in the iſle of *Gothland*, from whence he ſent orth piratical ſquadrons to annoy the *Swediſh* commerce. At e expiration of ten years, he paſſed into *Pomerania*, where lived in the ſame retirement, and about the ſame number years, here ending his days unlamented. Never did prince perience a greater variety of fortune, or paſs through more poſite characters. On his acceſſion he was univerſally beved and eſteemed by the people. Bred under the eye of a een perfectly miſtreſs of the art of governing, he joined perience to natural talents and a quick diſcernment. Soon ter the death of *Margaret* his ambition increaſed, and his udence vaniſhed proportionably. It was not the laudable mbition of raiſing his ſubjects above other nations in wealth, wer, and felicity; but of elevating himſelf above their laws nd liberties. His behaviour and pride engaged him in a te- *His character.*
ious war with the *Holſtein* family and northern hanſe-towns, uring which he was unſucceſsful in almoſt all his enterprizes, om a variety of cauſes. His own irreſolution, the diſaffecon of his ſubjects, his dependence on foreigners, his diſſipa- of the public treaſure, and innumerable other circumances, concurred in ſpinning the war out to a period of enty-nine years, and in rendering every negotiation, every ge, battle, and operation, whether in the cabinet or the field,

field, fruitleſs: circumſtances that in the end deprived him of his crown, which he might have enjoyed for an uncommon courſe of years in eaſe and tranquillity, with reputation to himſelf and his ſubjects [a]. But we ſhall have occaſion to relate ſome tranſactions in the following reign, which will more diſtinctly mark the character of this unfortunate prince.

[a] Vid. Apt. citat. PUFFEND. Introd. a L'Hiſt. Gener. t. iv. p. 208. & ſeq.

SECT. XI.

Here the Affairs of Denmark *are recited down to the Year* 1481, *when* John *was elected to fill the Throne.*

CHRISTOPHER III.

Chriſtopher III.

CHRISTOPHER duke of *Bavaria*, ſon of *John* duke of *Bavaria*, by his wife *Sophia*, ſiſter to *Eric* king of *Denmark*, being elected king in the room of the depoſed ſovereign, and invited to take poſſeſſion of the throne, came with that intention to *Lubec*, where he was met by the ſenate, and a great number of nobility, who immediately took the oaths. From thence he went to *Denmark*, and was there inveſted with the authority of protector of the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Norway*; but the ſtates declined giving him the appellation of king, or the badges of ſovereignty.

Decree of the ſenate againſt Eric's *adherents.*

IMMEDIATELY on his arrival in *Denmark* the ſenate publiſhed a decree, whereby all thoſe were declared enemies to their country who ſhould viſit *Eric*'s court, or obey any other ſovereign than *Chriſtopher*; an act chiefly levelled againſt *Bogiſlaus*, *Barnim*, and *Wratiſlaus*, the kinſmen and allies of *Eric*. Accordingly they retired out of the kingdom the inſtant of its publication. After this an ambaſſy was ſent to the grand bailiff, grand marechal, and ſenate of *Sweden*, to negotiate with them about the union of the crowns, and the eſtabliſhment of *Chriſtopher* in the ſovereignty of that kingdom. Commiſſioners were appointed to treat with the *Daniſh* ambaſſadors, and a congreſs fixed at *Jenecoping*. Here it was agreed, that, previous to all other buſineſs, the reſolutions of the general diet at *Calmar*, in the year 1436, ſhould be exactly followed; except that article which ſtipulated, that during *Eric*'s natural life no other ſovereign ſhould be acknowledged. It was next determined, that the ſtates of the three kingdoms ſhould aſſemble on the twenty-fourth of June following

ving at *Calmar*, to deliberate concerning the ſecurity of ights, privileges, and immunities of the people [a].

ON after this a manifeſto was publiſhed by the ſenate of *ark*, containing freſh articles of accuſation againſt *Eric*, 1 were affixed on the gates of all the northern hanſe-. Among other charges was that of maintaining a de- ive war againſt the *Holſtein* family, and the northern -towns, many years after honourable and advantageous of accommodation were offered. This, in fact, was for *Eric* had done all in his power, for the eight laſt of his reign, to compromiſe their differences, which the *in* princes always declined, in conſequence of ſome new ıtage they had gained over the king's forces. That he ıften intreated, after the death of his queen, to ſtrengthen ıcceſſion by another marriage; but he choſe to paſs his ith a concubine, rather than gratify the ardent wiſh of ople: that he had made ſeveral attempts to break the ı of the three crowns, and raiſe diſturbances in the lom, to favour the deſign of placing *Bugiſlaus* on the e: that, notwithſtanding notice had been given him by rchbiſhop of *Lunden*, in the name of the ſenate, to with- out of the hands of foreigners the ſtrong-holds of the lom, and the iſlands of *Fionia*, *Langland*, *Laaland*, and ; yet he deſpiſed their advice, contrary to the dictates ligion, contrary to his ſolemn oath, and againſt the fun- ntal laws of the kingdom. Even the menaces of the , that they would depoſe him, could not induce *Eric* to y them in this particular; from whence it was obvious, ney, that he muſt have formed ſome deep and dangerous ns: that he had alienated the iſle of *Rugen* from the r: that he made no ſcruple about giving the government *mia* to *Bugiſlaus*, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances e ſenate to the contrary: and that, after conſigning all nportant truſts in the kingdom to foreigners, he then re- d to the iſland of *Gothland*, abſtracting himſelf from all of government: that he had aſſumed a deſpotic autho- y treating the clergy of the three kingdoms with the ut- rigour, contempt, and violence: that it was notorious d one day ſtruck and disfigured the face of an eccleſiaſtic, ı other reaſon than his innocently preſenting letters from linefs, which happened not to pleaſe him: that he ag- ted the affront, by endeavouring to oblige the eccleſiaſtic nk up the blood which iſſued from his noſe, and, on his l, confined him in priſon in irons: that he placed in

Freſh articles of accuſation againſt Eric.

[a] PONTAN. l. ix.

the government of provinces foreigners, whoſe avarice and poverty could only be exceeded by their inſolence in office, who treated the people rather like ſlaves than the free born ſubjects of an elective prince: that he altered and debaſed the coin, oppreſſed the people with taxes beyond their ability, and plundered their effects on refuſing to pay what exceeded their power: and, laſtly, that he neglected to aſſemble the diet, as ordained by law, to hear the complaints of the injured; and, in a word, ſuffered uſurpers, oppreſſors, and public robbers, to live with impunity upon the vitals of the people. Such was this freſh charge againſt *Eric*, publiſhed in defence of their own conduct, and to prevent the hanſe-towns from taking arms in behalf of the depoſed monarch [a].

A. D. 1439. IT was about this time that *Chriſtopher* publiſhed an edict, enjoining all thoſe who held fortreſſes in his name, inſtantly to ſurrender them to the ſenate, under pain of forfeiting life and effects. In particular he ſent a copy of this edict to the governor of *Korſor*, giving him friendly advice with reſpect to the conſequence of diſobedience. From this edict we may conclude, that he had not yet taken the title of king of *Denmark*, though *Meurſius* expreſly affirms the contrary; for through the whole he is called only duke of *Bavaria*, protector of the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, and the ſenate mentioned as the ſupreme power.

A. D. 1440. Chriſtopher *aſſents to the propoſitions of the ſenate.* AT the diet of *Wiburg*, held in the beginning of the following year, *Chriſtopher* ſolemnly promiſed, in virtue of his election, to defend the ſtate, protect the different orders of ſubjects in the kingdom in their ſeveral rights, maintain their common liberties, and conſent to all the conditions which ſhould be thought neceſſary by the enſuing general diet of the three kingdoms at *Calmar*. The day appointed for this general diet being come, only a few deputies attended. The *Danes* were buſied in appeaſing the inſurrection of the peaſants in *Jutland*; and the *Swedes* were retarded by obſtructions which the grand marechal *Canutſon* had raiſed, who foreſaw that the election of *Chriſtopher* would be attended with the loſs of the greater part of his authority. As the aſſembly did not find their number ſufficient to proceed to buſineſs, they adjourned themſelves for a certain time, appointing their next ſeſſion at *Abroga*.

A general diet of the three kingdoms. WHEN the deputies met at *Abroga*, thoſe of *Denmark* demanded that the *Swedes* would acknowledge *Chriſtopher* for their ſovereign; they enumerated his good qualities, the oath he had taken at *Wiburg*, and his readineſs to comply with

[a] PONTAN. MEURS. & PUFFEND. Hiſt. Univ. in loc. citat.

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whatever could reaſonably be demanded. *Canutſon*, perceiving the *Swedes* diſpoſed in his favour, reſolved no longer to retard a meaſure which he could not altogether prevent; but he beſought them at the ſame time to pay ſome regard to his long ſervices, and immenſe expences in ſupporting the dignity of an exhauſted treaſury, and protecting an enfeebled kingdom, at his own private charge. He ſet forth that he was encumbered with debts he ſhould never be able to diſcharge without the aſſiſtance of the government, which was the only reaſon he had to oppoſe the election of *Chriſtopher*. Pleaſed with finding the marechal in this diſpoſition, the aſſembly declared, that, in conſideration of his ſervices, he ſhould enjoy *Finland*, the province in which he was born, together with the iſlands of *Oeland* and *Bergholm*, the firſt during his own life, and the latter in perpetuity to him and his heirs; but on this condition, that the crown ſhould at any time have power to redeem them for the ſum of forty thouſand marks in ſilver. The *Danes* perceived of what conſequence it was to gain over the marechal, and therefore promiſed that *Chriſtopher* ſhould confirm the donation of the aſſembly; adding, that a decree might be paſſed to prohibit all perſons from filing ſuits or preferring accuſations againſt him, on account of his paſt adminiſtration.

MATTERS being thus adjuſted, the ſenate wrote to *Chriſtopher*, intimating their intention to elect him ſovereign; but requeſting that he would firſt meet them at *Calmar*, to confirm the rights and privileges of the people, preliminaries which were requiſite to his election. *Chriſtopher* aſſented; and imagining that it would be highly expedient to eſtabliſh the beſt terms with *Canutſon*, he invited him to *Helmſtadt*, received him favourably, and confirmed the ſenate's decree, and all that had been done for him by the diet.

WHILE he was waiting for the time appointed for the next general diet, *Chriſtopher*, in quality of king of *Denmark*, granted the inveſtiture of *Sleſwick* to duke *Adolphus* of *Holſtein*: but he had the precaution to demand a decree of the ſenate, declaring that at their deſire he granted this inveſtiture. Next he laboured to compoſe the troubles in *Jutland*, where the inhabitants refuſed paying all taxes, unleſs they were ſuffered to pay them to their late king *Eric*. They aſſembled to the number of twenty-five thouſand men, and came to an action with the king's troops, in which no conſiderable advantage was gained on either ſide. Some priſoners fell into the hands of the peaſants, and among others a *Bavarian* gentleman, the king's great favourite, whom they treated with great cruelty. Incenſed at their obſtinacy, *Chriſtopher* marched

Chriſtopher *attends the general diet at* Calmar.

The Jutlanders *rebel, and are defeated by* Chriſtopher.

marched againſt them in perſon, gave them battle, and obtained a complete but bloody victory. *Henry Togon*, a ſenator who had always eſpouſed *Eric*, together with ſeveral others of his adherents, were taken priſoners, and all condemned to be broke alive on the wheel. However, of the whole peaſant army not above fifteen hundred were left dead on the field, though great numbers were wounded. Their main body gained a neighbouring hill, which they ſo intrenched with waggons and chariots, as to withſtand all the attacks of the king's cavalry. At laſt *Chriſtopher* was adviſed to offer them pardon if they would ſubmit, which induced many to throw down their arms: the reſt were obſtinate, though weakened by this deſertion; they were again attacked and cut in pieces [a].

His majeſty had been longer detained on this expedition than he imagined. It was the month of *Auguſt* before he could get to *Calmar*, though the *Swediſh* ſenate appointed the congreſs in *June*. Firſt, he had an interview with *Canutſon*, at *Helmſtadt*, and both proceeded together to *Calmar*, where the duke was received with great joy and reſpect by the ſtates of *Sweden*. After ſettling every point reſpecting their rights, *Chriſtopher* was conducted to *Stockholm*, into which he made his public entry, amidſt the acclamations of the people. On the thirteenth of *September*, he was proclaimed king with the uſual formalities, and next day ſolemnly crowned, by the archbiſhop of *Upſal*.

Chriſtopher *ſets out for* Stockholm.

CHRISTOPHER was no ſooner in *Stockholm*, than crowds of people of all ranks flocked round him, with complaints againſt the grand mareſchal; but his promiſe to *Canutſon*, the great influence of that nobleman, and the eſteem in which he was held by the common people, made him decline taking cognizance of theſe grievances. One inſtance of his popularity occurred on the day his majeſty made his entry: the people cried out, that *Charles* better deſerved a crown than *Chriſtopher*. He had the dignity of a king, they ſaid, but the other the ſtature of a dwarf. He was brave, affable, and eloquent; but theſe qualities were doubtful in the other. The truth was, they were diſpleaſed with the figure of *Chriſtopher*, which was greatly eclipſed by the perſonal qualities of the other. The vulgar judge by the eye and ear.

A. D. 1442. *Freſh diſturbances in* Jutland.

His majeſty's long reſidence in *Sweden* furniſhed an opportunity for new diſturbances in *Jutland*. The governors treated the people with great ſeverity, and ſeized the occaſion of their falling under the diſpleaſure of the court to repleniſh their

[a] Pontan. l. x.

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own coffers. To remedy theſe enormities, *Chriſtopher* publiſhed an edict, adviſing the people to remain firm in their allegiance, and prohibiting the governors and officers of the court to exact any thing more than was required by law, under pain of his diſpleaſure.

ALL this time *Eric* lived in the iſland of *Gothland*, and had fortified himſelf ſtrongly in *Wiſby*. He had aſſembled a great number of ſhipping, with which repeated piracies were committed on the high ſeas, and deſcents on the *Swediſh* coaſts. Complaints were made to *Chriſtopher*; but they were treated with raillery, ſaying, he was glad his uncle could fall upon any method of amuſing and ſupporting himſelf. However, the evil daily encreaſed, and the complaints of the people grew proportionably more loud and earneſt, which obliged the king to make formal preparations for war againſt *Eric*. He paſſed with *Canutſon* at the head of a conſiderable armament to *Gothland*, and all were in expectation that he would either drive the depoſed king out of *Gothland*, or at leaſt procure ſome means of reducing the pirates: but he performed neither; and, it is ſaid, that the two princes met, paſſed ſome time together with great cordiality, and parted good friends. Certain it is, that *Eric* remained in poſſeſſion of the iſland, without ceaſing to moleſt the *Swediſh* commerce and coaſts [b]. *Chriſtopher viſits king* Eric.

IN *January* 1443, *Chriſtopher* went from *Sweden* to *Norway*, receiving at *Anſlo* the crown of that kingdom, and the allegiance of the people. Thence he paſſed into *Denmark*, and was crowned at *Ripen* by the archbiſhop of *Lunden*.

AFTER *Chriſtopher* was ſolemnly acknowledged ſovereign in the three kingdoms, like his predeceſſors, he began to attach himſelf chiefly to *Denmark*, but without neglecting his duty to the other two. His whole time was taken up in the concerns of his ſubjects, in regulating ſociety, encouraging trade, and enforcing the laws. He began with confirming the privileges of the towns and cities, and *Copenhagen* received the firſt marks of his favour. Next he took into conſideration certain complaints laid before him, by the biſhops of *Ripen*, *Arhus*, *Odenſee*, and *Wiburg*, that the tithes were not properly paid. Advocates were heard on both ſides, and *Chriſtopher* gave ſentence, in ſuch a manner as diſpleaſed neither, as it was apparent that he blended the good of the people with a juſt reſpect for the clergy. The privileges of the church he confirmed, and augmented thoſe of *Lunden*. He entered upon a treaty with the biſhop of *Roſchild*, whereby *Copenhagen*, until then a dependency on that dioceſe, was ceded to the crown. Chriſtopher *taches himſelf particularly to* Denmark.

[b] Ibid.

Next he shewed his regard for commerce, by permitting the city of *Amsterdam*, and the hanse-towns, to trade to all the ports in the three kingdoms, on their paying the usual customs. Several other regulations of a salutary nature were made, and nothing omitted that could stamp a favourable impression of his character on the minds of the people.

Christopher *passes into* Germany *incog.*

ALL historians mention a conference which *Christopher* held this year at *Wismar* with several *German* princes; but they differ with respect to the motives for this interview. *Crantzius* and *Pontanus*, however, are of opinion, that measures were here concerted for bridling the insolence of the hanse-towns, who greatly annoyed the *Danish* commerce; and that it was determined rather to use policy than force. With this view he took the habit of a pilgrim, as if he intended visiting *Palestine*, and came to the congress, attended with eight hundred horse; but what the design or effects were of such a stratagem, we are left to enquire elsewhere. In this imperfect unsatisfactory manner, do these voluminous authors compile history, and such are the materials from whence we have been painfully forced to collect our account of this kingdom.

JOHANNES GOTHUS, a *Swedish* writer, alledges, that *Christopher*, enriched with the spoils of an *English* fleet, over which his squadrons obtained a signal victory, resolved to be revenged on the hanse-towns. He collected a numerous fleet, and sent to the regency of *Lubec* that he intended making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and should be glad of a passage through their city. But as his retinue was uncommonly great, the regency prudently declined admitting such guests within their walls. *Christopher* finding his plan disconcerted, returned full of indignation to *Denmark* [b]. What credit is due to this account we know not, though certain we are, that it is not only embarrassed in the relation, but contradicted by the testimony of other writers of equal credit; and as for the *English* historians, they pass over in intire silence the circumstance of the victory over the fleet of their nation.

A. D. 1444. *He marries the daughter of the margrave of* Brandenburg.

THIS year we are told the king had some thoughts of marriage, and received an ambassy from the sultan of *Egypt*, who offered him his daughter [c]; but in what manner the king declined this alliance, we are not informed. The princess most agreeable to *Christopher*'s inclinations was *Dorothea*, daughter of the margrave *John* of *Brandenburg*, surnamed the *Alchemist*. This was probably one part of the business of the con-

[b] Jo. GOTH. p. 113. apud MEURS. [c] JOH. Mess. [c]. Suet. Nob. p. 260.

ference

[illegible] part of the year there is a remarkable [illegible] agitation. [illegible] his with his kingdom. [illegible] the manner above [illegible].

[illegible] the *German* merchants [illegible] over [illegible] occasion [illegible] subjects, [illegible] certain immunities with [illegible] nations, which [illegible]

Hitherto *Christopher* [illegible] the *Danish* nobility [illegible] foreigners into the kingdom, [illegible] were believed [illegible] and bound. *Christopher* [illegible] of *Eric's* deposition, [illegible] yet without a [illegible] His conduct on this occasion was wise and moderate [illegible] foreigners; and gave an [illegible] cy used in performing the ceremony. He visited [illegible] his coronation oath, enlarged upon the [illegible] tween the sovereign and its subjects, [illegible] tude due from him to his subjects, [illegible] tary election to his present dignity; assured them of the [illegible] he entertained of their services and attachment; of the reluctance with which he removed them from trusts they had discharged with so much honour; and of his intention otherwise to reward them as soon as opportunity offered. In a word, he soothed, caroled, and flattered in such a manner, that they resigned their places without resentment to the natives, and were succeeded by *Danes* and *Swedes*, who entertained the greatest respect for such amiable foreigners, whom they wished to continue in their office, could it be effected consistently with the interest of the public and of individuals. A. D. 1441.

THIS year *Christopher* passed over to *Laaland*, and punished some disaffected persons, who obstinately adhered to *Eric*. He made divers local laws, intended purely for the good and conveniency of *Laaland* in particular; after which he went to *Sweden*, and studied popularity and the good of his people, no less in that kingdom than he had done in *Denmark*. A. D. 1440.

A. D. 1447. *The* Daniſh *fleet ſhattered in a ſtorm.*

RETURNING from *Sweden* the following year he was ſhipwrecked, and immenſe treaſures in money, and jewels which he had on board, were loſt. Notwithſtanding the indulgence ſhewn to foreign merchants, ſome enormities of which the *Hollanders* were guilty, laid the king under the neceſſity of arreſting their ſhips in his ports. The difference was ſoon after amicably compromiſed by arbitration.

IN the year 1448, *Chriſtopher* publiſhed writs for aſſembling the *Swediſh* diet, and was preparing to paſs into that kingdom, when he was ſeized with a malady that put an end to his days, after a ſhort illneſs.

Chriſtopher's *death and character.*

CHRISTOPHER was at firſt greatly beloved by all his ſubjects, but particularly the *Danes*, for whom he could not help ſhewing ſome partiality, conducted with ſo little circumſpection as gave umbrage to the *Swedes* or *Norwegians*. He endeavoured to ſubject *Sweden* to *Denmark*; but few *Swediſh* writers allow, that he adhered ſo cloſely to the treaty of *Calmar*, as never to have violated their laws, except by the introduction of foreigners; a fault he ſoon repaired. Some, however, blame him for leaving *Eric* in poſſeſſion of *Gothland*, and permitting him to moleſt the *Swediſh* commerce and coaſts with impunity. This indeed was wrong policy, and an injury to his ſubjects; but allowance ought to be made for his relation to that unhappy prince, and that delicacy of mind which would not ſuffer him to aggravate the misfortunes of a once powerful and reſpected monarch. All the *Daniſh* writers extol *Chriſtopher* as a prodigy of moderation, prudence, and patriotiſm; the *Swedes* exclaim againſt him as a tyrant. Certain it is, that he preſerved the kingdom in great tranquility and order, encreaſed the wealth and commerce of his ſubjects, and greatly augmented the felicity of his people, by whom he was highly regretted. It may indeed be objected to his character, that he accepted ſo eaſily of a crown taken from the head of his aged uncle, notwithſtanding his oath to the contrary; but we every day ſee inſtances of princes, minutely ſcrupulous of their oaths in common affairs, who heſitate not to break them in caſes ſo trying to their ambition, as the offer of ſovereignty. To them it belongs to decide, whether ſovereignty can balance the ſhame and diſhonour of acquiring it by perjury and perfidy (A).

Great diſputes in the three kingdoms about a ſucceſſor.

CHRISTOPHER dying without iſſue, great conteſts aroſe concerning a ſucceſſor to the crown of the three kingdoms. The *Swediſh* diet aſſembled at *Jenecoping*; and it was the opinion of a ſtrong party, that the treaty of *Calmar* ſhould be explicitly followed, and nothing determined with reſpect to

(A) It muſt be obſerved, that we here ſpeak of *Chriſtopher's* act with reſpect to *Denmark* only.

the ſucceſſion, before the ſtates of the three kingdoms met. Another faction, headed by *Canutſon*, who aſpired at the crown, ſupported the contrary opinion, and were for proceeding to an immediate election. They affirmed, that the union of *Calmar* was ſufficiently broke through already, and that it never had any other effect than to raiſe *Denmark* on the ruins of *Sweden* and *Norway*. Beſides, they alledged that the *Danes* were guilty of a direct infraction of the union, in calling *Chriſtopher* to *Denmark*, without conſulting the inclinations of the two other kingdoms. In fine, their diſcourſe was deſigned to inflame the *Swediſh* nation againſt *Denmark*, and to revive in the minds of the people the antient animoſity between the two nations.

Reſolution of the Daniſh *diet.*

As ſoon as this news was received in *Denmark*, the ſenate reſolved to proceed to the election of a king; for it did not appear expedient to commit the government of affairs to the queen-dowager, at a time when they had every thing to fear from the two neighbouring crowns. At this time a lord of great weight, property, and ambition, ſought the queen in marriage, the more eaſily to pave his way to the throne. This is a fact mentioned by *Pontanus* and *Meurſius*, though neither takes notice of his name [a]. But as for a great number of years there was no precedent for electing a king out of the body of nobility, though agreeable to law, the queen entered into the views of the ſenate, and declared ſhe would give her hand to no prince who ſhould not be judged deſerving of the crown by the ſupreme council of the nation.

They make offer of the crown to Adolphus *of* Holſtein, *which he refuſes.*

THE advantages which would accrue from annexing the dutchy of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein* to the crown, made the ſenate firſt caſt their eyes on *Adolphus*. This matter required no long deliberation; all ſaw the coveniencies reſulting from ſuch an union, and gave their aſſent. Immediately an ambaſſy was diſpatched with the offer to *Adolphus*; but that prince conſulting the good of his ſubjects, whoſe intereſt would be abſorbed in the ſuperior weight of *Denmark*, declined it, with a moderation and diſintereſtedneſs altogether uncommon among princes. However, that he might not be wanting in reſpect to the ſenate, he propoſed to them his nephew *Chriſtian*, ſecond ſon to *Theodoric*, earl of *Oldenburg*, a prince bred up at the court of *Adolphus* from his infancy. The propoſition was ſo agreeable to the ſenate, that, without loſs of time, the ambaſſadors were ſent to *Theodoric*, to demand either of his ſons he pleaſed for their king. *Theodoric*'s anſwer to the ambaſſadors was remarkable: "I have three ſons, ſays he, of "very oppoſite qualities. One is paſſionately fond of plea"ſure and women; another breathes nothing but war, with-

[a] PONTAN. l. ix. MEURS. in Vit. Chriſtiani, p. 3.

" out regarding the juſtice of the cauſe; but the third is mo-
" derate in his diſpoſition, prefers peace to the din of arms,
" yet ſtands unrivalled in valour, generoſity, and magnani-
" mity." To this he added, that he painted theſe characters for the ſenate's information, deſiring they would chuſe which of the young princes they believed would render the kingdom happieſt. It was a matter which would admit of no heſitation: with one voice the ſenate declared for that prince whoſe panegyric the father had ſo warmly drawn; and under theſe happy auſpices commenced the origin of the grandeur of the houſe of *Oldenburg*, at this day ſeated on the throne of *Denmark* [a].

CHRISTIAN, or CHRISTIERN, of Oldenburg.

Chriſtian I. *of* Oldenburg *elected king of* Denmark.

In the mean time *Canutſon* acted with ſo much policy in *Sweden* as procured him a majority of votes in the diet; in conſequence of which he ſet out for *Upſal*, to have the ceremonies of his coronation performed. As ſoon as he was acknowledged king, he notified his acceſſion to the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, ſounding at the ſame time their inclinations with reſpect to continuing the union of the crowns; but finding both kingdoms averſe to his exaltation, he returned to *Stockholm*, with intention to revenge himſelf, and ſubdue the iſland of *Gothland*. Two thouſand men were immediately embarked, under the command of two generals, whoſe inſtructions were to invade that iſland, and make themſelves maſters of *Eric's* perſon. Informed of his deſign, the *Daniſh* ſenators ſent ambaſſadors to him, requeſting him to withdraw his troops before hoſtilities were committed. The ambaſſadors repreſented, that *Gothland* belonged, by right of conqueſt, to the crown of *Denmark* from the time of *Valdemar* III. and that queen *Margaret* had redeemed it of the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, to whom it was mortgaged by king *Albert*. They had inſtructions to add, that, in caſe of refuſal, his *Daniſh* majeſty would not fail to oppoſe his deſigns, and make repriſals. But *Charles* was too proud to acknowledge the right of *Denmark*, and too ſure of conqueſt to relinquiſh his ſcheme. His anſwer was ſuch as induced the ſenate immediately to requeſt of *Chriſtian* to come to *Denmark*, and vindicate the rights of the crown. Accordingly he proceeded to *Lunden*, and was met by the ſenate and different ſtates of the kingdom in a hall called *Tollerabob*, a place antiently deſtined for the election of the *Daniſh* kings. Here he was proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, receiving from archbiſhop *Yvon* the ſtandard of the kingdom.

[a] Urs. Vit. Chriſt. p. 3. Des Roches, t. iv. Vit. Chriſt.

ERIC

ERIC all this while was cloſely beſieged in *Wiſby*. Obliged to abandon the town, he retired to the citadel, with a reſolution to defend it to the laſt extremity, leaving the care of the city to the inhabitants. Matters ſoon wore a different aſpect on his retreat. The inhabitants, fatigued with a long ſiege, loſt their courage. The out-poſts were neglected, and they no more appeared in ſuch numbers, or with the ſame ſpirit, on the ramparts. This did not paſs unobſerved by the beſiegers: they eaſily conjectured the reaſon, and reſolved to give the aſſault, which proved fatal to *Wiſby*, and brought it into the hands of the enemy. Such trepidation did the fury of the aſſailants occaſion, that, had they attempted the citadel, they would have probably ſucceeded. *Meurſius* however alledges, that the ladders were actually placed to the walls of the citadel, and vigorous efforts made by the *Swedes*; but defeated by the vigilance and bravery of *Eric*, who exerted himſelf in a very extraordinary manner on this occaſion. A. D. 1448. Eric *beſieged by the* Swedes *in* Wisby, *and his gallant defence.*

BUT whatever countenance he might hold out to the enemy, the loſs of the city greatly diſconcerted and ſtraitened him. Proviſions began to fail, and courage to be rendered of no effect, when famine ſtared him in the face. In this perplexity he held a council of his officers, and deſired their advice; but all declared themſelves unable to determine upon any ſalutary meaſures. Upon this he reſolved to demand an interview with the *Swediſh* generals, which was granted. He told them, that, on the whole, he owed great obligations to the *Danes*, who permitted him to enjoy this retreat unmoleſted, whatever cauſe of complaint he might have for their firſt defection. The ſame he could not alledge in favour of the *Swedes*, who not only frequently took arms againſt him, depoſed him, and placed in his throne a baſe uſurper, but now ſought to drive him out of that little ſpot of ground, ſituated in the middle of the ſea, and the only place where he could end his unfortunate life in tranquillity. He repreſented to them, that nothing could be more inglorious than to accumulate misfortunes on thoſe already oppreſſed with miſery, or to deprive their king of his only remaining hope, that of dying in eaſe.

THE generals replied, that they could not, with honour or ſafety, forbear executing their inſtructions, which were to give him no quarter, if he refuſed to ſurrender priſoner at diſcretion, and give up his whole treaſure. But *Eric* cajoled them with ſuch flattering expreſſions, and ſoftened them with ſo horrible a picture of his ſituation, that they granted a truce for a few days. It is ſaid, that *Magnus Green*, the commander in chief, touched with the misfortunes of this prince, held a pri-

a private correſpondence with him, and agreed to the truce, in hopes that, before it was expired, he would have put himſelf in a ſtate of defence. He even connived at his laying in ſtores of proviſion and ammunition.

ERIC made the beſt uſe of the opportunity, and laid in ſtores and proviſion ſufficient to ſtand a long ſiege. At the expiration of the truce, he was ſummoned to ſurrender the citadel; but on terms leſs rigid than were before offered. In conſequence of orders from their king, the generals now permitted him to go wherever he pleaſed, with all his effects. King *Charles* dreaded the preparations made by *Chriſtian*, knowing that he ſhould be forced to withdraw his troops, if ſuccour was ſent to *Eric*; and this it was that occaſioned theſe freſh inſtructions and moderate terms, which however were rejected by *Eric*. He now found himſelf ſupplied with neceſſaries, and refuſed to comply with any conditions until he could hear from *Denmark*. Accordingly he ſent ambaſſadors to acquaint the ſenate with his ſituation, to demand ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and to offer the citadel to be garriſoned by *Daniſh* troops. His propoſal was embraced with joy. *Chriſtian* equipped a fleet with great celerity, and gave the command of it to *Olaus Axelſon*, an officer of great reputation. His inſtructions were to take poſſeſſion of the citadel of *Wiſby*, to place a ſtrong garriſon in it, and to remove *Eric*, with all his effects, to any town of *Denmark*, or of *Pomerania*, at his option. The fleet put to ſea, and arrived off the iſland of *Gothland: Olaus* had an interview with *Green* the *Swediſh* general, who permitted him to enter the harbour of *Wiſby* unmoleſted; he landed his troops, took poſſeſſion of the citadel, and conducted *Eric* ſafe to *Burund*.

Eric puts the citadel of Wisby *into the hands of the* Danes.

ERIC was but a few days here when he received a deputation from *Chriſtian*, which does great honour to the politeneſs and humanity of that prince. He was requeſted not to take up his reſidence in any place out of the *Daniſh* dominions. He was offered the iſland of *Femeren*, and an appointment, which would enable him to live in a manner worthy of his dignity. *Eric* was affected with theſe inſtances of tenderneſs: he was ready to embrace the propoſal, according to ſome hiſtorians; but afterwards altered his ſentiments, and retired with a ſlender retinue to *Rugenwald* in *Pomerania*, to which place he was attended out of reſpect by the *Daniſh* deputies. Here he ended his days in great tranquillity, without attempting to recover his crown, or even repining at the loſs. It is ſuppoſed, that ſome punctilious ſcruples prevented his returning to *Denmark*, and induced him to prefer an eaſy though obſcure life in his own country, to one more ſplendid

Chriſtian *treats him with great humanity and diſtinction.*

ſplendid and agreeable in an iſland that compoſed but a very ſmall part of his former dominions [a].

THE citadel of *Wiſby* had changed its garriſon, without altering its real ſituation. Still the *Swedes* puſhed the ſiege; and the garriſon, finding proviſion and ſtores growing ſhort, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Denmark* to acquaint *Chriſtian*, that, unleſs they received ſpeedy aſſiſtance, they would be forced to ſurrender. Incenſed at this account, the king raiſed troops, and equipped a ſquadron with all poſſible expedition, reſolving to drive the *Swedes* out of the iſland. He put to ſea with a body of choice troops, and attended by the flower of the *Holſtein* nobility. On his arrival off the coaſt of *Gothland*, he ſent *Axelſon* to treat with the *Swediſh* generals, and prevail on them, if poſſible, to withdraw their troops, to avoid the effuſion of blood. *Axelſon* laid his inſtructions before the generals; but could obtain no other anſwer than that they were ready to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms for a certain time, during which the two kings might negotiate a peace, things now remaining in their preſent poſture; that is, *Wiſby* in the hands of the *Swedes*, and the citadel in thoſe of the *Danes*. His majeſty, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, immediately diſembarked the troops, ſupplied the citadel with all manner of ſtores and proviſion, razed ſome forts the *Swedes* had built round it, and then encamped before the city, to which he laid ſiege. One very briſk action paſſed, in which neither ſide gained any conſiderable advantage; however, it determined *Chriſtian* to ſet fire to the city: upon which the *Swedes* retired to the large houſes built with ſtone. Upon their retreat the king ordered the walls to be demoliſhed, and then attacked the garriſon confined in the large houſes, with ſo much vigour, that he ſoon became maſter of the whole city, the enemy ſubmitting at diſcretion.

A. D. 1449. *The Swedes continue to beſiege the citadel of* Wisby. Chriſtian *relieves the beſieged.*

THE conqueſt of the iſland was not, however, the ſole object of this expedition. *Chriſtian* ſought the affections and friendſhip of the *Swediſh* nation, in order to pave the way for the union of the three crowns. He exhorted the nobility and officers, his priſoners, to enter into theſe meaſures, and obtained their promiſe, on condition the priſoners were ſet at liberty without ranſom. His majeſty, after ſufficiently garriſoning all the forts and ſtrong poſts in the iſland, returned victorious to *Denmark*, where he was ſolemnly crowned by the archbiſhop of *Lunden*; a ceremony hitherto omitted. The ſame day alſo he eſpouſed *Dorothea*, widow of the late king *Chriſtopher*.

Chriſtian *courts the affections of the* Swediſh *nation.*

[a] MEURS. ibid. p. 10.

CHARLES

Affairs of Sweden.

CHARLES of *Sweden*, to conſole himſelf for the diſgrace ſuſtained in *Gothland*, made a deſcent on *Norway*, and exerted himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that he was crowned king at *Drontheim*, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the nobility, who exhorted the people to adhere to the union of *Calmar*. But fearing that *Chriſtian* might, in the mean while, invade *Sweden*, he appointed a regency in *Norway* and returned with the utmoſt diſpatch. But though *Chriſtian* was by no means pleaſed with this proceeding, he reſolved to ſit down quietly, and rather ſupport the loſs of the crown of *Norway*, than harraſs his people with freſh diſputes, already reduced very low by the long wars with *Holſtein*, and bad œconomy under *Eric*. With a view to eſtabliſh peace, he ſent an ambaſſy to *Sweden*, inviting king *Charles* to an interview at *Helmſtadt*, to compoſe all differences between the two kingdoms. The ambaſſadors were ordered to demand, that if *Charles* did not chuſe to attend in perſon, he would ſend two ambaſſadors with full powers to treat and conclude peace.

On their arrival in *Sweden* they laid their inſtructions before the ſenate, and were anſwered, that the buſineſs of the nation required his majeſty's preſence; but two ambaſſadors ſhould attend the congreſs, with all the neceſſary powers. Beſides the plenipotentiaries, *Charles* appointed twelve deputies to accompany them, to whom he gave peremptory inſtructions, to part with neither the kingdom of *Norway* nor the iſle of *Gothland*, to his *Daniſh* majeſty; but to ſubmit that affair to the deciſion of the pope or emperor, or of the ſword.

Chriſtian *complains to the diet of the conduct of his* Swediſh *majeſty.*

CHRISTIAN opened the congreſs with complaining, that *Charles*, in prejudice of all the treaties between the northern crowns, had, from an ambition to reign, procured to himſelf the crown of *Sweden*; a proceeding which it was evident would intail a perpetual war on the three kingdoms. He repreſented the advantages of the union of *Calmar*, ſo ſolemnly ſworn to by the ſtates of the three kingdoms. He affirmed it was the only meaſure that could be thought of, to preſerve peace, repreſs the ambition of the great, who might aſpire at the crown, and oppoſe all the attacks from foreign enemies. He added, that he could not, without aſtoniſhment, reflect on *Charles*'s late proceedings in *Norway*, and violently obliging the ſtates to elect him king, although he well knew, that *Norway* appertained, by right of ſucceſſion, to the king of *Denmark*. He doubted not, therefore, but that prince preferred war to peace, elſe would he never go on in a ſeries of ſuch practices. His majeſty then concluded, with exhorting the aſſembly to labour with him in avoiding hoſtilities, and a

war,

war, which could not fail of proving ruinous and deſtructive to the ſubjects of the three kingdoms, a conſequence, in his own opinion, not to be balanced by the moſt ſignal advantages to the king [a].

The Swedes diſguſted with Charles's government.

IT was evident that *Chriſtian*'s harangue made an impreſſion on the *Swediſh* plenipotentiaries and deputies, already diſguſted with the government of *Charles*, whom with regret they permitted to aſcend the throne, only becauſe they could not oppoſe his elevation. They replied therefore to his majeſty, that nothing would give them ſo much ſatisfaction as the means of eſtabliſhing a ſolid peace. They promiſed to uſe all their endeavours to procure the reſtitution of *Norway*, to which it was certain *Charles* had no manner of right; and they even went ſo far as to engage obliging him to abdicate the crown of *Sweden*, provided he could obtain the viceroyſhip of that kingdom. This reply was intirely correſpondent to the king's wiſh, and indeed more than he could well expect, at the firſt mention of his deſign. He told the plenipotentiaries, that for the ſake of peace he accepted their offer, provided that on their return they would exert themſelves to effect their promiſes.

ON their return to *Sweden*, they laid before the king the concluſion of the negotiation, with which *Charles* was violently enraged. He accuſed the plenipotentiaries of having exceeded their inſtructions and betrayed him: he confiſcated their eſtates, under pretence of their having conſpired againſt his crown, aſſembled a diet at *Calmar*, taking care that only his own creatures ſhould be preſent, and obliged them to renew their oath of allegiance. But inſtead of promoting his intereſt by ſuch violent meaſures, he ſeemed to labour his own deſtruction. The plenipotentiaries were noblemen of high diſtinction and great influence; the deputies joined with them, and all reſolved to revenge the affront and injury done them. They made offer of their ſervices to *Chriſtian*, who rejoiced at an acquiſition, which *Charles* deſpiſed under the falſe notion that his authority was too well eſtabliſhed to receive any ſhock from the revolt of ſuch a handful of his ſubjects. A. D. 1450.

CHRISTIAN waited for ſome time at *Helmſtadt*, expecting an anſwer from *Sweden*, with reſpect to the conditions ſtipulated at the congreſs; but the time appointed being elapſed, he called a diet in *Zealand*, to deliberate on the neceſſary meaſures to be taken. It was the opinion of the diet, and upon this a reſolution was formed, that his majeſty

[a] DES ROCHES Hiſt. de Denmarc, t. iv. Vit. Chriſt.

ſhould not enter upon open war, but content himſelf with annoying the commerce, and harraſſing the coaſts of *Sweden* and *Norway*, which would encreaſe the people's diſtaſte of *Charles*'s government, of which they already complained, and make them more eager to renew the union of the three crowns. Accordingly an army was levied, and a fleet equipped. Orders were given to the generals and admirals, to make deſcents on all the coaſts of *Sweden*, where they imagined they could be ſucceſsful, but without hazard. They punctually executed their commiſſion, having ravaged the whole ſea-coaſt, and advanced within ſight of *Stockholm*. Here the troops were landed, and terrible incurſions made to the very walls of the capital; after which they embarked again without loſs, carrying with them a prodigious booty. *Johannes Gothus* alledges, however, that this booty coſt them dear; for while they were diſperſed in negligence and ſecurity about the country, they were attacked by a body of *Swedes*, who defeated them, took a great number of priſoners, and left ſome hundreds dead upon the field [a].

A. D. 1451. THE following year *Chriſtian* went to *Wiſmar*, under pretence of performing a vow; but in reality to confer with the margrave and other *German* princes, and to labour to prevail on the hanſe-towns to refuſe *Charles* the ſuccours he ſolicited. In one reſpect this journey profited the *Daniſh* monarch; in another it was prejudicial to his intereſt. He executed all he deſired with the *German* ſtates; but *Charles* taking advantage of his abſence, revenged upon *Schonen* the inſults committed by *Chriſtian*'s fleet on the *Swediſh* coaſts. He entered the province in the depth of winter, with an army ſaid to amount to ſeventy thouſand men, burning and deſtroying all before him. Men, women, and children, without diſtinction, were cruelly put to the ſword. Such as were happy enough to eſcape the fury of this barbarous foe, took ſhelter in the mountains and inacceſſible rocks, where, endeavouring to avoid the ſword, they encountered a death more terrible from cold and famine. Nor did the villages and little market towns alone feel the weight of *Charles*'s reſentment. The towns of *Helſinburg* and *Landſkroon* were reduced to aſhes. *Lunden* indeed repulſed all the endeavours of this formidable army. Archbiſhop *Tychon*, at the head of a body of brave volunteers, made ſuch furious ſallies, as forced the *Swedes* to retire with great loſs, after they had ſet fire to the ſuburbs. *Charles* continued for ſeveral weeks before this city, but the laſt ſally he could not ſtand. *Tychon* had collected his whole

Charles *enters* Schonen, *and lays waſte the provinces.*

[a] MEURS. Vit. Chriſt. p. 14.

force,

foree, and burſting forth from one of the ports like an irreſiſtible torrent, drove all before him, and was ſeconded in the purſuit by a great body of peaſants, who fell upon the flying *Swedes*, and made terrible deſtruction. This diſgrace only ſerved to ſharpen the cruelty and ſword of *Charles*. Retiring to the monaſtery of *Dalben*, he ſacrificed in cold blood a number of merchants, who had taken ſhelter in the monaſtery as a place of ſecurity. He burnt ſeveral other religious houſes in his retreat, and attacked the caſtle of *Wetcheffle*, where he met with a repulſe from the lady to whom it belonged. This heroine collecting together her vaſſals and tenants, gave *Charles* ſo warm a reception, that he was glad to purſue his march without making any farther attempts. Thus *Charles* was twice diſgraced by two perſons the leaſt fit for conducting military operations; the one on account of his ſacred function, the other by reaſon of her tender ſex.

CHRISTIAN's abſence deprived the unhappy *Schoneners* of protection; and now, on his return, the *Sound* was ſhut up with ice in ſuch a manner, as prevented him from giving them any effectual ſuccour. Enraged with the barbarity of *Charles*, the *Daniſh* monarch meditated revenge; and early in the ſpring ſent a ſtrong ſquadron, under *Olaus Axelſon*, to lay ſiege to *Stockholm*, while himſelf, at the head of a powerful army, entered *Sweden* on the other ſide. His firſt ſhock fell upon *Weſt Gothland*, where he eaſily reduced *Ladeſe*, and made ſome ſtay in order to repair the fortifications: but his time was not idly ſpent, though he ſeemed to paſs it inactively. At *Ladeſe* he had frequent conferences with the nobility and gentry of *Weſt Gothland*, all of whom promiſed to acknowledge him for their ſovereign, as ſoon as he had conquered a certain part of *Sweden*. Others did not demand any conditions: they, without heſitation, renounced their allegiance to *Charles*, and ſwore obedience to *Chriſtian*. Nor did the fortifications ſo wholly employ the *Daniſh* troops, as to prevent their making very profitable excurſions into the neighbouring country, where they plundered the houſes and eſtates of ſuch as remained in their allegiance to *Charles*. The *Swediſh* peaſants ſought ſhelter in the mountains; but receiving intelligence that the enemy were leſs numerous than at firſt they imagined, they aſſembled and attacked the *Danes*, whom they found diſperſed in queſt of booty about the country, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. Another body of *Danes*, hearing of the fate of their comrades, drew the peaſant army to a battle in the open plain, and had their revenge, by obtaining a ſignal and complete victory. By this laſt advantage, the whole province ſubmitted to *Chriſtian*; all the inhabitants,

The Daniſh fleet lays ſiege to Stockholm.

A. D. 1452.

whether peaſants or nobles, acknowledging *Chriſtian* for their ſovereign.

Charles returns to Sweden with a great army.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Weſt Gothland*, *Charles* entered *Upland* at the head of his army, and deſcended into the foreſt of *Tywedem*, with intention to oppoſe *Chriſtian*'s progreſs. With this view he placed his troops in ambuſh on the road the *Daniſh* army muſt march; but hearing that *Stockholm* was inveſted, he altered his deſign, and flew to the relief of the capital. His arrival was ſeaſonable: the city had been cloſely blocked up by ſea, and the troops were juſt beginning to carry on their approaches by land. The beſieged, encouraged by the preſence of their monarch, took the moſt vigorous meaſures for their defence; and the *Danes*, perceiving that all their endeavours to reduce the place would be vain, quitted the ſiege, and ſet ſail for *Denmark*.

THIS diſappointment was followed by another, more important. *Chriſtian*, determining to return to *Denmark*, on account of the approaching winter, ſent before him a detachment to clear the roads, and ſecure the army againſt ambuſcades. The officer appointed to this duty diſcharged his buſineſs ſo negligently, that he fell into the ambuſh he was ſent to avoid, and was cut in pieces, with all his corps.

Affairs of Sweden.

THIS ſucceſs gave freſh courage to *Charles*, who, advancing towards *Weſt Gothland*, detached a part of his army to attack *Ladeſe*, which place had been newly fortified by the *Danes*. *Thord Bonde* was choſen to execute this buſineſs, and he acquitted himſelf with aſtoniſhing diligence, marching day and night through thick foreſts, over ſteep rocks and mountains covered with ice and ſnow, until he at length arrived before the town, which he attacked, ſword in hand, and carried, making the whole garriſon priſoners at diſcretion. No ſooner had *Charles* received the welcome news than he haſtened with his army to *Weſt Gothland*, and obliged all the governors, placed in the different garriſons by *Chriſtian*, to ſurrender their truſts to him [a].

CHRISTIAN was not, however, diſconcerted at theſe ſucceſſes gained by the enemy. He had another game to play; it being leſs his intention to carry on a war with *Charles*, than by dint of policy to oblige the *Swedes* to demand the execution of the union of *Calmar*. To effect this he did not enter upon freſh hoſtilities; but continued to keep the whole nation under perpetual alarms, and conſtrain *Charles* to maintain ſo large a ſtanding army as would ſoon impoveriſh the kingdom, and render his government odious to the people.

[a] MEURS. ibid.

At

t the *Swediſh* troops began to murmur at the frequent
es and countermarches they were forced to make, ac-
g to the alarm ſpread by *Chriſtian*. The people com-
d loudly of the weight of taxes, and the oppreſſion of
litary. This was preciſely what the artful *Daniſh* mo-
foreſaw; but theſe were not all the misfortunes to which
by *Sweden* was expoſed. The governors of provinces,
and forts, ſeized the opportunity of enriching them-
with the ſpoils of the people, under the pretext of ſup-
the requiſite military force, and even raiſed contribu-
as if they were in an enemy's country. All theſe ac-
ted miſeries might however be thought tolerable, had
pleaſed the Almighty to crown them with thoſe two
readful ſcourges of mankind, peſtilence and famine,
raged with unrelenting fury among men and cattle.
H for a conſiderable time was the deplorable condition
den; while *Denmark*, the neighbouring kingdom, en-
afe, plenty, and ſecurity. If at any time the repoſe of
gdom was diſturbed, it proceeded only from ſome ſlight
h with the enemy, or incurſion into their country.

A. D. 1455. Chriſtian *again invades* Sweden.

s year *Chriſtian* reſolved to diſtreſs *Sweden* ſtill more,
once to reduce *Charles* to the neceſſity of making peace
terms he ſhould think fit to grant. At the head of a
ous army he paſſed the borders, and laid ſiege to *Elfs-*
which fortreſs he carried by aſſault. Next he repaired
ifications of *Denholm*, the key of *Schonen*, to prevent
emy from over-running that province a ſecond time.

He takes the iſle of Oeland.

aged by his ſucceſſes, he formed greater deſigns; the
p to which was the conqueſt of the iſland *Oeland*. This
ion he intruſted to general *Green*, who had left the
ſervice in diſguſt. He made a deſcent, in ſpite of the
ce of the inhabitants, and ſat down with his army be-
rkholm. The garriſon bravely ſtood out to the laſt,
not ſurrender before a large breach was made, and the
were preparing to give the aſſault; and then too upon
able conditions. *Green*, however, took one precau-
nd ſtrictly prohibited any officer or ſoldier of the garri-
der pain of death, to carry off any thing beſides his
fects. This he did upon receiving advice that *Charles*
dged a conſiderable treaſure here, to ſupport a war
Denmark[a].

the other hand, *Chriſtian* was making a rapid progreſs
reduction of the continent of *Sweden*, inſomuch that
ops and nobility, to avoid the horrors of war, were

[a] Meurs. Vit. Chriſt. p. 19.

forming a deſign of beſtowing the crown upon him. They complained, that *Charles*, naturally haughty, grew intolerable ſince his acceſſion, governing in the moſt arbitrary manner, attacking the privileges of the different ſtates, and regulating all things by his will, without regard to law and the conſtitution. Since the reign of *Margaret*, the biſhops had been ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of *Denmark*, that queen having raiſed their authority in the government above the nobility. They could not ſupport the thoughts of a reduction of power, which *Charles* was continually attempting, nor that any of the church-lands ſhould be ſequeſtered for the uſe of the crown. That prince had appointed commiſſioners to examine into the titles by which the clergy held divers eſtates. He publiſhed a decree, forbidding all his ſubjects, under ſevere penalties, from founding religious houſes and eſtabliſhments, ſo prejudicial to the kingdom in general, and injurious to individuals, as it would put the whole wealth into the hands of the clergy.

Chriſtian foments the diſcontents of the Swedes.

NOTHING could be more agreeable to *Chriſtian* than this policy of the *Swediſh* monarch, which was unſeaſonable with reſpect to his own intereſt, but ſalutary to his people. The clergy treated him as a heretic, and regarded his attacks on their temporal intereſt as an attempt againſt religion, in which view they artfully preſented it to the people. In this conſiſts the ſtrength of the politics of this ſacred body: whatever affects their power and wealth is immediately confounded with religion itſelf; the cry is raiſed againſt dangerous innovation; the flames of ſedition kindled, and the real cauſe of their jealouſy and reſentment concealed, amidſt a thouſand other falſe but ſpecious pretexts. It happened thus with the *Swediſh* clergy, who openly revolted againſt *Charles*, though he had never meddled with religion, and engaged more than half of *Sweden* in their deſigns. The archbiſhop of *Upſal*, on account of ſome perſonal grievances, declared himſelf the head of this revolt. He ſent privately to *Chriſtian*, inviting him into *Sweden* to reſtore the union of *Calmar*, aſſuring him, that all the clergy would declare in his favour, and that they were ready to a man to receive him in their cities and garriſons as their lawful ſovereign.

A. D. 1446.

CHRISTIAN had long watched this occaſion, and now reſolved to embrace it. He equipped a fleet, which he ſent to *Finland*, under the command of general *Green*. *Wiburg* was beſieged and taken, and then the citadel attacked with the ſame vigour: but *Green*, perceiving the garriſon reſolute and well provided, ſet fire to the city, and retired. Now the haughtineſs of *Charles*, which hitherto was ſupported by power

and

and the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the kingdom, began to ſtagger. The late motions of the clergy gave him a violent ſhock, and the progreſs of the *Daniſh* arms in *Finland* opened his eyes to his own danger, and ſet in full view the dreadful precipice on which he ſtood. Immediately he called a diet at *Stockholm*, to deliberate on the moſt effectual means of oppoſing the impending ſtorm. But the buſineſs on which the diet entered was of a quite different nature: the archbiſhop of *Upſal* demanded an equivalent for certain ſhips he had loſt the preceding ſpring, by means of the *Danes*. *Charles*, who did not imagine himſelf bound to make ſatisfaction, referred the matter to the diet, who gave judgment againſt his majeſty. Diſſatisfied with their deciſion, he accuſed the diet of partiality and corruption, which ſoon put an end to their proceedings, and made the aſſembly break up in very ill temper, fully reſolved to revenge themſelves the firſt opportunity that offered. *Affairs of* Sweden.

IT was not long before the ſtates found occaſion to ſhew their diſpoſition. In the ſpring the king went to *Calmar*, with intention to reconquer *Oeland*; and his abſence furniſhed the archbiſhop of *Upſal* with the means of executing the ſcheme he projected. Firſt, he arreſted *Hacquin Swenſon*, marechal of the houſhold, and impriſoned him in the caſtle of *Solſtedt*. Afterwards entering the metropolitan church, and convening the chapter, he put on his ſacerdotal ornaments, and proſtrated himſelf before the high altar; then laying aſide his habit, he ſwore he would never again reſume it, until he had driven king *Charles* out of the throne of *Sweden*, and ſubſtituted another ſovereign in his room: Taking up a ſword and ſhield, he marched out of the church at the head of all his vaſſals and dependants, and fixed a declaration on the church-door; by which he not only renounced his allegiance, but declared *Charles* the enemy of his country, and a tyrannical uſurper, who would overthrow the liberties of the people, and the eſtabliſhed religion. His next ſtep was to juſtify theſe violent meaſures to the nation, which he did by a bitter charge drawn up againſt the king, accuſing him of violence, tyranny, oppreſſion, pride, arrogance, and avarice; in a word, of every crime which could render him deteſtable in the eyes of a free people. A. D. 1457.

THE archbiſhop knew well that no time muſt be loſt in backing ſo open a declaration with force: he left no ſtone unturned to bring the nobility and commons into his ſentiments, and he commenced hoſtilities by laying ſiege to *Arhuſen* in form. *Charles* was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he marched with the utmoſt expedition towards *Arhuſen*,

with intention to ſurpriſe the archbiſhop; but the artful prelate, informed of his motions, made a forced march in the night, and by break of day attacked the king's forces near *Stregnez*, while his majeſty believed himſelf at the diſtance of a day's journey from him. At firſt he was diſconcerted; but immediately recollecting himſelf, he encouraged his troops, and relied upon his numbers. However, a wound which he received obliged him to retire out of the field; a circumſtance that ſo diſheartened the ſoldiers, as gave the archbiſhop an eaſy but no very important victory. *Charles* took ſhelter in *Stockholm*, and, to prevent his being purſued, ordered the ſuburbs to be ſet on fire. Thither he was followed by the prelate, who, after raiſing the whole country in arms, laid ſiege to the capital. His operations were vigorous, and the king's ſituation declining. At laſt, *Charles* deſpairing of relief, and finding the greater part of the nation diſaffected, concealed the public treaſure in the houſe of the *Dominican* friars, and embarked with his own private riches in a ſhip, with which he ſet ſail in the night to *Dantzic*. This event happened in the month of *March*, 1458, and in the ninth year of his reign. Immediately the *Swediſh* lords in *Denmark* returned to *Stockholm*, entered upon the public affairs in conſultation with the archbiſhop, and unanimouſly reſolved to elect *Chriſtian* in the room of *Charles*, who had, by his flight, abdicated the throne. Accordingly they diſpatched an ambaſſy, to invite the *Daniſh* monarch to accept of their crown, and come to *Stockholm*, to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. The offer was not rejected; *Chriſtian* equipped a fleet, and ſet ſail, attended with a great number of nobility, for *Sweden*. On his firſt arrival he was preſented with a writing, containing the chief articles of the privileges of the nation, which he read over and ſigned without heſitation, finding them perfectly conſonant to reaſon and juſtice. He was then conducted, firſt into the church by the archbiſhop and ſenate, and then into the citadel, amidſt the acclamations of the people. No ſooner was he inveſted with the badges of authority, than he applied himſelf diligently to reeſtabliſh tranquility and good order. An infinity of complaints againſt the late king came pouring in daily, all proteſting that they had taken arms againſt their preſent ſovereign, only becauſe they had been deceived by the cunning of *Charles*. The king gave obliging anſwers to all the plaintiffs, bid them be of good courage, for it ſhould be his ſtudy to redreſs all their grievances, and render their lives happy [a].

Charles is depoſed. A. D. 1458.

Chriſtian is elected king of Sweden, *and thereby unites the three crowns.*

[a] Meurs. p. 22

The

THE acquiſition of the *Swediſh* crown ſoon gained *Chriſtian* that of *Norway*. He had nothing more to do than preſent himſelf at *Drontheim*, and receive the allegiance of the ſtates of *Norway*. To this was added another valuable acquiſition, and the more ſo, as it had for above half a century been the cauſe of numberleſs misfortunes to *Denmark*. *Adolphus*, duke of *Sleſwick*, uncle by the mother's ſide to *Chriſtian*, dying without iſſue, the dutchy reverted inconteſtably to the crown of *Denmark*; but there remained diſputes about the ſucceſſion to *Holſtein* and *Stormar*, that laid the foundation of much trouble to all the neighbouring ſtates. *Chriſtian* had a juſt claim upon theſe territories; but as they were perſonal, and not derived from his crown, it will be unneceſſary to enter upon particulars. Sufficient it is, that the earldoms of *Holſtein* and *Stormar* were ceded to the king, on condition that he paid to *Otton*, earl of *Schawemburg*, the other claimant, the ſum of forty thouſand ducats, buying off likewiſe the pretenſions of *Gerhard* and *Maurice*, nephews to the late *Adolphus*, for an equivalent [b].

The dutchy of Sleſwick *reverts to the crown of* Denmark.

WHEN *Chriſtian* took poſſeſſion of theſe earldoms, it was expedient he ſhould receive an oath of allegiance from his ſubjects and vaſſals. The city of *Hamburg* was within the juriſdiction of *Stormar*, and thither the king went to receive the allegiance of the magiſtrates. But they repreſented to him, that all the former earls were ſatisfied with a promiſe of obedience, without ever exacting an oath; they therefore beſought his majeſty, that he would not break through an antient cuſtom, which greatly affected their liberties. *Chriſtian*'s moderation profited him on this occaſion: he ſeemed ſatisfied with their apology, and they, in return, not only promiſed obedience, but likewiſe to take the oaths whenever his preſent majeſty, or his ſucceſſors, ſhould require.

Chriſtian's moderation.

THE king held his court this year at *Reinfelden*, in *Sleſwick*, where he endeavoured to compoſe certain diſturbances, which had their origin in the free town of *Lunenburg*. The ſenate of this town, finding the public debt inconvenient, applied certain effects of the church to the payment of the moſt oppreſſive incumbrances. The biſhops of *Schwerin* and *Lubec* complained violently of this proceeding; laid it before his holineſs, who immediately interdicted the ſenate and inhabitants, until ſuch time as reſtitution was made to the church. This occaſioned an inſurrection in *Lunenburg*; the inhabitants conſpiring againſt the magiſtrates, depoſed them, created new officers, who were ſoon turned out to make room for the

A. D. 1460.

[b] Id. ibid.

old.

old. Seditions of the ſame nature happened in *Lubec* and *Hamburgh*, and were carried on with equal violence. *John*, biſhop of *Werden*, who, of all the clergy, happened to incur the pope's cenſure, on account of his ſiding with the ſenate of *Lunenburg*, came to wait on the king at *Reinfelden*. At this prelate's requeſt *Chriſtian* interpoſed, and by his mediation brought about a good underſtanding and perfect reconciliation between the people and clergy of the hanſe-towns. It was this year that he obliged the *Dominicans* to refund the treaſure lodged in their hands by *Charles*, after they had for a long time denied the fact.

A. D. 1461. THE following year the pope's legate came to *Sweden*, with full powers to grant indulgences to all thoſe who would contribute a certain ſum towards carrying on a war againſt the Infidels: a ſtate-pretext which the holy ſee had often ſucceſsfully pleaded, to fleece the ſubjects of every crown that acknowledged the ſupremacy of the pope. *Chriſtian*, however, put a check to the rapid progreſs the legate was making in levying this tax upon ſuperſtition. He pretended that money was wanted to execute an expedition he deſigned againſt certain ſchiſmatics in his neighbourhood, and came to an agreement with the legate, that the ſum levied by indulgences ſhould be divided between them; in conſequence of which he repleniſhed the treaſury, without diſſatisfying the people.

His policy.

A. D. 1462. ABOUT this time the two brothers *Gerhard* and *Maurice*, ſons of *Adolphus*, came to a rupture about the county or earldom of *Delmenhorſt*, to which both laid claim. *Gerhard* was ſupported by the king; but the affairs of *Sweden* requiring his return, he wrote to the duke of *Brunſwick* and biſhop of *Munſter* to aſſiſt *Gerhard*, then beſieged by his brother in *Delmenhorſt*; a requeſt with which the duke, pleaſed with an opportunity of obliging his majeſty, immediately complied. He marched with great diligence to the relief of the beſieged, attacked *Maurice* in his trenches, and, after a very bloody action, forced him to raiſe the ſiege. Next year his majeſty mediated a peace between the two brothers, in which he did not forget his own intereſt; but we are not informed of the particulars.

A. D. 1463. THIS year *Chriſtian* made a tour to *Mecklenburg*, and held a congreſs at *Wiſmar*, in the marche of *Brandenburg*, with a number of *German* princes; the intention of which is not ſet forth by writers. It is ſuppoſed, however, that meaſures were concerted for humbling the pride of the hanſe-towns, whoſe inſolence daily encreaſed with their opulence, and gave umbrage to all the neighbouring ſtates. Others again are of opinion, that only a defenſive league was formed.

IN

In the mean time the *Swedes* began to complain loudly of his majeſty's abſence, and permitting the people to be oppreſſed by lieutenants and officers. They were aſtoniſhed that a prince, ſo prudent as *Chriſtian*, ſhould have fallen into an error of government ſo fatal to ſeveral of his predeceſſors. They alſo blamed him loudly for applying the national treaſure, recovered from the *Dominicans*, towards the purchaſe of *Holſtein* and *Stormar*, two earldoms, with which *Sweden* had no connection. On the other hand, *Chriſtian* was informed of the diſcontents of the *Swedes*, and all their motions; in conſequence of which he paſſed ſuddenly to *Stockholm*, with intention to ſtifle the ſparks of ſedition, before they received ſtrength. His project however miſcarried, and he fell into the ſnare laid for him by his enemies. This is not the place to enter minutely upon the whole of the plan, ſchemed out by ſome artful enemies to *Chriſtian* and their country; ſufficient it is, that they produced a jealouſy between him and the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, his moſt faithful ſubject, which was the firſt occaſion of the revolt that followed. His majeſty firſt ſeized upon the archbiſhop's perſon, and ſent him priſoner into *Denmark*, making himſelf afterwards maſter of all the garriſons within that prelate's juriſdiction. *Ketill*, biſhop of *Linco-ping*, nephew to the archbiſhop, wrote to the king to releaſe his uncle, threatening in caſe of refuſal to uſe force. *Chriſtian* deſpiſed his menaces, was beſieged in *Stockholm* by the prelate, and after a ſharp action, forced to retire privately into *Denmark*, to avoid falling into his hands.

The Swedes begin to expreſs uneaſineſs under the new government.

A view of the affairs of Sweden.

Early in the following ſpring he returned with a powerful armament to *Sweden*. *Katill*, unable to oppoſe ſo numerous an army, retired to the province of *Dalia*, and blocked up all the roads with forts built in convenient places, and trees cut down in all the avenues. *Chriſtian*, truſting to his ſtrength, purſued his march, imagining he ſhould eaſily ſurmount all the difficulties raiſed by ſo ſlender a body of men; but upon entering the foreſts and narrow ways, his troops were ſo galled by the arrows diſcharged by the peaſants placed in ambuſh, that he was forced to retire precipitately to *Stockholm*, after loſing a great number of his beſt men and officers. *Katill* purſued him thither, and immediately laid ſiege a ſecond time to the city. His majeſty, not chuſing to run the conſequences of a ſiege, having fortified in the beſt manner poſſible the town and citadel, took ſhip and ſailed to *Denmark* (A).

A. D. 1464.

The Swedes revolt.

It

(A) This is the relation of *Meurſius*, though we find it conteſted by other writers. All however agree, that after *Chriſtian*'s

IT was ſoon after his majeſty's retreat, that *Katill* publiſhed a manifeſto in vindication of his own conduct, filled with large promiſes to the people, bitter invectives againſt *Chriſtian*, renouncing the allegiance he had ſworn to that prince, and inviting *Charles*, his rival, again to return to the throne, from which he was ſo ſolemnly and lately depoſed. *Charles* did not heſitate to embrace the propoſal; he returned, and was a ſecond time acknowledged king; a piece of good fortune that was but of ſhort duration. Diviſions aroſe among his ſubjects; he ſoon became as odious as ever; and he abdicated the crown with more diſhonour than before, having the additional diſgrace of not profiting by experience [a].

Charles recalled to the throne.

CHRISTIAN at length perceived his own error in diſobliging the whole body of the clergy, by the affront put on the archbiſhop. He therefore ſtudied to repair his fault by releaſing the prelate, loading him with civilities and excuſes, and obtaining his promiſe to forget all injuries, and take up arms againſt *Charles*. The archbiſhop aſked no troops, knowing that *Chriſtian* would have occaſion to employ all his forces in another quarter; he contented himſelf with a ſum of money, and poſted to *Sweden* to raiſe forces.

A. D. 1465. THIS year ſome diſturbances appeared on the ſide of *Holſtein*. *Gerhard*, earl of *Oldenburg*, took arms to compel his *Daniſh* majeſty to pay him a ſum of money due to him as the heir and executor of *Maurice*. Under pretence of viſiting ſome noblemen in *Holſtein*, he entered the country with a body of troops, and ſeized upon ſeveral ſtrong holds by ſurprize. So beloved was this prince in *Holſtein*, that no one oppoſed his progreſs; only the ſtates wrote to *Chriſtian*, that however buſied he might be with the affairs of *Sweden*, thoſe of *Holſtein* required his immediate preſence. His majeſty ordered a diet at *Kiel*, and attended in perſon. Prince *Gerhard* likewiſe appeared, and ſpoke with ſuch force of eloquence, that the king promiſed to pay him the money in diſpute, or give him an equivalent in land. *Gerhard* accepted the propoſal, and the two princes parted extremely good friends.

Diſputes between Denmark *and the earl of* Oldenburg.

BUT other matters of diſpute ſoon aroſe; the more his majeſty granted, the more was required by his ambitious and turbulent

[a] MEURS. ibid. PUFFEND. l. iv. Hiſt. Univer.

tian's ſecond retreat, *Katill* remained maſter of *Sweden*; but was moderate enough in the height of his proſperity to make repeated offers to the king of reſtoring him, if he would conſent to releaſe his uncle, a propoſition which he conſtantly rejected (1).

(1) *Meurſ. Vit. Chriſ. l. i. p. 10.*

ſulent brother. At the time when *Chriſtian* imagined he had perfectly ſatisfied him, it was matter of ſurprize to hear, that *Gerhard* had ſeized upon *Huſum*, was at the head of a body of forces, and in hourly expectation of being joined by the *Eaſt Frieſelanders*. *Chriſtian* loſt all patience at this freſh inſtance of diſobedience and unbrotherly conduct. He marched immediately to attack the rebels; and *Gerhard* hearing of his approach with a ſuperior army, fled precipitately, leaving the *Frieſelanders* to the king's mercy, who puniſhed only the ring-leaders and fomenters of this ſedition.

Affairs of Sweden.

IN *Sweden* the archbiſhop performed his engagements to *Chriſtian:* he got together a numerous army, advanced and beſieged *Stockholm*, and gave battle to *Charles* upon the ice. Both ſides fought with the utmoſt obſtinacy; but at laſt the prelate gained a complete but bloody victory. *Charles* was driven back to the city, and forced, in a ſhort time, to ſurrender at diſcretion. Upon this the archbiſhop called a diet, obliged *Charles* to renounce the crown, and ſwear that he never more would aſpire at remounting the throne, nor even accept of the crown ſhould it be tendered to him. Finally, he was ſent priſoner to *Finland*, with a certain appointment for his ſubſiſtence.

Charles *renounces his claim to the crown.*

A. D. 1466.

BUT although the affairs of this unhappy prince were ruined in appearance, *Chriſtian* profited nothing by them. High diſputes aroſe about a ſucceſſor. The archbiſhop ſupported *Chriſtian*'s intereſt; and *Eric Axelſon* eſpouſed *Charles*, to whoſe daughter he was married. In the end *Axelſon* was choſen protector; and the election of a king poſtponed. This new form of adminiſtration ſoon became odious, and the people loudly called out for reſtoring *Charles*, which the archbiſhop oppoſed with all his power. The inactivity of *Chriſtian* upon this occaſion, is indeed unaccountable; hardly any meaſures were taken to ſupport his party in *Sweden*; all was referred to the archbiſhop, who exerted himſelf in a manner that ſhewed him equally a ſtateſman and ſoldier. Only two reaſons can be aſſigned for *Chriſtian*'s conduct; either his brother *Gerhard* gave him too much employment on the ſide of *Germany*, to allow him to attend to the affairs of *Sweden*, or he was apprehenſive of becoming unpopular, by enforcing his claim with an army of *Danes* and foreigners. At laſt, after four years had paſſed in perfect inactivity, *Chriſtian* fitted out a large fleet, and made a deſcent on *Sweden*, where he took ſome fortreſſes. His ſucceſſes, however, were not proportioned to the public expectation, and the king returned without gaining any conſiderable advantage [a].

Chriſtian's *inactivity.*

A. D. 1469.

[a] MEURS. ibid.

AXELSON,

AXELSON, the Protector, reſolved to make repriſals, and accordingly was marching to invade *Denmark*, when he was met by the king at the head of an equal force. Both armies engaged, and the *Swedes* were defeated with ſuch loſs, as prevented their ever again making head againſt *Chriſtian*, and obliged them to propoſe terms of accommodation (A). The propoſitions were, that all the ſtates of *Sweden* ſhould acknowledge him king; that *Charles* ſhould reſt ſatisfied with certain lands appointed for his maintenance; and that a congreſs ſhould be held at *Lubec*, to terminate the whole buſineſs to his majeſty's ſatisfaction. *Chriſtian* was naturally inclined to pacific meaſures. He choſe rather to relinquiſh the certain fruits of his victory, than reject theſe propoſitions, which were made with no other intention than putting a ſtop to his progreſs in *Sweden*. He ceaſed hoſtilities, and returned to *Denmark*, to wait the execution of the protector's promiſe.

On the day appointed for the congreſs, his majeſty arrived at *Lubec*, expecting to find the *Swediſh* deputies; but they were not ſo punctual; and when they came, their apology carried evident ſigns of backwardneſs to the buſineſs expected from them. In a word, ſo many difficulties were ſtarted by the *Swedes*, that not an article was agreed upon, and the congreſs broke up without appointing another meeting.

The *Lubeckers* embraced this occaſion of making freſh remonſtrances to *Chriſtian* about the reſtitution of their ſhips and effects. They were more ſucceſsful than before, the king having paid down a ſum of money in part, and given the fortreſs of *Kiel* as ſecurity for the remainder. Although *Chriſtian* expreſſed no reſentment to the deputies, yet he took meaſures for revenging their breach of promiſe. He was unfortunate only in not chuſing a proper ſeaſon for executing his purpoſe. In the depth of winter he paſſed with an army into *Weſt Gothland*, and laid ſiege to the ſtrong fortreſs of *Oereſteen*. The *Swedes* flew to the relief of the garriſon, and, by a bold puſh, broke through the king's lines, and threw in a conſiderable reinforcement, which obliged his majeſty to raiſe

(A) This year the *Daniſh* ſquadron attacked a rich fleet of *Lubeckers*, under pretence of their ſupplying with proviſions and warlike ſtores, the enemies of *Denmark*. The booty was prodigious, and the *Lubeckers* ſent deputies to demand reſtitution; but *Chriſtian* anſwered, that it was impoſſible, the booty having been divided among his whole fleet and army; an anſwer with which the *Lubeckers* were forced to reſt ſatisfied (1).

(1) *Meurſ. p.* 10.

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the ſiege, after receiving a wound, as ſome authors alledge [a], and return to *Denmark*.

THIS year *Charles Canutſon*, ſo often depoſed, yielded up his laſt breath, which occaſioned the meeting of a diet, to deliberate on the future election. A ſtrong party appeared in favour of *Chriſtian*, but at length *Steen-Sture* was choſen regent of the kingdom; the nobility apprehending, that ſhould they elect a king, he might recover all the fortreſſes and caſtles belonging to the crown, which they had uſurped. They likewiſe flattered themſelves with enjoying more liberty under a regent, though, in fact, this magiſtrate differed only in name from a king. *Chriſtian* determined to ſupport his claim and adherents by force of arms. A powerful armament was ſet on foot, with which he ſailed ſtrait to *Stockholm*; but here he was again amuſed with propoſals for an accommodation, and fair ſpeeches, until the *Swedes* had augmented their forces. The king perceived his error when it was paſt remedy; but enraged at their treachery, he landed his forces, engaged the enemy with great vigour, and would, in all appearance, have been victorious, had he not been diſabled by the wound of an arrow in the mouth, which broke ſeveral of his teeth, and of a muſket-ball in the throat, which obliged him to quit the field. He drew off his army in good order, and retreated unmoleſted to his ſhips [b]. The *Swediſh* hiſtorians ſpeak different, alledging, that the *Danes* were defeated, and a great number taken priſoners. Certain it is, that *Chriſtian* returned to *Denmark*, and never afterwards undertook any conſiderable enterprize againſt the regent, though his fleet hovered round the coaſts, and kept the kingdom under continual alarms. He conſtantly preferred peace and tranquility to the din of war; and from a natural averſion to ſpilling the blood of his ſubjects, as well as from an ambition to leave the kingdoms of *Norway* and *Denmark* rich and flouriſhing to his ſucceſſor, he neglected to proſecute his claim upon *Sweden*.

A. D. 1470.

Affairs of Sweden.

Chriſtian *enters* Sweden.

Now it was that this excellent prince applied his mind wholly to the good of the ſtate, and works of piety. Beſides enforcing the laws, and amending them where they appeared defective, he gained the affections of the clergy, but eſpecially of the lame, blind, and decrepid, by his liberality, and generous endowments. His temper was tender and compaſſionate, even to weakneſs, if ſo amiable a diſpoſition carried even to exceſs, can merit the appellation. His donations

A. D. 1472.

He applies his mind to domeſtic affairs.

[a] VERT. Revol. de Sweden, t. i. PUFFEN. l. v. [b] MEURS. l. i. part ii. p. 11.

to

to the clergy were beſtowed with the utmoſt regard to merit; and thoſe only honoured with his favours who were exemplary for piety, and reſpectable for their learning and talents.

A. D. 1472. THE following year his majeſty ſet out on a pilgrimage to *Rome*, or rather upon a viſit to the pope, paying his reſpects to the emperor *Frederick* III. in his way. It was at this time he repreſented to his imperial majeſty, that in the *Daniſh* dominions ſubject to the empire, were a pernicious bold ſet of men *(Dithmarſians)* who acknowledged no authority, and perpetually harraſſed their neighbours. He requeſted the emperor's permiſſion to reduce them to obedience, and unite their country with *Holſtein* and *Stormar*, under the title of a dutchy. *Frederic* granted his requeſt, and inveſted *Chriſtian* in the uſual form with this whole country, in the manner he deſired. He then purſued his route to *Rome*, and was received with extraordinary diſtinctions by his holineſs, and the college of cardinals, thoſe ſagacious miniſters of *Chriſt* knowing well what honours and reſpect were due to a temporal prince of ſo much conſideration as *Chriſtian*.

He founds an univerſity. HIS firſt tranſaction after his return to his own dominions, was founding an univerſity for the encouragement of arts and ſciences. The ſenate was conſulted on this occaſion, and all unanimouſly were of opinion, that *Copenhagen*, on account of the reſidence of the court, and its prodigious commerce, was the fitteſt place for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a foundation.

A. D. 1475. Whether theſe arguments were not rather ſpecious than ſolid, it is not our buſineſs to examine: other countries have thought ſolitude and retirement the fitteſt companions of ſtudy and philoſophy.

TWO years afterwards *Chriſtian* reſolved to ſtrengthen the ſucceſſion by the marriage of the hereditary prince. With this view he ſent an ambaſſy to *Saxony* to demand *Chriſtina*, daughter to the elector *Erneſt*, for his ſon. The propoſals were accepted, and preparations made for ſolemnizing their eſpouſals with the utmoſt magnificence. It was not, however, before the year following that the marriage-ceremony was performed. On this occaſion, according to *Meurſius*, and ſome other writers, the order of the Elephant was firſt inſtituted, though ſome other hiſtorians attribute its eſtabliſhment to *Frederick* I. or II. or to *Chriſtian* IV. (A).

The hereditary prince marries Chriſtina *of* Saxony.

A. D. 1479.

UNTIL

(A) Originally this order bore a patriarchal croſs, which after the Proteſtant religion was introduced into *Denmark*, was changed for a gold chain, with an elephant ſuſpended to it. The king conferred this order only upon princes and nobility of

UNTIL now *Chriſtian* deſervedly bore the reputation of the oſt moderate, merciful, and mild prince, who had ever ayed the *Daniſh* ſceptre; but this year his temper took a ilden and very extraordinary turn, for which writers do not ttend to aſſign any cauſe. He perſecuted ſeveral of his urtiers, and among others a certain nobleman, who took lter at the court of *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, where he died of ief. This perſon's name is not mentioned; but we are d that his children endeavoured all in their power to re-in his majeſty's favour, but in vain: he was no leſs inexo-ble to the innocent children, than to the perhaps guilty ther [a]. A. D. 1479. Chriſtian *perſecutes a certain noble family of* Denmark.

ABOUT the year 1480, it was that *Chriſtian* endeavoured reſtore the union of *Calmar*, and obtained a congreſs to be ld with this view at *Helmſtadt*. The plenipotentiaries of e three kingdoms met, and all were perfectly ſatisfied of the tual advantages that would reſult from the union; but it s impoſſible to prevail on the *Swedes* to acknowledge *Chriſ-n* for their ſovereign. The *Daniſh* miniſters, however, ob-ned of them a promiſe that they would elect *John*, here-ary prince of *Denmark*, at his father's deceaſe. Soon after e prince *John* was aſſociated with his father in the throne of *nmark*, after having been ſolemnly crowned at *Lunden*.

THE hopes afforded by the *Swedes*, that the union of *Cal-r* might one day be revived, and the prince's elevation to e throne of *Denmark*, were the occaſion of great joy all over e kingdom. The birth of a young prince, named *Chriſ-n* after his father, was an addition to the public joy. othing but feaſtings, tournaments, and other rejoicings, re to be ſeen in *Denmark*; but his majeſty's death turned into mourning, which happened on the ſecond day of y, 1481, after a ſhort illneſs, from which no danger was prehended. *His death.*

CHRISTIAN wanted no other quality of a great prince, n a ſlight tincture of polite learning. In piety, juſtice, lity, moderation, courage, magnificence, and true dig-y of mind, he had few equals. During a reign of near ty-three years, he cannot be reproached with a ſingle le in his adminiſtration, except his arreſting the archbiſhop *Character.*

[a] MEURS. ibid.

the firſt diſtinction, obſerving e rule, which is never to be-w it on thoſe who have not firſt been favoured with the military order called *Danebrog* (1).

(1) *Vid. P. Buſſier, p.* 47.

of *Upſal*, his permitting himſelf to be amuſed with *Ax* promiſes, and his perſecution of the noble family we ha mentioned. With reſpect to the firſt, his honeſty was a The archbiſhop was accuſed of high crimes and m meanors he never committed, by perſons whoſe ve *Chriſtian* had no reaſon to doubt. As to the ſecond, blameleſs, ſince the moſt ſolemn aſſurances were given both by the regent and chief nobility of *Sweden*; aſſu which he could not ſuſpect, as they were the real inte the kingdom. But, with reſpect to the third accuſatio cannot pretend to vindicate *Chriſtian*, as the fact is a ſcurely related by hiſtorians. This we may venture, ever, to advance, that his perſecuting an unhappy fami inconſiſtent with the whole tenor of his conduct, and l tural diſpoſition, that we may very well ſuppoſe he ma had ſome cogent reaſons for his conduct.

He left three children; *John*, who immediately ſuc to the crown; *Frederick*, duke of *Sleſwick*, and afte king of *Denmark*; and *Margaret*, queen of *Scotland*, by *James* IV. had the *Orkneys* and *Shetland*, with this p according to the *Daniſh* writers, that the kings of D ſhould be at liberty to redeem thoſe lands at a certain and re-annex them to the crown of *Norway*, to whic originally belonged (A).

S E

(A) Before we enter upon the following reign, it may not be improper that we give a ſhort account of the houſe of *Oldenburg*, from which the *Daniſh* monarchs, beginning with *Chriſtian*, are deſcended. This family then derives it origin from *Wittikind*, one of the antient princes of *Saxony*, who bravely aſſerted the liberties of his country againſt *Charlemagne* for the ſpace of thirty years, and was at length forced to ſubmit to that powerful and fortunate monarch. He was ſoon after converted to Chriſtianity, and created duke of *Saxony*, in conſequence of ſome ſignal ſervices he did the emperor. Hiſtory affirms, that he died fighting with his ſword in his h the ſame emperor, who growing power he ſo obſ oppoſed. This happen battle againſt the *Swede* 800. As to the ſucce the *Oldenburg* family, be princes aſcended the throne, *Buffier* in his of the *Daniſh* kings, ſp the following terms: *H* ſcended from the du *Frieſeland*, married *Rixa* ter of *John* earl of *Old* the younger ſon of *Walp* of *Wigbert*, who was th ſon of *Wittikind* duke of This *Haio* left by his wi an only ſon called *Elmar* ſucceeded to the earldo *Oldenburg*, at the death

SECT. XII.

taining the Particulars of the Reign of King John.

JOHN.

THOUGH *John*, ſon of *Chriſtian*, was acknowledged king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, in his father's life-time, the *Swedes* had laid themſelves under a ſolemn promiſe ſe him for their ſovereign, yet he choſe to derive his from a free election of the ſtates of the three king- With the prince's permiſſion the *Daniſh* diet ſent am- ors to *Sweden* and *Norway*, inviting the diets of thoſe oms to ſend deputies to *Helmſtadt*, in order to proceed election of a ſovereign of the three kingdoms, agree- o the treaty of *Calmar*. *Steen-Sture* perceived that this ition tended to the annihilation of his authority, as re- and adminiſtrator of *Sweden*, and therefore at firſt ht of making no reply to the ambaſſadors. However, nceal his ambitious views, he determined at length to

John *king of* Denmark. A. D. 1481.

Frederic. Elemar II. his ceeded him; and he in rn was ſucceeded by *Chriſ-* is ſon, a valiant prince, ſuſtained long and bloody againſt *Henry Leo* of *Saxony*, we have had frequent on to mention in the pre- g hiſtory. *Chriſtian* being nated in his way to *Jeru-* the earldom fell to *Mau-* a cadet of the family, who, ng into a monaſtery, left ominions to his eldeſt ſon *Otto* dying without iſ- was ſucceeded by his third er *Chriſtian* II. After his *John* his eldeſt ſon be- earl of *Oldenburg*, being eded by *Conrad*, who left ominions to his ſon *Mau-* This prince dying with- male iſſue, was ſucceeded by *Theodoric* his couſin, who by marriage came into poſſeſſion of the earldom of *Delmenhorſt*. *Theodoric*, or *Thierry*, upon the death of his firſt wife, married *Hedwig*, widow of *Balthaſar* duke of *Mecklenburg*, and ſiſter to *Gerhard* and *Adolphus* dukes of *Holſtein* and *Sleſwick*, by whom he had ſeveral children, and among the reſt *Chriſtian*, the late king of *Denmark*, and the firſt of the *Oldenburg* family raiſed to that throne. This prince was ſtiled king of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, duke of *Sleſwick*, *Holſtein*, *Stormar*, *Wagria*, and *Dithmarſh*; earl of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorſt*, &c. all which titles deſcended to *John* his ſon (1).

(1) *Page* 120, *& ſeq.*

perform his promiſe by ſending deputies, but to obſtruct the buſineſs of the congreſs by all poſſible methods. The more ſtrongly to evince his ſincerity, he ſet out in perſon from *Stockholm* to attend the congreſs; but feigned ſo many obſtructions to the journey, and at length ſickneſs on the road, that the day for holding the congreſs was elapſed.

His election confirmed by the ſtates of Denmark *and* Norway.

UPON advice of the adminiſtrator's proceedings, the deputies of *Denmark* and *Norway* immediately confirmed *John*'s election, ſwearing they would never, during his life, acknowledge another ſovereign. Afterwards a general diet was held at *Calmar*, and a freſh oath was taken by the ſeveral ſtates of the two kingdoms, the governors of cities, provinces, and caſtles, and by all perſons poſſeſſed of places or penſions under the government.

THE firſt act of *John*'s reign was to aſſemble the ſtates of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein* at *Kiel*, to regulate ſome differences between himſelf and his brother *Frederick*, which was done to the advantage of the latter, at the interceſſion of the queen-mother, who expreſſed the utmoſt tenderneſs for her younger ſon. *Holſtein* was given him as his hereditary portion, and *Sleſwick* as a revocable fief of the crown, for which he was to pay homage. A conceſſion ſo important was looked upon as a proof of the extraordinary influence her majeſty had over the ſtates, as well as of her affection for *Frederick*. It occaſioned ſeveral remonſtrances to the king about the illegality of the proceeding, and the injuſtice done to his own family, in caſe he died the father of male iſſue, who might perhaps not ſucceed to an elective crown, and in that caſe would be left deſtitute of all proviſion. This was the opinion of the *Daniſh* diet; but the ſtates of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein* ſtuck faſt by the queen and *Frederick*. They carried their point, and theſe two valuable dutchies were again diſmembered from the crown, notwithſtanding the inconveniences lately felt from the grant made to the children of *Gerhard*[a]. It is indeed difficult to conceive how either his majeſty or the *Daniſh* diet ſhould ever accede to ſuch an act. The fact however is certain, and we muſt leave the motives to be ſuggeſted by the reader, as we do not find them ſpecified in hiſtory. Before the breaking up of the diet, *John* pardoned the children and family of that nobleman perſecuted by *Chriſtian* towards the end of his reign, gave them back the eſtate that had been confiſcated, and reſtored them to all the titles and honours the family had ever poſſeſſed.

[a] MEURS. Vit. Johan. p. 22.

ON his return to *Denmark*, he requeſted the ſenate to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation; but it was deferred for above two years, perhaps becauſe they were willing to dive into the character of their prince, before they abſolutely confirmed him in the ſovereignty. The tranquillity which the kingdom enjoyed inſpired his majeſty with the deſign of redeeming a number of crown lands and revenues, mortgaged by the late king. For this purpoſe he laid a general tax on all the ſubjects of *Denmark*, and ſummoned the diet of *Holſtein*, from whom he obtained leave to impoſe a tax of two ducats upon every plough (A). The ſame was granted by the ſtates of *Sleſwick*, although this tax came afterwards to be the occaſion of a war.

JOHN's aſſiduity to pay off the crown debts, and his attention to the public affairs, was ſo agreeable to the ſenate and people, that they reſolved to defer his coronation no longer. Accordingly he was ſolemnly crowned at *Copenhagen*, at a full diet of the ſtates of *Denmark* and *Norway*, a great number of *German* princes and deputies from the hanſe-towns, honouring the ceremony with their attendance. Soon after *John* went to *Norway* to receive the oaths of his ſubjects in that kingdom, and was again ſolemnly crowned at *Drontheim*. At his return he was ſtrongly ſolicited by ſeveral of his courtiers to carry on the war with *Sweden*, and urge the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaty of *Calmar*; but the queen-mother diſſuaded him from the enterprize. *Dorothea* was a woman, who, to profound ſkill in politics, and the buſineſs of the cabinet, annexed a moderation dictated by prudence and regard for the welfare of her ſubjects. She repreſented to *John* the difficulty of forcing a king upon a people ſo tenacious of liberty as the *Swedes*; and ſhould he ſucceed in this attempt, the little probability there was of keeping them in obedience. She told him, that he was more powerful in being the ſovereign of two kingdoms only, and poſſeſſing the affections of his ſubjects, than if he wore a triple crown, at the expence of employing the force of two to enforce the obedience of the third. She entreated him to reſt ſatisfied with his preſent dominions, and not ſuffer ambition to ruin the felicity himſelf and his ſubjects enjoyed, by bloody wars, which at laſt

John pays off the crown debts, and ſtudies the felicity of the people. A. D. 1483.

(A) From this circumſtance it would appear, that the ſole ſovereignty of *Holſtein* was not ceded to *Frederic*, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of ſeveral writers; and indeed *Meurſius* alledges, that a partition of the dutchies of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein* was made between *John* and his brother (t).

(t) *Meurſ. l.* ii. *p.* ii.

would only impoveriſh the kingdom in men and money. She added, that it was highly probable the *Swedes*, tired of their dependence on the regent, and wearied out with the inconveniencies of a form of government not ſuited to the genius of the people, would of their own accord throw themſelves in his arms, in which caſe he would be more ſecure of their fidelity and attachment [a].

John enters upon negotiations with the adminiſtrator of Sweden.

SUCH were the ſage counſels of this politic princeſs, which diverted *John* from entering upon a war with *Sweden*. He did not fail however to begin negotiations for renewing the treaty of *Calmar*; and at length matters went ſo far, that a congreſs of deputies from the ſtates of the three kingdoms was appointed to ſit upon a certain day. The *Swediſh* clergy had ſtrongly eſpouſed *John*, and the ſenate urged the congreſs ſo ſtrongly, that the regent could obtain nothing more than inſerting certain articles in the deputies inſtructions, with which he imagined *John* would never comply. The chief articles to which his majeſty was to ſwear, previous to his election, were, that he ſhould firſt of all pay the debts contracted by his father, while king of *Sweden*; that he ſhould repair all the loſſes of the people; that he ſhould put a final iſſue to the differences between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, concerning the iſland of *Gothland*; and thoſe with *Norway*, reſpecting *Skardal* and *Swarto*. It was believed by the regent, and his friends, that neither *John* nor the *Daniſh* diet would digeſt theſe terms; but the eagerneſs of the king and kingdom to ſee the crowns united, and the treaty of *Calmar* renewed, made them overlook every difficulty, and accede without heſitation to all the propoſitions. The regent finding himſelf diſappointed in his expectations, ſet all engines at work to fruſtrate the reſolution of the congreſs. He applied in perſon to all the nobility of the kingdom, requeſting that they would not receive *John* before he had executed all the conditions ſtipulated; and to give the more ſpecious colour to his diſobedience, he publiſhed a report that *John* had refuſed to pay his father's debts, or to terminate the diſpute about *Gothland*. In a word, his arts ſucceeded ſo happily, that we hear no more of the congreſs for two or three years.

Plague in Denmark.

THE year 1484 was uſhered in by the moſt terrible plague and famine that *Denmark* had ever felt. Near half the people were ſwept off; all the great towns, and even villages were almoſt depopulated, no part of the kingdom having eſcaped the ravages of theſe two moſt terrible afflic-

[a] MEURS. ibid. p. 25.

tions;

ns. The plague, in ſpite of all endeavours to check its greſs, continued to rage for the ſpace of two years. On third it ſubſided, and in a ſhort time after wholly diſapred, to the great joy of the whole kingdom. His ma- y did every thing that became a wiſe and humane prince, the relief of the poor; and to his excellent regulations, liberality, hiſtorians attribute the ſhort continuance of the ine, which ceaſed long before the plague. John's *humanity.*

THIS year the king called a diet at *Copenhagen*, to delibe- on the means of preventing the regent's gaining poſſeſ- of the iſle of *Gothland*. *Steen-Sture* was uſing all his en- ours to reduce it under the obedience of *Sweden*. He be- l with jealouſy a place of ſo much importance to *Den- k*, in a *Swediſh* war, in the hands of his enemies: he be- therefore to tamper with the governor, offering him a able equivalent in any part of *Sweden*, if he would reſign iſland, and his government in *Finland*. *Ivar Axelſon* was ernor of both. He was a *Swede*, promoted for his good ices by the late king; but now ſuſpected, and not with- cauſe; for he gave up *Finland*, at the regent's preſſing in- ces; but refuſed to liſten to any propoſitions about the d, The regent threatened to uſe force, which *Axelſon* ted ſo highly, that he ſaid he would ſurrender *Finland* to *Ruſſians*, if the *Swedes* in the leaſt incommoded him. A. D. 1486.

AXELSON's reſentment burſt forth at the next *Swediſh* , where he joined with ſeveral of the nobility, well af- d to king *John*, to depoſe the regent, and place *Arsfwed e* at the head of affairs. This was only a pretence; r real deſign being to put the kingdom, according to their niſe, in the hands of his *Daniſh* majeſty: but the regent's es parried off this thruſt, and diſappointed the friends of *mark*. *Affairs of* Sweden.

ING *John* had exact intelligence of all the proceedings in *den*. The enmity between the regent and *Axelſon* left no room to doubt but attempts would be made on *Goth-* , and the *Danes* run the hazard of diſgracefully loſing an d they poſſeſſed ever ſince it was conquered by *Valdemar* It was therefore reſolved, in a full ſenate, to take the rnment from *Axelſon*, and declare war upon *Sweden*. Im- iately a fleet of forty ſhips were ordered to cruize off the s of the iſland: yet, after all, the ſecurity of *Gothland* only a pretence of the king's, to cover a deſign more im- nt; at leaſt this was the opinion of the *Swedes*, who im- iately aſſembled a diet, at which ſome of the leading per- warmly inſiſted upon avoiding the impending ſtorm, by A. D. 1487.

calling *John* to the throne, and renewing the union of *Calmar*.

His majeſty, having joined his fleet before *Gothland*, had the town and citadel of *Wiſby* immediately ſurrendered to him by *Axelſon*. The regent, dreading the conſequences of a war with *Denmark*, requeſted that *John* would grant him an interview and paſſport. He declared to the king, that his coronation was deferred on account of the ſenate, and not from any fault of his, who was no more than the ſervant of the ſenate, forced to act according to their pleaſure. Finally, he took an oath of allegiance to the king, and ſolemnly promiſed, if it was poſſible, to prevail on the ſenate to do the ſame. *John* was duped by theſe large promiſes, and ſpecious appearances. *Steene Sture* made oaths only to deceive, and to promote his own intereſt; for after prevailing on the King to procure from *Axelſon* the ſurrender of the iſland *Oeland*, and the fortreſs of *Borkholm*, to the *Swedes*, he then exerted all his influence againſt *John*, knowing that his own grandeur depended upon excluding him from the crown [a].

The king is ſuddenly ſeized with a malady, that affects his intellects.

AFTER this *Denmark* enjoyed profound peace for ſeveral years; nor does hiſtory furniſh us with any conſiderable tranſaction, foreign or domeſtic, until the year 1494, when the king was ſeized with a kind of phrenſy, without any apparent cauſe. His illneſs did not, however, continue long; but went off, without the aſſiſtance of art, in the ſame extraordinary manner it firſt appeared [b]. As ſoon as he recovered the uſe of

A. D. 1494. his underſtanding, he ſent to demand a categorical anſwer from the regent, with reſpect to the reſolutions of the laſt *Swediſh* diet, and his own intentions with regard to *Oeland*; giving him to underſtand, that he was no longer in a humour to be put off with promiſes. In conſequence of this meſſage, a diet met; and a great majority, headed by the biſhop of *Upſal*, appeared in favour of *John*, which created a mortal enmity between that prelate and the regent. Nothing however was done, beſides appointing a congreſs of the ſtates of the

A. D. 1495. three kingdoms, on the twenty-fourth of *June* in the following year.

A congreſs of deputies from the three kingdoms.

WHEN the deputies of the three nations met, they waited long for the regent, who was detained by no adverſe winds, bad roads, nor ſickneſs, but want of inclination, as was now evident to all. His repugnance occaſioned the congreſs to be adjourned to the month of *November*, when ſuch meaſures were taken by the king as, he perſuaded himſelf, muſt infal-

[a] MEURS. ibid. p. 28, part. ii. p. 25.

[b] MEURS. Vit. Johan. l. ii.

libly

libly ſecure to him the crown of *Sweden*. Accordingly he ſet ſail with a fine fleet for the coaſt of *Sweden*; but was obliged to return, after loſing one ſhip by fire, and ſeveral more in a dreadful ſtorm. The misfortune of one ſhip in particular greatly affected him, as on board her were all the papers and titles he propoſed producing at the diet to juſtify his claim. *Steene-Sture* was ſo elevated with *John*'s diſappointment, that he now openly refuſed to enter upon any negotiations, and even abſented himſelf from the diet, which he aſſembled by writs ſigned with his own hand.

John *prepares to invade* Sweden; *but loſes part of his fleet in a ſtorm.*

JOHN, perceiving that it would be difficult to force the regent into terms, while he was connected in alliance with the hanſe-towns, fell upon divers ſtratagems to break the treaty between them. But all proving unſucceſsful, he engaged the *Ruſſians* to enter *Finland*, where they made terrible devaſtation. Againſt theſe barbarians the regent oppoſed himſelf, at the head of an army; but though he thirſted for revenge, he dreaded coming to a battle, or engaging in open war with a nation ſo potent as *Muſcovy*. *John*'s friends took advantage of the regent's abſence, a diet was aſſembled, and *Steen-Sture* ſolemnly depoſed, which laid the foundation of a civil war we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of *Sweden*. A. D. 1497.

During theſe tranſactions in *Sweden*, *John* did not waſte his time idly in his own dominions. A ſecond time his ſon *Chriſtian* was declared hereditary prince of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and a war reſolved upon with *Sweden*. The army he raiſed upon this occaſion was compoſed of *Germans*, *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Spaniards*; in a word, of ſoldiers of fortune, introduced into *Germany* by *Magnus*, duke of *Lower Saxony*. No pay was given them; and, as they were to ſubſiſt wholly on plunder, they were eſteemed rather a banditti of robbers than a regular army. With this mixed corps he laid ſide to *Calmar*, while his fleet ravaged the iſland of *Oeland* and the coaſts of *Sweden*. The citizens of *Calmar*, finding reſiſtance in vain, capitulated upon honourable terms. *Borkholm* next ſurrendered to the *Daniſh* fleet. The moſt terrible ravages were committed by the king's army all over the country, where the ſoldiers diſperſed themſelves: even the foreſts were ſet on fire, and every hoſtility committed which his majeſty thought would force the *Swediſh* nation into his terms, and render them weary of the regent [a].

John *raiſes an army, with which he enters* Sweden.

In the mean time the regent preſſed hard on the king's adherents in *Sweden*, and blocked the archbiſhop of *Upſal* cloſely up in the fortreſs called *Steka*. *John* flew to the

[a] Idem. ibid.

pre-

prelate's relief, raiſed the blockade, and then purſued his march to *Stockholm*, with intention to lay ſiege to the city; ordering his fleet to block it up towards the ſea, and by every poſſible means to aſſiſt his operations. When the regent found the capital inveſted by ſea and land, he immediately applied himſelf to the *Dalecarlians*, the moſt warlike people in *Sweden*, and, by large promiſes and ſpecious arguments, excited them to take arms for the relief of *Stockholm*. *John* was no ſooner informed of their march than he ſummoned a council of his general-officers, and was rejoiced to find them all eager to come to an engagement. It was the cry of the whole army not to wait in their trenches to be attacked, but bravely to march out, and engage the enemy in the open field. The king made his advantage of this eagerneſs of his troops. Marching the cavalry out of his camp in the utmoſt ſilence, he covered their motions from the beſieged, by the diſpoſition he made of his infantry. In the night the infantry filed off, and before break of day joined the horſe, drawn up at a poſt ſome diſtance from the camp, thro' which the enemy muſt paſs.

Defeats the Dalecarlians.

It was not long before the ſcouts brought notice that the *Dalecarlians* were near; upon which his majeſty went through the ranks, encouraging his troops, by promiſes of reward, to maintain the honour of their ſeveral countries, and exhorting them to put an end to a deſtructive war, by an exertion of their valour for a few hours. He was anſwered by a ſhout, which convinced him of the ardour of the ſoldiers. Immediately he led them on, and attacked the enemy at *Rootebroe*, the *Dalecarlians* ſtanding the ſhock with great firmneſs. A cloud of arrows was diſcharged, that covered the whole *Daniſh* army, and made ſuch ſlaughter as would certainly have wreſted victory out of the king's hands, had the enemy been ſupported with cavalry. Having nothing however to oppoſe to the king's horſe, they were attacked in flank, broke, and put in diſorder: after this the carnage became dreadful; the repeated endeavours of the brave *Dalecarlians* to rally, only prolonged their fate, and made their deſtruction more complete. Too obſtinate to quit the field, they were hemmed in on every ſide, moſt of them preferring a glorious death to flight or captivity. The king, ſatiated with blood, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and returned in good order to his camp, without permitting his army to plunder the baggage, leſt the deſperate *Dalecarlians* ſhould ſeize this opportunity of rallying the few remaining diſperſed troops. Immediately he ordered the ſtandards and other trophies of his victory to be erected in view of the garriſon of *Stockholm*, thinking by this means to intimidate them to ſurrender. The effect this action pro-

produced was directly contrary to his expectation, but not leſs ſucceſsful. *Steen-Sture* imagining that the *Dalecarlians*, after defeating the king, were now pillaging the camp, opened the gates, and permitted all the inhabitants to pour out in flocks to partake in the general joy and plunder. His majeſty fell upon them, drove them back to the walls, and made prodigious ſlaughter; the regent himſelf eſcaping with great danger in a little boat. In conſequence the city capitulated; the nobility, moſt averſe to *John*'s election, came and ſued for pardon, and the regent himſelf intreated the king to grant him an interview. Their firſt conference paſſed in reproaches from the king, and excuſes on the ſide of the regent. In the end, however, he was pardoned, and *John* crowned king of *Sweden*, in the manner we ſhall relate more particularly in the hiſtory of that country.

Is elected king of Sweden.

10. AT a feaſt which his majeſty gave the *Swediſh* nobility after his coronation, he aſked a *German* officer at table, whether any thing was wanting to render the ſolemnity complete. "Nothing, ſays the *German*, beſides an executioner to cut off the heads of ſome of thoſe lords, and impreſs the reſt with juſt notions of the fidelity and obedience they owe to their ſovereign." The king was ſo enraged with this ſpeech, that he continued for ſome time ſilent, with his eyes fixed on the ground. At laſt, darting a look full of reſentment at the *German*, he replied, "I had rather ſee all my evil counſellors hanged on a gibbet, than be overwhelmed with the ſhame of an action ſo barbarous as that you recommend. God forbid I ſhould ever be the oppreſſor of liberty, or deny any free people the right of chuſing their own governors:" an anſwer that ſets the character of this prince in the moſt conſpicuous point of view, and deſerves to be engraved on the hearts of all princes[a].

A. D. 1498.

A noble ſaying of John's.

ABOUT the beginning of the following year, the king entered upon a war, which terminated little to his honour or advantage. It was occaſioned by the grant made by the emperor *Frederic* to the late king, of that country inhabited by the people called *Dithmarſians*. For many ages this brave people, fond of liberty, had thrown off the *Daniſh* yoke, and aſpired at perfect independency, never acknowledging themſelves ſubject to the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, except when they dreaded the arms of *Denmark*. The late king's death prevented his intention of reducing them; and the deſire of extending his frontier induced *John* to attack them. He communicated his plan to his brother *Frederic*, and engaged him

He marches againſt the Dithmarſians.

[a] MEURS. ibid.

to join the *Daniſh* army with the troops of *Holſtein*. *John* began his march in the month of *February*, accompanied by his brother *Frederic*, and the flower of the nobility of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. When joined by the auxiliaries, his army was ſo numerous, that he expected the *Dithmarſians* would make their ſubmiſſion, without ſtriking one blow. He could not perſuade himſelf, that a handful of militia would preſume to meet in the field a powerful well-diſciplined army, flushed with victory, and the conqueſt of a potent kingdom.

A. D. 1500. But he was miſtaken, and greatly aſtoniſhed, when he found that this determined people diſdained ſubmiſſion; and the inhabitants of a diſtrict, not ſeven miles in extent, prepared to face the ſovereign of three reſpectable kingdoms. So ſure did the *Danes* make themſelves of victory, that they ſhared the booty before the engagement; and every one brought carriages for moving off his proportion of the ſpoil. Merchants attended the army, having with them large ſums of money, imagining they might purchaſe things of value at a low price from the ſoldiers. A kind of infatuation poſſeſſed the whole: all propoſed immenſe riches to themſelves, without dreaming of the danger, or the chance of war. Even the ſenators were ſo infatuated as to divide among them all the benefices, wantonly aſſuming the title of abbots; a piece of temerity which gave birth to the ſaying, "Never was battle ſo "fatal to the abbots." The truth is, jealouſy and faction prevailed in the king's army. Many perſons dreaded his aggrandizement by new conqueſts, not doubting but a ſeries of wars would be the reſult, inſtead of peace and tranquility. Ambition, ſaid they, is boundleſs, and the hanſe-towns will be the next object of conqueſt. Others, who believed their ſervices in the *Swediſh* war but ill requited, went ſo far as to conſpire againſt the king's life; but their villainous deſign was happily diſcovered by an infant, juſt as it was on the point of execution.

SUCH was the condition of the king's army, while valour and unanimity ſupplied the place of numbers among the enemy. They thoroughly weighed the ſtrength of the *Danes*, and ſought the means of reſiſting them with the utmoſt caution and vigilance. *Meldorp*, their capital, was neither fortified by art nor nature to their ſatisfaction, ſo that they were afraid to truſt to its walls and ſtand the ſiege. On the other hand, their want of cavalry made it hazardous to give battle in the open plain. They reſolved therefore to retire into the heart of their country, where the canals and dykes would ſerve for ramparts, and greatly incommode the enemy.

AFTER

AFTER the king had paſſed ſome days at *Ham*, expecting the *Dithmarſians* would offer their ſubmiſſion, at laſt he began his march towards *Meldorp*, which he took almoſt without reſiſtance, the inhabitants having deſerted it with all their valuable effects. The conſternation of the *Dithmarſians* was great upon the loſs of their capital; ſome talked of ſurrendering, while others were for making a deſperate puſh, and riſquing all. While the king ſtaid to refreſh his troops at *Meldorp*, he ſent out a detachment to examine the country, and diſcover the enemy. Hardly a man of this corps returned, with ſuch fury did the *Dithmarſians* attack them. Upon this the king ſet out with his army to chaſtiſe their inſolence, and was firſt obliged to attack a narrow paſs, which the enemy had diligently fortified. His body-guards led the van, the infantry were in the center, and the cavalry marched in the rear, through narrow rough roads, lined on both ſides with wood. At firſt this was the only difficulty his majeſty encountered; but on approaching the enemy, he found them ſtrongly entrenched, and inacceſſible on all ſides; beſides, the narrowneſs of the roads, and diſpoſition of the cannon and baggage, in the front and rear, rendered it now hazardous either to advance or retreat. His embarraſſment did not eſcape the enemy: they were prepared for it, and played their batteries with great vigour and ſucceſs. Showers of arrows were likewiſe poured among the king's troops, and the endeavours of the *Dithmarſians* were greatly aſſiſted by a violent ſhower of hail, directly in the faces of the king's troops. In a word, every thing co-operated to effect the diſgrace and ruin of the *Daniſh* army. Cold, fatigue, and deſpondency, univerſally prevailed. Baffled in their endeavours to retreat, there remained no means of ſafety but cutting their way through the midſt of the enemy's camp, which was immediately attempted. The attack begun with great vigour, ſupported by the king in perſon, and it was ſuſtained with no leſs courage and firmneſs. Whole ranks of the *Danes* were hewn down by the grape ſhot of the enemy, while their fire was vainly ſpent upon dykes and batteries. Encouraged however by the preſence and example of their king, one rank advanced upon another of their ſlaughtered companions, and ſoon met their fate. Confuſion began to follow this terrible carnage, and even the king himſelf was diſmayed. His falling back was the ſignal to a general rout, and now it was that the moſt diſmal terror and diſorder appeared. The cannon and baggage in the rear blocked up every paſſage, and the men fell back upon each other in one tumultuous crowd. The infantry threw themſelves into the ditches to make room, and

John *defeated by the* Dithmarſians.

and the cavalry, finding themſelves blocked up, trod down the foot, as if they had been enemies. To give the finiſhing blow to the diſtreſs of the *Daniſh* army, the *Dithmarſians* ſallied out among them, ſword in hand, hewing them down without pity, remorſe, or reſiſtance. At the ſame time they opened their ſluices, and almoſt overwhelmed them with a torrent of water, which however had this unexpected good effect, that clearing the ditches, and carrying away a great part of the baggage in the rear, it opened a paſſage for the cavalry to retreat. Nothing indeed could be more providential than this laſt action of the enemy, which alone prevented the *Danes* from being killed or taken priſoners all to a man. Some writers alledge, that this opening was made by the garriſon the king left at *Meldorp*, who now came to his relief, and removed the cannon and baggage that blocked up the rear. What we can affirm for a certainty, upon the authority of all writers, is, that the king was totally defeated, and the ditches filled with dead bodies; a circumſtance that facilitated the eſcape of the ſurvivors, by diminiſhing the crowd, and forming a kind of foot path in the deep and muddy trenches.

Cruelty of the Dithmarſians.

THE *Dithmarſians* did not enjoy their victory with the ſame magnanimity they gained it. All ſorts of cruelties were committed on the bodies of the wounded and ſlain; their eyes were plucked out, their noſes ſlit, and their ears cut off, with a barbarity unworthy of a warlike people. It was with difficulty they were prevailed on to bury the dead; nor did they at laſt comply with theſe laſt duties of humanity, but to avoid the inconveniency of the putrid exhalations ariſing from the corrupted bodies. After all, the infantry alone were interred, while the cavalry were left a prey to birds and beaſts[a].

WITH reſpect to the number of ſlain, we have no certainty; but the moſt common opinion is, that four thouſand *Danes* were left on the field, beſides the wounded and priſoners. Among the former were *Adolphus Otton*, and the earl of *Oldenburg*, together with three hundred and ſixty officers of leſs note. The king loſt likewiſe an infinity of ſtandards, colours, and other trophies, beſides all his artillery and baggage. Such was the event of this unfortunate expedition, undertaken from motives of ambition, and unſucceſsful for want of foreſight, unanimity, and from too great confidence in the ſuperiority of numbers.

Peace concluded.

JOHN having collected the remains of his ſcattered forces in *Holſtein*, was meditating another invaſion, in order to wipe

[a] MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

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off his diſgrace, and revenge the manes of ſo many brave ſoldiers, when a peace was mediated by the *German* princes between him and the *Dithmarſians*, which continued until *Frederick* II. made another expedition into their country. A. D. 1501.

THE rumour of this defeat once more rouſed the ambition of *Steen-Sture*, and excited a rebellion in *Sweden*, which ended in a revolution, and the elevation of that nobleman to the rank he before held. He was adored by the peaſants, as the protector of their liberties, and encouraged by the nobility as the neceſſary tool of extending their own privileges. But we ſhall poſtpone the relation of particulars until we come to the hiſtory of *Sweden*, that we may avoid repetition. Sufficient it is, that this revolution was effected in the year 1502, and forms one of the buſieſt and moſt intereſting periods in the annals of either kingdom. Sweden *revolts.* A. D. 1502.

BUT the ambition of *Sture* was not ſatisfied with being the firſt perſon in *Sweden*, he muſt alſo acquire the ſupreme authority in *Norway*, to fill the meaſure of his deſigns, and gratify a ſoul wholly occupied with the luſt of power. No obſtacles could diſcourage him, and he panted after the accompliſhment of this enterprize, with an eagerneſs proportioned to the difficulty of attaining his ends. The people had always teſtified an inclination to the union of *Calmar*, and a ſtrong attachment to the kings of *Denmark*; but *Steen-Sture* was not to be repulſed by obſtructions which muſt melt away before the heat and fervour of his genius. He wrote to the nobles; he employed emiſſaries to debauch the minds of the vulgar: to the former he promiſed unlimited privileges; and to the latter, an exemption from taxes impoſed by the *Danes*, and every thing elſe that could cajole, amuſe, and engage them in his intereſt. Motives ſo powerful as theſe wrought the deſired effect; the *Norwegians* loved eaſe and liberty: here in imagination they ſaw a happy proſpect; they puſhed forward with eagerneſs, declared themſelves, and joined the *Swedes* againſt *Denmark*, chuſing *Canute Adolphus*, a powerful lord of the country, their leader. *Diſturbances in* Norway.

JOHN was grieved and aſtoniſhed at the firſt report of this revolution; but he did not deſpair of regaining the *Norwegians*. With this view he deputed the biſhop of *Roſchild* and *Henry Crommeditz* to them, after obtaining paſſports from *Canute Adolphus*. They had an interview with this nobleman, which ended in reproaches, and his aſſaſſination, without its ever being known whether the *Daniſh* deputies had the king's inſtructions for committing this barbarous and inſidious act. Confuſion and tumults were the immediate conſequences of this murder: the *Norwegians* retaliated on the *Danes*;

Danes; and ſuch were the heats produced, that no time could be afforded to inter the body of *Adolphus* for the ſpace of twelve years; with ſuch rage did they purſue their mutual animoſity (A). As the king never took much trouble in diſcovering the murderers, it was conjectured that he was privy to the deſign; and thus he lay under the imputation of being at leaſt an acceſſary to two horrid aſſaſſinations, without perhaps having any ſhare in either; nor indeed can we at all conceive what purpoſe the latter murder, in particular, could have anſwered. We find it however related, that on his death-bed he was ſo touched with remorſe, at being inſtrumental in the marechal's death, that he often called upon his name in a kind of phrenzy [a].

ALL this year the king was buſied in the *Swediſh* war, and blocking up *Stockholm*; the loſs of which place, and the queen's impriſonment, greatly affected him. We ſhall ſee, in its proper place, how *Sture* came into poſſeſſion of the capital and of her majeſty's perſon, who defended it for ſome time with the valour and ſkill of the greateſt general. He now had ſome intelligence, that the hanſe-towns were ready to join the adminiſtrator; and he applied every engine to prevent their deſigns, by a renewal of the treaty ſubſiſting between them and *Denmark*. The biſhop of *Odenſee*, accompanied by two gentlemen of the court, were ſent to *Lubec*, to lay before the regency the ſeries of *Sture's* perfidy, his breach of treaties and oaths, his rebellion againſt his ſovereign, in defiance of gratitude, repeated obligations, and the laws of his country, to which he had ſolemnly ſworn; his impriſonment of the queen, in open breach of a particular treaty with her before ſhe ſurrendered the citadel of *Stockholm*, together with a thouſand other articles of impeachment. In fine, he demanded of the regency, out of reſpect to him, and the friendſhip ſubſiſting between *Denmark* and the hanſe-towns, that they would promiſe not to favour the adminiſtrator, by ſending ſupplies of warlike ſtores and proviſions to *Sweden*. He aſſured them of his friendſhip, if they would comply with this reaſonable requeſt; and on

John's *negotiations with the regency of* Lubec.

[a] MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

(A) About this time two *Norwegian* aſſaſſins came to *Denmark*, one of whom ſtabbed the grand marechal as he was paſſing from the citadel to the city of *Copenhagen*. He afterwards flung his body into the ſea, ſaying, that land was not ſo natural an element for a *fiſh* as the ſea, alluding to *Saxmund*, which was the firſt part of that nobleman's name (1).

(1) *Meurſ. Vit. Johan.*

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the other hand declared, that he could not avoid holding as enemies to him whoever ſhould openly countenance and ſupport rebels againſt their king and country.

To all this the regency anſwered, that their city being in peace with both kingdoms, it was unjuſt to put a ſtop to their commerce on account of their particular quarrel; and, indeed, neither his majeſty nor the adminiſtrator had any right to lay reſtrictions on their trade. From this anſwer it was obvious the regency had taken their reſolution; *John*, however, did not fail ſoliciting them by freſh inſtances, and the ſame negotiation he carried on by his ambaſſador with all the *Vandal* cities, and with much the ſame event [b].

King *John* was provoked at the conduct of the hanſe-towns, and gave orders immediately for a ſquadron to be ſent to ſea to intercept all their commerce with *Swedeu*. This ſquadron had ſcarce entered the *Baltic*, when it fell in with a rich *Lubecker*, bound for *Sweden*. This the *Daniſh* commander ſeized, and carried into port. *Lubeck* was immediately in arms upon this news. The people inſiſted upon declaring war on *Denmark*, and the regency inclined to their opinion, but were deterred from purſuing it, from motives of prudence, and the exhauſted ſtate of the public treaſury. It was therefore thought adviſeable to try the effects of a negotiation; and deputies were accordingly ſent to *Denmark*, which *John* treated with great haughtineſs in his turn. He gave them to underſtand, that he had no particular quarrel with *Lubeck*, or any of the free towns; and it was by no means his wiſh to break with them; but they were before apprized of his intention if they continued to aſſiſt his enemies, a proceeding which he could not avoid conſtruing into an indirect alliance againſt *Denmark*. In a word, he gave the deputies to underſtand, that he had it in his power to be revenged on *Lubeck* in particular. "This city, ſaid he, had its privileges from the kings, my predeceſſors, in reward of its attachment to the intereſt of *Denmark*; it is poſſible it may loſe them, as the juſt puniſhment of its ingratitude."

He quarrels with the hanſe-towns.

On the return of the deputies with this anſwer, the citizens of *Lubeck* cried out with one voice for war; but the regency foreſeeing the inconveniencies of a rupture with *Denmark*, made repeated remonſtrances to the king by letters of requeſt, and every other poſſible method. Finding him inflexible, at length, with reluctance, they determined to take arms, and keep no meaſures. The diligence with which they levied troops, and equipped a fleet, made it apparent that

[b] Chytræi Chron. p. 76.

they reſolved on vigorous meaſures; nor was the king leſs diligent in preparations to reſiſt them.

In the mean time *Frederick*, duke of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*, offered his mediation between *Denmark* and the hanſe-towns. He came with that view to *Lubeck*, and omitted nothing to prevent a rupture; but the minds of the populace were too much inflamed to admit of the equitable propoſals of this pacific prince. They perſiſted in demanding liberty of trade with *Sweden*, the confirmation of the privileges in the ports of *Denmark*, and reſtitution of the ſhips taken by the king's ſquadrons. Incenſed with their obſtinacy, *John* augmented the fleets intended to cruize upon their coaſts. He ſent likewiſe for aid to the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*. But though no ſuccours arrived, except from the latter, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, the rumour of ſuch powerful alliances diſcouraged the *Lubeckers*, made them lay up their fleet, and diſband their armies.

A. D. 1503. Two ſtout ſhips of war were ſent from the king of *Scotland*, and ſeveral battalions of infantry by the elector of *Brandenburg*; but the king not thinking it adviſeable again to rouſe the ſpirit of the hanſe-towns, who ſeemed diſpoſed to lie by, reſolved to employ his auxiliaries in the conqueſt of *Norway*. Prince *Chriſtian* was appointed to command the armament deſtined for this enterprize. The firſt attempt made by the prince was attended with uncommon ſucceſs: he took priſoner the chief of the malcontents, condemned him to death, and ordered him to be broke on the wheel. *Sture* ſent ſuccours to the rebels; but the *Swediſh* troops being defeated on their firſt arrival, *Chriſtian* was left at full liberty to reduce the reſt of the kingdom. In a word, the rigour with which his highneſs treated the rebels, and eſpecially the nobility, a great number of whom he put to death, gave ſo rapid a progreſs to his arms, that in one campaign he ſaw himſelf maſter of all *Norway*.

Prince Chriſtian's *ſucceſs in* Norway *and* Sweden.

Thence he paſſed into *Sweden*, where he laid ſiege to *Elſburg* and *Oereſteen*. His operations were ſo vigorous, that the garriſons ſoon offered to capitulate; but he refuſed to grant any terms to rebels, reſolving to impreſs terror by this ſeverity. *Sture* perceived of what conſequence it was to relieve theſe two places. He marched with a body of horſe and foot with great ſecrecy and diligence, towards *Elſburg* (A).

(A) Some writers affirm, that this party was commanded by one *Achon*, and not by *Sture* in perſon (1).

(1) *Meurſ. ibid.*

THE *Swediſh* corps came within a few miles of the *Daniſh* camp, when they were diſcovered by a peaſant, who gave immediate notice of their approach to *Canute Thimee*, the *Daniſh* officer upon guard for that night. Immediately he carried the news to the commander in chief; for the prince it is ſaid lay that night in the citadel of *Elſburg*, which had been ſurrendered the day before. But as it was now the hour for relieving the centinels, the enemy had time to approach the camp, and ſeize upon an eminence from whence they could overlook the *Danes*, before word came to the commanding officer. Nothing could be more favourable to *Sture*'s deſigns than this opportunity. The whole *Daniſh* camp was overwhelmed with ſleep, and the prince abſent. *Sture* however imprudently relying more upon the bravery of his men, than upon the ſurprize of the enemy, ordered the trumpets to be ſounded, and the charge given; an order ſo ill-timed, that one of the trumpeters took the liberty of aſking, whether it were not more adviſeable to fall upon the enemy aſleep than to awaken them, and give them time to put themſelves in a ſtate of defence. But the general would have his orders implicitly obeyed, ſaying, that he diſdained attacking the king's ſon, and ſo many noblemen, otherwiſe than in fair combat; a circumſtance that renders it probable, that the adminiſtrator did not command in perſon. The *Swede* ſoon felt the conſequences of this boaſted delicacy. He broke in with fury into the camp, made great ſlaughter at firſt, but was ſoon overpowered and forced to fly, after loſing more than half his cavalry; for his infantry had not yet joined him. It was the Dane's arrival that gave this ſudden turn to affairs. He inſtantly rallied the *Danes*, and gave them freſh vigour by his preſence. Nor was he contented with repulſing the *Swedes*, and ſecuring his camp; but puſhing the ſiege of *Oereſteen* with redoubled efforts, he took the fortreſs in a few days, putting the garriſon to the ſword, as he had done that of *Elſburg*. After that he led his victorious army into *Eaſt-Gothland*, where he burnt villages, took and pillaged towns and caſtles, and then paſſed to *Schonen* to refreſh his troops [a].

The Swedes endeavour to ſurprize the Daniſh camp, and are defeated.

THE ſucceſs of this expedition occaſioned great joy in *Denmark*; nor was there any thing to allay the public ſatisfaction, except the enmity between the general of the cavalry and the commander in chief of the artillery; the former complaining loudly, that he had been deſerted in the heat of the action by the other, from motives of treachery or cowardice. All poſſible means were uſed by the friends of

[a] MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

theſe two officers to reconcile them; but to no purpoſe, until the king interpoſed his authority, and acquitted the commander of the artillery both of cowardice and treachery.

Further advantages gained by the Danes.

A SHORT time after this, the ſame general of the cavalry performed ſome ſignal ſervices to his country, by ſurpriſing the *Swediſh* fortreſs of *Olſburg*, which the adminiſtrator had erected for the defence of the frontier. In recompence of his conduct and valour, *John* gave him his conqueſts in perpetuity; and thus rewarded a faithful ſervant, and defended his frontier, without expence to the government.

ALL this while *Sture* was not idle in *Sweden*. The *Lubeckers* had joined him with a ſquadron, conſiſting of ſix men of war; and he raiſed a body of land-forces, with which he became maſter of almoſt all the fortreſſes in the kingdom, except *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, the ſieges of which places were raiſed by the ſeaſonable ſuccours ſent by *John*. Still however the *Danes* continued their incurſions, to put a ſtop to which, and gain time, *Sture* ſet a negotiation on foot concerning the queen's releaſe. The pope's ~~pope's~~ legate coming to *Germany* about this time, it was thought a general peace would be eſtabliſhed, as he laboured to unite the Chriſtian princes, in order to engage them againſt the infidels. The legate wrote to king *John*, deſiring he would ſend ambaſſadors to a congreſs at *Lubeck*, to which he had ſummoned deputies from *Sweden*, and all the *Vandal* cities. The deputies of the ſeveral ſtates met accordingly; but *Sture*'s agents equivocated ſo groſly, that the legate declared, unleſs the adminiſtrator releaſed the queen, ſurrendered his authority, and returned together with the whole kingdom of *Sweden*, to the obedience they had ſworn to king *John*, he would engage his holineſs to pour down upon them all the thunders of the church.

THESE menaces operated powerfully on the minds of the regency, and the *Swediſh* deputies; the former requeſting leave to accompany the latter into *Sweden*, to treat with *Sture* in perſon concerning her majeſty's releaſe. They likewiſe ſent deputies to *Stralſund*, to treat with king *John*, concerning certain preliminary articles of peace.

The queen of Denmark *ſet at liberty.*

IT was a matter of leſs difficulty than was imagined to procure the queen's liberty; the whole *Swediſh* nation having long endeavoured to prevail on the adminiſtrator to ſend her back to *Denmark*. Her majeſty was attended at *Helmſtadt* by crowds of the nobility; and his majeſty, followed by the prince and court, met her at a conſiderable diſtance, and conducted her to *Copenhagen*, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, who loved the perſon, and greatly reſpected the abilities of this heroine.

THE ſudden death of *Steen-Sture* on the following year effected a total change in the affairs of *Sweden*. Warm diſputes aroſe whether his *Daniſh* majeſty ſhould be called to the throne, or the management of affairs put into the hands of *Suante Sture*, grand marechal of the kingdom. The latter opinion prevailed, and the new adminiſtrator began his government by renewing the war, and laying ſiege to *Calmar* and *Borkholm*. More than common vigour was exerted in finiſhing thoſe ſieges; but all the efforts of *Sture* were baffled by the bravery of the garriſon and the ſtrength of the fortifications. Yet ſome writers pretend, that *Calmar* was taken by aſſault [b]; an opinion we find contradicted by the beſt authorities. A. D. 1504.

KING *John* was foiled in his endeavours to reduce *Sweden* to his obedience, and terminate the war; he therefore deliberated upon the moſt effectual means of puniſhing this rebellious nation, by ſtriking ſome deciſive blow. The iſland of *Bornholm* was the great ſecurity of their commerce in the *Baltic*, and of this he propoſed to deprive them. While he was buſied in preparations to execute this plan, the duke of *Mecklenburg* declared war on the *Lubeckers*. The regency, terrified at having two enemies at once to deal with, made propoſals of peace, and agreed to whatever his majeſty demanded; but the reſt of the hanſe-towns, particularly *Dantzick*, *Riga*, and *Revel* refuſed to ſign the treaty, pretending that their union would not permit them to accede to articles which reſpected the intereſt and conveniency of one city only. *Lubeck* however concluded the peace; and as this was the only city that had powerfully ſupported *Sture*, his majeſty was now at liberty to turn his whole force againſt *Sweden*. However, he gave ear to the arguments of the *Scottiſh* ambaſſador, ſent to mediate peace among the northern crowns. A congreſs was fixed at *Calmar*, for the deputies of the three kingdoms. The king, the *Scottiſh* ambaſſador, and ſenates of *Denmark* and *Norway* attended; but they were diſappointed in the uſual manner by the *Swedes*, who thought proper not to keep their engagement. *John* was incenſed at this indignity: he read to the congreſs the proofs and other documents of his title to the crown of *Sweden*, and the oath of allegiance that nation had ſworn. He accuſed the *Swedes* of rebellion and perjury; but that he might not give judgment in his own cauſe, he left ſentence to be paſſed by the ſenators of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Accordingly they paſſed the following decree, that *Suante Sture* and the other members of the John's *deſigns againſt* Sweden.

Peace with Lubeck.

[b] Hiſt. de Danemarc, par. M. DES ROCHES, t. iv. p. 373.

Swediſh ſenate, who had ſigned the oath of fidelity to the king, and were guilty of perjury by exciting rebellions in the kingdom againſt their ſovereign, ſhould be degraded from their nobility, have their eſtates confiſcated, and be obliged to ſurrender the kingdom into his majeſty's hands, by a certain day. This ſentence was ſent to the emperor *Maximilian*, with a requeſt that he would examine and confirm it, if he thought it was founded on equity. His imperial majeſty complied with the king's deſire; the decree was canvaſſed before the aulic council, and ſolemnly ratified.

A. D. 1506. WHEN *John* found himſelf ſupported by the emperor's confirmation of the decree, he ordered it to be printed and publiſhed, and then took the neceſſary meaſures for enforcing it, beginning with degrading the perſons levelled at, and confiſcating their eſtates. He cauſed to be publiſhed in all the hanſe-towns, the imperial decree of ratification, declaring at the ſame time, that if they continued their intercourſe with *Sweden*, or any ways aided or abetted the rebels in that kingdom, he would immediately revoke the privileges granted by his predeceſſors to their ſhipping in the ports of *Denmark*.

IT appears, that the *Swedes* were troubled at the publication of this decree in the empire. It created confuſion in the kingdom, and alienated the minds of numbers from the regent. Dreading the conſequences of their diſaffection, *Sture* ſent deputies to *Denmark* to negotiate peace; but as he had before broke his faith to the king, the deputies could only obtain a ſuſpenſion of arms.

A. D. 1507. *The* Lubeckers *break the late treaty.* *LUBECK* ſought now to break the late treaty concluded with *Denmark*; but hiſtory does not ſpecify the reaſons for which ſhe oppoſed the growing intereſt of *John* in *Sweden*, which was the real occaſion why the regency deſired to come to a rupture with *Denmark*. This city received all the *Swediſh* ſhips that came to her ports, and furniſhed them with ammunition, proviſion, and every implement of war, in open defiance of the king. *John* remonſtrated to the regency, and they replied, that the ſhips he ſpoke of belonged to the *Vandal* cities. It was plain however, that the trade of *Sweden* was carried on clandeſtinely in neutral bottoms; and *John*, to put a ſtop to this evil, ordered a ſquadron to cruize in the *Baltick*, and ſeize upon all the *Lubeck* ſhipping that came in their way. Several rich veſſels were taken, the regency was alarmed, and ſent to demand reſtitution. The other cities followed their example; but all the deputies were diſmiſſed with this anſwer, that the ſhips and effects ſeized were lawful prize, as they carried on a traffic with *Sweden* in direct violation of the late treaty. The populace of *Lubeck*

beck preſſed the regency to make repriſals; but they more prudently contented themſelves with an aſſurance to the adminiſtrator, given under their hands, that they would not fail of embracing every opportunity to aid and aſſiſt *Sweden*[a].

ENCOURAGED by this promiſe, *Swen-Sture* broke the ſuſpenſion of arms between him and *Denmark*: he made an irruption into *Bleking*, took the fortreſs of *Lych*, pillaged and ſet fire to the ſurrounding villages, and retired precipitately with his booty to *Sweden*. This inſult did not paſs unrevenged. *Norby*, admiral of the *Daniſh* ſquadron, cruiſing in the *Baltick*, entered the port of *Abo* in *Finland*, and reduced the capital to aſhes. He then ſet ſail for the iſland *Aaland*, razed the fortreſs of *Caſtleholm*, took *Steen Tourſon*, a *Swediſh* ſenator, and his family priſoners, and carried them to *Denmark*, with a great deal of rich plunder. *Steen Tourſon* was connected with the beſt families in *Sweden*, and they all exerted themſelves to bring about peace, as the only means of procuring his releaſe. But the adminiſtrator fruſtrated the effects of all their endeavours, and after a tedious negotiation, ordered matters ſo artfully, that only a ſuſpenſion of arms for a year was concluded; only it was ſtipulated before this ceſſation of hoſtilities was granted, that at the expiration of the truce, the *Swedes* ſhould either acknowledge *John* for their ſovereign, or give ſufficient reaſons for their refuſal of him or his ſon. Other articles of leſs conſequence were likewiſe agreed upon, all of which were burthenſome to *Sweden*, and grievous to the hanſe-towns; too much ſo indeed to expect any good effects from them. The *Swedes* were the firſt who declined performing the agreement; upon which the king, finding he was triſled with, again took arms, and entered *Weſtrogoth* about the middle of *December*, at the head of an army. Here he burnt and pillaged *Ladeſe*, and all the country he laid waſte; but *Sture* did not venture to oppoſe him, or at all to appear in the field before his majeſty returned to *Denmark*. Then he entered *Schonen*, and carried ruin and deveſtation wherever he marched. Apprehenſive however that the king would amply revenge himſelf, he diſpatched deputies to *Denmark*, to demand a diet of the ſtates of the three kingdoms to meet on the twenty-fourth day of *June* following at *Calmar*. Although it was eaſy to perceive that fear alone drove the adminiſtrator to this meaſure; yet ſo deſirous of peace was his *Daniſh* majeſty, that he would not reject any overture that had a tendency to reeſtabliſh the public tranquillity.

War renewed with Sweden.

[a] PUFFEND. t. iv.

The Lubeckers *aſſiſt* Sweden. A. D. 1508.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when the hanſe-towns interpoſed in the beginning of the year 1508, and by their conduct deſtroyed all hopes of accommodation. The city of *Lubeck* ſent a fleet laden with all kind of ſtores to *Stockholm*; they renewed their alliance with the adminiſtrator, and even diſſuaded him from giving ear to any propoſitions that might tend to the dimunition of his own authority. The adminiſtrator was eaſily perſuaded to break off a treaty for which he had no inclination; and the king was aſtoniſhed at ſo abrupt an infraction of a truce obtained by ſo much ſolicitation. He laid the affair before the diet, who immediately reſolved upon declaring war againſt *Lubeck*. Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to *England* and *Scotland*, to ſolicit naval aſſiſtance from both theſe kingdoms. In the mean time the *Lubeckers* had procured the emperor *Maximilian*'s protection, and prohibition on all *German* princes and ſubjects from entering into the ſervice of *Denmark*. His imperial majeſty likewiſe wrote to king *John* not to moleſt the commerce of the *Lubeckers*; but at length, at the intreaty of the *French* king, he withdrew his protection from this city.

John *blocks up the river* Trave, *and the* Lubeck *commerce.*

KING *John* blocked up the *Trave* with a ſquadron, and took three rich merchantmen belonging to *Lubeck*. The *Lubeckers* unadviſedly made repriſals, by ſeizing all the *Daniſh* ſubjects and effects in their city; a ſtep which induced the king to give ſimilar directions with reſpect to all the merchants and effects of *Lubeck*, in all the different ports of his dominions. As this commercial city carried on a prodigious trade with *Denmark*, nothing could be more contrary to their intereſt than a meaſure which provoked the king to put a ſtop to their traffic, and ſeize on their merchandize. Immediately their inſolence was checked, and they wrote to king *John* in the moſt ſupplicating manner, requeſting that their merchants and ſubjects might be ſet at liberty: but theſe letters had no effect; the king inſiſted upon ſuch terms, that for the preſent the negotiation was dropt [a].

WITH reſpect to the congreſs appointed at *Calmar*, the *Swediſh* deputies did not appear; but the whole nation, aſhamed of ſo many breaches of their word, which would render them infamous in all the courts of *Europe*, thought to make reparation, by ſending ambaſſadors to the king to demand peace. King *John* deſired the deputies to acquaint the ſenate, that he would tranſact the buſineſs at *Helſinburg*, if they would ſend commiſſioners with full powers thither. His propoſal was accepted, and at this congreſs it was agreed, that *Swe-*

[a] MEURS. Vit. Johan. p. 27.

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den ſhould pay his majeſty a tribute of thirteen thouſand marks of the ſtandard weight of *Stockholm*, until ſuch time as himſelf or his ſon were choſen kings of *Sweden*; that until this time the prince ſhould have poſſeſſion of *Calmar* and the iſlands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, in which they promiſed not to diſturb him. Several other conditions were ſtipulated, and this treaty was in fact only a renewal of the overtures made at *Wandeberg* a few years before. The chief motive which induced the commiſſioners to accede to ſuch conditions was, that now they hoped the *Swediſh* commerce might be carried on without interruption, the nation being almoſt reduced to deſpair by the total ſtagnation of trade for ſome years paſt. *Treaty with Sweden concluded.*

AFTER all the treaty was of no effect. *Suante Sture* exclaimed againſt a free nation's tamely ſubmitting to pay tribute, and affirmed that the commiſſioners exceeded their inſtructions. In a word, whatever the ſituation of *Sweden* might be, he choſe rather to hazard a war than ratify ſo diſgraceful a treaty. In this reſolution he was confirmed by the large ſupplies ſent by *Lubeck*, and the other hanſe-towns. Crowds of ſhips got ſafe into the harbour of *Stockholm*, almoſt all of which were diſperſed and ſhipwrecked in a ſtorm that overtook them in their return. *Treaty broke.*

THE news of this loſs revived the hopes of the *Danes*. A ſquadron belonging to that nation rode at anchor in the mouth of the *Trave*, ready to enter the river as ſoon as a fair wind offered. In the mean while the *Daniſh* admiral landed ſome troops and burnt a great number of villages round *Lubeck*: but ſtill ſome advantages gained by the *Lubickers* convinced his majeſty that this force was unſufficient to awe the fleets of *Sweden* and *Lubeck*. He therefore again applied to the kings of *England* and *Scotland*, publiſhing at the ſame time a declaration, whereby he permitted the ſhips of all nations to cruize againſt *Lubeck* and *Sweden*, promiſing them by way of encouragement an exemption from duties in the ports of *Denmark*. In conſequence of this declaration, the *Baltick* was covered with privateers, and the *Swediſh* and *Lubeck* fleets dreaded ſhewing themſelves out of port.

BESIDES this, king *John* acted with his own fleets againſt the enemy. A ſtrong ſquadron was ſent to *Lubeck* under the command of admiral *Norby*, who took *Aboe*, after pillaging and deſtroying all the adjacent country. At laſt the *Swediſh* ſenate, afflicted with the miſeries of the people, applied themſelves ſo warmly to the adminiſtrator, that he permitted ambaſſadors to go to *Denmark* to ſolicit a peace, which was ſoon after concluded, upon terms leſs advantageous to them than A. D. 1509. *Peace again concluded with Sweden.*

than thoſe which the adminiſtrator refuſed to comply with the year before. The ſelf-ſame tribute was inſiſted on; but he found it dangerous to quarrel with the ſenate, who had now entered ſtrongly into the only meaſures that could ſave their ſinking country; namely, an accommodation with *Denmark*. It was even ſtipulated, that *Sweden* ſhould by no means whatſoever aid, aſſiſt, or trade with *Lubeck*, while his majeſty was at war with that city [a].

A. D. 1510. *The adminiſtrator joins the* Lubeckers, *and again declares war.*

SUCH were the hard conditions of peace to which the *Swedes* were forced to ſubmit: however, like all other treaties with this and the former adminiſtrator, it was but of ſhort duration. This year, in conjunction with *Lubeck*, the adminiſtrator declared war againſt *Denmark*; and ſuch diligence did the *Lubeckers* exert on this occaſion, that their ſquadron appeared off *Langland*, before king *John* had notice of their making preparations. Here they landed their troops, and burnt ſome villages; but were ſo warmly received by the inhabitants, who aſſembled to oppoſe them, that they were forced to return to their ſhips, without committing farther damage, leaving all their plunder behind.

The Lubeckers *invade* Mona, *and are repulſed.*

IT was now that the king prepared earneſtly for war. He laid an embargo on all the *French*, *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, and other ſhipping in his ports, ordering all the large veſſels to be fitted out as ſhips of war; an unprecedented meaſure, which ſurely had the concurrence of the ſovereigns to whom they were ſubject, elſe would he never have preſumed to attempt it. But in the mean while, a ſquadron from *Lubeck* made a deſcent on the iſland *Mona*. On their approach *Andrew Bilde*, who commanded in the iſland, fortified the town and citadel of *Stega*, and took every other meaſure neceſſary for an obſtinate defence. The *Lubeckers* landed, and finding the open country and villages deſerted, imagined that the inhabitants, terrified at their approach, had taken ſhelter in the capital, which their conſternation would render an eaſy conqueſt. Full of theſe hopes, they advanced, and laid ſiege to the city. *Bilde* had ordered matters in ſuch a manner as to impreſs the enemy with ſtill ſtronger notions of his pannic, in order to lull them into the greater ſecurity. He even ſuffered them to mount the ſcaling-ladders, and fill the ditch with men; upon which he ſallied out, poured burning pitch, and other combuſtibles, large ſtones, and ſhowers of ſhot, among them; playing at the ſame time his artillery with ſuch ſucceſs, that, after the loſs of their commander, and prodigious ſlaughter of the ſoldiers, the *Lubeckers* were obliged to fly with great precipita-

[a] CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 81.

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tion to their ſhips. Then a ſally of the whole garriſon was made, the fugitives were attacked with great fury, and ſuch terrible deſtruction made among them, that few eſcaped.

WHEN the news of this tranſaction reached the king's ears, he was ſo pleaſed with the bravery of the governor and inhabitants, that he ſent a gentleman of his court to thank and aſſure them, that he would never forget ſo ſignal a ſervice, and ſo convincing proofs of their courage and loyalty. After this it was that he gave inſtructions to all the governors of iſlands to place centinels at certain diſtances along the coaſts, to prevent being ſurprized.

THIS repulſe did not prevent the *Lubeckers* from endeavouring to revenge the affront by a deſcent on *Langland*; but the inhabitants kept ſo good a countenance, that, after frequent attempts, they were forced to weigh anchor, without ſetting foot on land, and ſail to *Elſinore*, where they met with no better ſucceſs. *The Lubeckers repulſed at Langland.*

WHILE the regency were ſcheming the means of retrieving their diſgraces, the ſoldiers mutinied, refuſing to ſerve in a war which was undertaken without any apparent reaſon, and to the utter ruin of their country. This unfortunate accident occaſioned ſome change in the meaſures of the regency, but none in their ſentiments; for, perceiving themſelves in no condition to man the propoſed ſquadrons, they ſent deputies to the adminiſtrator, exhorting him to attack *Denmark* by land, while the hanſe-towns were giving him full employment by ſea. This was a propoſal which *Sture*, always averſe to the late treaty, embraced with pleaſure (A). He detached general *Achon* into *Halland* with a body of horſe, ordering him to carry fire and ſword through every place he marched. *Achon* had ſcarce entered the province when *Tuche Crabbe*, a gentleman of family and influence in the country, fell upon him with a body of hardy peaſants he had aſſembled, and intirely defeated him, making great ſlaughter of his men [a]. *The Swedes defeated.*

A DEFEAT ſo unexpected cauſed great conſternation in *Sweden*. The people apprehended, that *John* would invade them with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom on the one ſide, and engage the *Ruſſians* to attack them on the other. To remove this laſt inconveniency, the adminiſtrator concluded,

[a] Vid. MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

(A) It appears, that *Sture* had not, by any act of hoſtility, broke the treaty before this time; though we are told he declared war againſt *John* in conjunction with the city of *Lubeck*. We may therefore conjecture, that he only ſecretly abetted their deſigns, without committing a direct violation of the treaty.

with

with all expedition, a treaty for ſixty years with the czar *George Betim*.

On his ſide, king *John* employed a great number of foreign ſhipping, for the defence of his coaſts, againſt the attacks of the hanſe-towns, whom the city of *Lubeck* had engaged to declare war againſt him: he erected the fortreſs of *Engelburg* in *Laaland*, to ſerve as a retreat for the inhabitants of the iſland, in caſe of a deſcent: he renewed the prohibition on any of his ſubjects trading with *Lubeck*, or the allies of that city; and took ſuch vigorous ſteps, as effectually diſtreſſed the regency of *Lubeck*. But the very circumſtance which almoſt occaſioned the ruin of this city, proved the means of its preſervation; for the regency, taking advantage of the deplorable condition to which the populace were reduced, engaged them to enter in their fleets and armies, their only reſource againſt famine and death. To this armament the *Swedes* joined a ſquadron, and a plan of operations was concerted between the adminiſtrator and the regency. Twenty-ſix ſail of *Lubeckers* landed in *Bleking*; and after ſetting a few villages on fire, and making a ſlight booty, retired, on advice that the inhabitants were aſſembling to oppoſe them. *Meurſius* ſays, that a report of the king's approach, with a numerous fleet, made them embark with ſuch precipitation, that, leaving their booty on ſhore, the ſoldiers inſiſted on being immediately carried back to *Lubeck*. The admiral propoſed a deſcent on *Fionia*, a place ſo rich as amply to reward all their toil; but his remonſtrances were ineffectual: even the reinforcement of a ſtrong ſquadron, which joined them as they were leaving the coaſt of *Bleking*, could work no change in their minds; all, with one voice, crying out, *Lubeck! Lubeck!* and threatening to throw their officers overboard, if they made any reſiſtance.

John reduces Lubeck to great difficulties.

Engagement between the Daniſh and Lubeck fleets.

Towards the end of the year a ſquadron of the king's, conſiſting of eight ſhips, had a ſharp engagement with a *Lubeck* ſquadron of equal ſtrength. They fought obſtinately the whole day, and were ſeparated by the night, without any apparent advantage on either ſide; though it is judged, from the hurry in which the *Lubeckers* put into port, that they were ſick of the rough uſage of the *Danes*.

A. D. 1511. Next ſpring the regency of *Lubeck* licenſed a great number of pirates to cruize upon the *Danes*, to ſupply in ſome meaſure the room of a regular fleet, which the great expences of the preceding year rendered them incapable of equipping. This piratical ſquadron was commanded by one *Conrad Reinlus*, who manned and fitted up near thirty merchantmen at his own expence. In order to block up or deſtroy this fleet, king *John* ſent *Haliger* with twenty men of war to *Travemunde*; but

but the *Lubeckers*, having advice of his approach, drew all their ſhips within the interior harbour of the city, where they bid defiance to all the attempts of the *Daniſh* admiral. *Haliger*, however, had his revenge on the ſurrounding country, which he pillaged, and, after ſetting fire to the ſuburbs, ſet ſail for *Stralſund*. Here he committed many exceſſes; and the regency of the city, to retaliate upon him, raiſed an army, which was defeated and cut in pieces by the *Danes*.

In the mean time, the adminiſtrator ſent a fleet and army to lay ſiege to *Borkholm* in the iſland of *Oeland*, where *Canute Rudy* commanded for the king. The ſiege was conducted by three *Swedes* of diſtinction, *Hemming Goede*, *Breme Oeſtry*, and *Eric Abraham*. It continued from the twenty-fourth of *June* to the twenty-fifth of *November*, although his majeſty neglected no expedient to ſuccour and relieve the garriſon, which was at length forced to capitulate, on honourable terms, for want of proviſions. To indemnify himſelf for this loſs, the king meditated an expedition againſt *Weſt Gothland*, with a body of infantry. This detachment penetrated to *Scara*, pillaged, laid waſte, and burnt the country; but was forced to return, on advice that the *Swedes* had laid ſeveral ambuſcades, and were taking effectual ſteps to cut off their convoys of proviſions and retreat. *The Swedes take Borkholm.*

In the autumn the *Lubeckers* had put a fleet to ſea, and the king ſent the admirals *Haliger*, *Norby*, and *Giſel*, in queſt of them. *Haliger*, who was the commanding officer in chief, ſet ſail with a favourable wind, and ſoon came in ſight of the enemy; upon which he exhorted his men to do their duty, promiſing them the whole booty. The men expreſſing their ardour to engage, the ſignal was made, and both fleets fought with the utmoſt fury. *Haliger* had placed his largeſt ſhips in the wings of the line, filling up the center with ſmaller veſſels manned with ſoldiers, and keeping beſides a ſmall ſquadron in reſerve; whereas the *Lubeck* admiral fought too impetuouſly to obſerve the proper diſpoſition. In the end, the *Lubeckers* were defeated, with the loſs of five ſhips; but the victory was not deciſive, as night interpoſed, and *Haliger* found them drawn up next morning in the port of *Bornholm* in order of battle, and with a countenance that made it not very adviſeable to attack them. He was, however, fortunate enough to fall in with three men of war off *Stralſund*, who were ſent to join the *Lubeck* fleet. They had miſtaken the *Daniſh* ſquadron for that of their allies, and *Haliger* took two of the ſhips before they diſcovered their miſtake. *The Lubeckers defeated in a ſea-engagement.*

As the *Lubeck* fleet was returning home, they met with a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty

fifty ſail, under convoy of four men of war. The fight of ſo rich a prize excited their avarice, and rouſed their antient animoſity to this people, the rivals of their commerce. They attacked and ſoon made themſelves maſters of the whole fleet, except the men of war, with which the admiral eſcaped, on finding himſelf unable to oppoſe the powerful ſquadron of *Lubeck*. Theſe four ſhips went ſtrait to *Bornholm*, and acquainted *Haliger* of what had paſſed; upon which the *Dane* aſſembled his officers, and obliged them to ſwear they would reſcue the prize, or periſh in the attempt. Immediately he ſet ſail, taking with him the four *Dutch* men of war, came up with the enemy, found ſeveral of the *Dutch* merchantmen ſet on fire, others a-drift, after being emptied of the richeſt part of their cargoes, and the *Lubeck* ſquadron wrapt in full ſecurity, meditating upon nothing but the enjoyment of ſo rich a booty. *Haliger* gave the ſignal to engage; and the *Lubeck* admiral, perceiving himſelf attacked, led the flight, and, by a providential accident in his favour, gained the mouth of the *Trave*, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the *Daniſh* ſquadron to intercept him. *Haliger* had ſprung a-leak, and lying-by to repair his ſhip, the reſt of the *Daniſh* ſquadron miſtook it for a ſignal to ſtop the purſuit, by which means the enemy got clear off; but left behind all the *Dutch* veſſels, which were immediately returned to their owners, and ſent home under the eſcort of their own admiral. Thus the *Daniſh* fleet rode triumphant in the *Baltick*; and ſuch was the king's ſuperiority by ſea, that notwithſtanding the war continued for the ſpace of ten years, yet every thing neceſſary to ſupport life with comfort was in as great abundance, and ſold at as low a price, through all his dominions, as in the profoundeſt peace[a].

The Lubeckers *ſeize on a large fleet of* Dutch *merchantmen.*

The Dutch *fleet retaken by the* Danes, *and reſtored.*

A. D. 1512. *Revolutions in* Sweden.

THE death of *Suante Sture*, adminiſtrator of *Sweden*, occaſioned freſh revolutions in that kingdom. The nation was divided in their choice of a ſucceſſor. The archbiſhop of *Upſal* ſupported the intereſt of *Eric Troll*, a man of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit and family; while many ſenators, ſuſpecting *Troll*'s attachment to *Denmark*, eſpouſed young *Sture*, ſon of *Sture*. *Stenon* carried his point by a majority of voices; but the other party did not relinquiſh their claim: and while they were thus ſtruggling in civil diſputes, the regency of *Lubeck* determined to break off the alliance, and make peace with king *John*. The people became clamorous from their poverty, and thoſe who but the laſt year were loudeſt in the cry of war now became mutinous for peace. A letter was

[a] CHYTRÆI Chron. ibid.

wrote

wrote to the king, requeſting his majeſty to appoint a congreſs for terminating their differences; and *John*, naturally averſe to war, could not reject any propoſitions that afforded a proſpect of peace. He told the deputies, that the regency might ſafely ſend commiſſioners to *Flenſburg*, where he would negotiate a peace with them, and the reſt of the hanſe-towns. A few diſputes aroſe at the opening of the conferences; but his majeſty firmly maintaining his point, obliged the *Lubeck* deputies to comply with all he propoſed. In conſequence a peace was ſigned, by which the city of *Lubeck* engaged to aſſiſt the king with all its force, in caſe the *Swedes* perſiſted in refuſing to acknowledge him, or the prince, for their ſovereign; or, at leaſt, to pay the yearly tribute of thirty thouſand marks of ſilver; to afford a retreat to none of the enemies of *Denmark*; and to compromiſe amicably all future diſputes ariſing between his majeſty and the republic.

SWEDEN was thunder-ſtruck with the conduct of *Lubeck*. Immediately the adminiſtrator and ſenate wrote to the king to appoint a congreſs, to deliberate on the means of eſtabliſhing peace on a ſolid foundation. The *Swediſh* deputies went further, and even began to negotiate with the king, whom they found diſpoſed to liſten to reaſonable terms. In ſhort, peace was concluded on one of theſe three conditions: That *Sweden* ſhould acknowledge *John*, or his ſon, for their ſovereign; or pay the tribute of thirty thouſand marks: but little regard was had to this treaty until after *John*'s death.

His majeſty now, at length, relaxed himſelf from public cares, at leaſt from foreign concerns; and applied his mind to cultivate religion, morality, and learning in *Denmark*. He augmented the rights, privileges, and revenues of the academy founded at *Copenhagen* by the king his father. Experience having taught him the advantage of employing men of letters in public affairs, he made it a point to chuſe his ambaſſadors and miniſters out of this learned ſeminary. As a farther encouragement to the univerſity, he prohibited his ſubjects from ſending their children to foreign academies, or indeed to any other except *Upſal*, and even then made it neceſſary that they ſhould firſt have ſtudied three years in *Copenhagen*[b]. John's *domeſtic conduct.*

Having ſettled the affairs of *Zealand*, his majeſty, accompanied by the queen, the prince, and a great number of the nobility, paſſed over to *North Jutland*. In this voyage he was overtaken in a tempeſt, which put the ſhip into ſo great danger, that as ſoon as the king ſet his foot on ſhore he turned

[b] Meurs, Vit. Johan. ibid.

round

round to the ſea, and cried out, "Farewel ſea! farewel for "ever! you have treated me in ſuch a manner to-day, that "I have little hopes of again repaſſing you:" words that were afterwards looked on as prophetic. While the king reſided at *Ripen*, the high tides overflowed the country, and detained him longer in the city than he propoſed. It is reported that on this occaſion, his majeſty walking with ſome noblemen along the ſhore, ſaid to them, looking at the ſea, "It muſt be confeſſed that this is the work of the King of "kings, who wants neither cannon nor inſtruments of war "to block us up. This element alone is ſufficient. We who "never ſubmitted to an earthly power, humbly proſtrate our- "ſelves before this heavenly maſter, whom the ſeas and "the earth obey."

WHEN the waters retired, his majeſty, going to *Ollurg*, was thrown off his horſe; an accident which brought on a fever, that terminated with the life of this excellent monarch, who bore his laſt agonies with a reſigned firmneſs of mind, that does honour to his memory, and credit to that innocence and integrity of life, which could alone inſpire him with ſo calm a reſolution at the approach of death. When he found his end drawing near, he ſpoke to his ſon before a great number of ſenators and noblemen. "My ſon, ſaid he, I "exhort you to worſhip God, and pray to the King of "kings to inſpire you with wiſdom adequate to the heavy "charge I am going to devolve on you. I recommend it "to you to govern your people with equity, and above all "things to be tender of their privileges. What glory is "there in being the king of ſlaves! Let it be your ambition "to be thought worthy to govern freemen. Do nothing by "violence, conſult your faithful ſubjects, and attach them "as well by friendſhip as by duty. Adminiſter juſtice in "perſon, and let your ears be ever open to the complaints "of the oppreſſed, and the groans of the injured and indi- "gent. Fill all places of truſt and profit with your natural "ſubjects: God has given you charge of their intereſt; they "called you to the throne, and gratitude requires a return "from you. Reward my faithful ſervants, and attach them "to you; they will then have a double tie to ſerve you with "fidelity; love of my memory, and a ſenſe of their obliga- "tions to you: and now, my deareſt ſon, I pray God to bleſs "you, to direct you, and to grant you a long reign, proſper- "ous to you, and happy to your people." With theſe words he expired on the twentieth day of *February*, 1513, univerſally beloved, eſteemed, and regretted. It would be unneceſſary, after what we have related, to draw the portrait of this worthy

His exhortation to his ſon.

thy prince: ſufficient it is, that he was juſt, prudent, *His death*
s, liberal, brave, and humane; in a word, poſſeſſed of *and cha-*
y quality that could endear him to his ſubjects, render his *racter.*
amiable and eaſy, and laſt moments happy. In all his
, which were numerous, he was ſucceſsful; except againſt
Dithmarſians, where the miſconduct lay wholly upon his
ers. Here, in particular, he exerted his courage, and
nguiſhed his perſonal bravery in the repeated attacks he
e on their trenches. His regard to his promiſes was ſo
t, that foreign ſtates never required more than his word;
ſo ſcrupulous was he in this reſpect, that he often be-
e the dupe of the two adminiſtrators. It was perhaps his
weakneſs, and a generous one it was: he loved truth ſo
h, that he could not perſuade himſelf but others paid the
regard to it: even the repeated perfidies of *Suante-Sture*
ld not convince him but his breach of oaths and promiſes
from neceſſity. The *Swedes*, indeed, accuſe him of
g the beſt governments in that country to *Daniſh* ſubjects,
ary to the treaty of *Calmar*, and his laſt inſtructions to
n ſon; but this they probably intend as a tacit apology
he ſenate and adminiſtrator, who ſtand greatly in need of
pretences to juſtify their rebellion. Admitting the fact
true, need we be ſurpriſed at the little confidence he
d in a ſet of people who had ſcandalized themſelves by
perfidy, and breach of word, in every court in *Europe*,
e ever he came to the throne, and during the reign of his
r [a]. To conclude, *John* was of a middling ſtature, ſtrong
, and luſty: his cheſt was broad and elevated, his face
d, and his eyes modeſt. He deſpiſed dreſs; but was fond
atneſs. His œconomy was frugal; his table plentiful,
ot ſplendid; however, when he aſſumed the ſovereign,
e great, rich, and magnificent. He was ſo great an
ter of the ſimplicity of the antient *Danes*, that he even
ted their dreſs, and always wore an antique ſword over
obe. He promoted ſcience, encouraged men of learn-
had them always at his table, ſought their converſation,
on theſe occaſions, laid aſide the ſovereign for the cha-
r of the pupil. In a word, he was at leaſt as wiſe, as
ble a prince as ever ſwayed the *Daniſh* ſceptre [a].

[a] Vid. Meurs. Vit. Johan. ad fin.

SECT. XIII.

Containing the Reigns of Chriſtian II. *and* Frederick I.

CHRISTIAN II.

Chriſtian II.

CHRISTIAN II. ſucceeded by election to his father's crown; and his firſt care was to put himſelf in a condition to reſiſt the enemies to his perſon and people. He could not imagine that the *Swedes*, who had ſo often revolted againſt his father, would ſhew more fidelity to him, nor that they would be in any hurry to execute the articles of their laſt treaty with *Denmark*. He knew that little confidence was due to the profeſſions of the hanſe-cities, as want of ability to proſecute the war compelled them reluctantly to ſue for the late peace. Already the crown of *Denmark* was in alliance with the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, with the dukes of *Saxony*, *Frederick*, and *John*, and with the margrave of *Brandenburg*. *Chriſtian* therefore reſolved to ſtrengthen his intereſt ſtill more, by concluding a treaty with the emperor; by which means he would ſecure the friendſhip of the whole houſe of *Auſtria*. With this view he ſchemed a marriage with the emperor's daughter, *Iſabella*, ſiſter of *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, both ſucceſſively raiſed to the imperial dignity; and the more eaſily to accompliſh this deſign, he laboured to get himſelf crowned; a ceremony that was performed in the month of *May*.

A. D. 1513. *State of* Denmark *on* Chriſtian's *acceſſion.*

A. D. 1514.

IMMEDIATELY after he ſet out with a ſplendid retinue to the court of the princeſs *Margaret*, governeſs of the *Netherlands*: he made her highneſs acquainted with the nature of his viſit, and was conducted by her to *Bruſſels*, where her ſon *Charles* reſided. Here he again demanded the princeſs, and, on obtaining a promiſe, haſtened back to *Denmark* to prepare for his nuptials.

A. D. 1515.

THIS year was uſhered in by a terrible earthquake, which was felt in almoſt every part of *Denmark*. A ſtorm of wind immediately followed, that overturned the ſteeple of the great church at *Copenhagen*, tore up whole foreſts of great trees by the roots, threw down an incredible number of houſes, and killed many perſons. Superſtitious men looked upon this as an inauſpicious harbinger of the troubles of *Chriſtian's* reign, while the more ſenſible part of the nation regarded it as an effect ariſing from natural cauſes. It happened indeed on

this occaſion, as it uſually does, that theſe ſagacious reflections were made long after the facts happened; a ſort of retroſpective conjectures in which the wiſe authors could not well be miſtaken.

CHRISTIAN having got every thing in readineſs for the reception of the princeſs, ſent the grand marechal, the archbiſhop of *Drontheim*, and a great number of nobility, with a ſtrong ſquadron to conduct her to *Denmark*. On their return a violent ſtorm diſperſed the fleet, and almoſt ſhipwrecked the princeſs on the coaſt of *Zealand*, near *Copenhagen*. All the lords and ladies of the court went immediately to congratulate her on her providential eſcape, and to welcome her into *Denmark*. She was ſoon after married, with great pomp, to the king, and afterwards crowned and acknowledged ſovereign of *Denmark*, by all the different ſtates of the kingdom (A). *He marries Iſabella, ſiſter to Charles V.*

STUDIOUS to pleaſe his bride, the king ſent to the *Low Countries* for all the queen's ſervants, that ſhe might enjoy the ſatisfaction of being attended in a ſtrange country by perſons, to whoſe language and manners ſhe was accuſtomed. He alſo ſent for gardiners, in order to cultivate all ſorts of fruits and other vegetables for her table, and aſſigned them the little iſland of *Amag* for this purpoſe, which ſoon was able to ſupply, not only her majeſty's table, but all *Copenhagen*, with the moſt delicious fruits.

HIS majeſty then applied to matters of greater importance; and the firſt object of his care was to ſet commerce on the beſt footing, by eſtabliſhing a general tariff. Next he forbid the exportation of corn and beer, to prevent dearths in the country; a maxim in politics eſtabliſhed in many other countries upon falſe principles, and without reflecting, that the lands *His domeſtic conduct.*

(A) While the nuptial ceremonies were celebrating, a circumſtance happened that afterwards became the ſubject of much converſation. Among the other princes who honoured the king's marriage with their preſence, was *Frederick* duke of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*. With him came *Reffenſlaw*, a man of birth, a ſcholar, a great civilian, and profound aſtrologer. While *Reffenſlaw* was one day at dinner with the reſt of the nobility, duke *Frederick* happened to paſs through the room, on which he called out, "Riſe, gentlemen, "and ſalute the prince deſtined "for your ſovereign." For the preſent this ſaying was regarded as a ſally inſpired by wine; but after *Chriſtian* was depoſed, and *Frederick* raiſed to the throne, people conſtrued it into *Reffenſlaw*'s profound ſkill in futurity, though, in all appearance, it was dictated by a ſtrong affection and attachment to his maſter (1).

(1) *Vid. Vit. Chriſt. p.* 62.

will be cultivated by the huſbandman, in proportion to the demand for corn, and pieces of ground furrowed by the plough, which otherwiſe would remain uſeleſs. Many other regulations, with reſpect to trade, were made, moſt of which had a tendency to enrich the capital, by drawing an afflux of merchants thither[a].

Affairs of Sweden. *CHRISTIAN* was thus employed in his own kingdom, while the affairs of *Sweden* ſeemed to take a turn favourable to his claim. The archbiſhop of *Upſal*, not having intereſt enough to eſtabliſh *Eric Troll* in a ſhare of the government, had however addreſs enough to aſſociate his ſon in the regency, and devolve half the authority on him. His gaining this point was, he imagined, of ſo great moment to the king, that he immediately acquainted him with it, by an expreſs. *Chriſtian* was not however ſatisfied. Tied up with laws, and a limited ſovereignty in *Denmark*, he viewed *Sweden* as a kingdom where he might claim deſpotic power as the right of conqueſt. Unmindful of his father's dying exhortation, this was what *Chriſtian* panted after. Imagining that young *Troll* might be uſeful in performing this deſign, and deſtroying the authority of the adminiſtrator, he ſent perſons to congratulate him on his new-acquired dignity, and accompanied his compliments with a conſiderable ſum of money, as a more ſolid teſtimony of his friendſhip. The young prelate, who had juſt aſcended to the ſummit of his ambition, was vain, haughty, and loquacious, qualities of which the artful *Dane* did not fail to make his advantage. He repreſented his maſter's power, connections, and diſpoſition, in ſuch a light as wholly gained over the prelate, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurance from him, that he would regard his aſſociate in the adminiſtration, as the enemy to *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and ſhould leave no engine unemployed to reſtore the union of *Calmar* in its full force.

TROLL made good his promiſes, and every thing was tending to a civil war in *Sweden*, when *Arcembold*, the pope's legate, arrived in *Denmark*, and by diſpenſing indulgences, raiſed heavy contributions under the maſk of religion. This pious robber was departing for *Sweden*, loaded with the ſpoils of the people; and *Chriſtian* beheld, with regret, the neceſſity he was under to ſtifle his reſentment at ſeeing his ſubjects thus pillaged, and his kingdom ſtripped of money, by an abuſe of devotion, and the artful influence of the church over ſuperſtitious minds. However, he reſolved to turn this circumſtance to his advantage. The legate's intereſt in *Sweden* he knew would be of the utmoſt conſequence, and he reſolved to gain

[a] MEURS. Vit. Chriſt. p. 61. 62. et. ſeq.

him

him by the moſt liberal ſacrifices to his avarice. In fact he did ſo; the legate promiſed him his utmoſt intereſt, and appeared ſo hearty and ſincere in his profeſſions, that *Chriſtian* put more confidence in him than prudence would ſeem to dictate he ought in a foreign miniſter. He laid before him the ſtate of his forces and treaſury, and the names of all his adherents in *Sweden*, together with the plan they concerted for reuniting the two kingdoms. The legate departed, was careſſed by the adminiſtrator, and all his promiſes to *Chriſtian* vaniſhed before the diſpelling power of *Stenon*'s preſents. The degree of intimacy into which the king received him, furniſhed him with the means of becoming his moſt dangerous enemy; and the treacherous legate did not fail to exert this advantage [a].

The perfidy of the pope's legate.

AFTER ſettling matters with the adminiſtrator, he returned to *Denmark* to raiſe freſh contributions, aſſuming the appearance of great chagrin at the little ſucceſs of the commiſſion with which the king intruſted him. *Chriſtian* ſaw through the thin diſguiſe, was incenſed at it, but wanted the power of redreſs. Nothing now remained but to attempt the reduction of *Sweden* by force of arms; and from this he was for ſome time diverted by two incidents, which intirely engroſſed the attention of the court. The firſt was the puniſhment of *John Foburgh*, firſt ſecretary of ſtate, accuſed of extortion, and other crimes, by *Torbern Oxy*, bailiff of the citadel of *Copenhagen*.

FOBURGH was one of thoſe men whom fortune wantonly raiſed from obſcurity to the higheſt dignities, only to render his downfal more conſpicuous. After paſſing with reputation through ſeveral private employments, he found means of being introduced to court, where he inſinuated himſelf ſo artfully into the king's confidence, that he ſoon became one of his firſt miniſters. His rapid elevation excited envy, and encreaſed the number of his enemies, one of the moſt dangerous of whom was *Torbern*, who bore him a private grudge for his endeavours to ruin him by an accuſation he lodged of his carrying on an intrigue with *Columbule*, the king's miſtreſs.

The riſe and fall of Foburgh, Chriſtian's favourite.

FOBURGH's pride and avarice encreaſed with his grandeur: his intimacy with the king eaſily procured him whatever he aſked; and his avarice ſpurred him on to make daily requeſts. At laſt the king's eyes were opened; he perceived the inſatiable diſpoſition of his favourite, and ventured to refuſe him the laſt petition he preſented. Nay, he went farther, and ſent the unhappy *Foburgh* with a letter to his enemy

[a] MEURS. ibid. Puffen. t. iv.

Torbern, by which he was deprived of all his places, ſeized, impriſoned, and privately executed, all in one day.

THIS triumph over his adverſary was but of ſhort duration; the king had made *Torbern* the inſtrument of ridding himſelf of an inſolent favourite; but he did not forget that *Torbern* carried on an intrigue with his miſtreſs, and he was even chagrined at the readineſs with which he executed his orders reſpecting *Foburgh*, whom he could not help loving with all his faults.

A. D. 1516. AT an entertainment which his majeſty gave the principal nobility it was, that he reſolved to diſcover the truth of what *Foburgh* had often alledged. After a great deal of jollity had paſſed, "Tell me, ſays he, feigning good humour, tell me, "*Torbern*, if what *Foburgh* accuſed you of has any truth in it. "Say, did you ever enjoy the favours of my miſtreſs *Colum-* "*bule*; I have my reaſons for aſking, and hope you will ſpeak "without reſerve." *Torbern*'s friends immediately ſaw the precipice on which he ſtood, and endeavoured to make him comprehend his danger by ſigns and nods; but whether wine had impaired his underſtanding, or that he deſpiſed inſincerity with the king, who had ſpoke ſo familiarly to him, he replied, "Sir, I have loved *Columbule*; I have ſolicited her favour, "but never could obtain it." Immediately *Chriſtian*'s countenance altered, but he ſaid nothing. A few days after *Torbern* was arreſted, and impriſoned. The affair was tried by the ſenate, and he was acquitted, becauſe the law had affigned no puniſhment for ſimple concupiſcence. When the ſenate's decree was related to the king, he flew into a paſſion, and ſaid, that if his friends had been as numerous in the ſenate as *Torbern*'s, their judgment would be different; but as they refuſed to do him juſtice, he knew others who would not. Immediately he aſſembled a number of the peaſants of the neighbourhood before the gate of the citadel. Here he ordered a ſquare of lances to be formed round them, giving orders to the grand marechal not to let them go, before they had paſſed ſentence on *Torbern*. Fear made them give a judgment, which otherwiſe could never be extorted from them. They dreaded his majeſty's reſentment, thought they ſhould be ſacrificed, if they did not comply with his humour, and accordingly gave their verdict in the following terms: "We do not judge *Torbern*, but his own words condemn "him." Upon which the king ſaid, that ſince he was condemned, he muſt ſuffer the puniſhment.

Chriſtian's *arbitrary conduct, and the firſt cauſe of his misfortunes.*

Death of Torbern.

THE king's reſolution alarmed the whole court: it was a ſtroke at the very root of liberty, and no man's life was ſafe, if he was made accountable for intentions, and puniſhed for

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his thoughts. All met to deliberate upon the means of warding off the impending blow, and at laſt it was determined to have recourſe to ſupplications. The whole ſenate, with the legate at their head; all the ladies of the court, preceded by the queen; in a word, every perſon of conſideration in the capital interceded for *Torbern*, and beſought the king on their knees to pardon him; but the ſtubborn, gloomy, and inflexible temper of *Chriſtian*, would yield nothing to their tears and intreaties. Only the blood of *Torbern* could ſatisfy him; and this unhappy nobleman became the ſacrifice of an inclination for the king's miſtreſs, or rather, of an imprudent expreſſion.

IN other reſpects, indeed, *Torbern* cannot altogether be vindicated. It is certain that he uſed the power in his hands with partiality; and that, in the affair of *Foburgh*, he ſought rather the gratification of his own revenge, than the public good. Beſides, it is beyond all doubt, that *Columbule* was poiſoned, and all the world charged him with her death, as the occaſion, if not the immediate inſtrument of it. Be this as it will, he was innocent with reſpect to the crime for which he was condemned; the ſentence was illegal, and a proceeding equally injurious to him, and dangerous to the public. *Torbern* was executed agreeable to his ſentence; and all *Denmark* remained convinced of his innocence, trembling for their liberties, jealous of the king's arbitrary temper, and alienated from his perſon. The ſenate and nobility firſt expreſſed their diſpleaſure at his proceedings; and ſoon after the people exclaimed loudly againſt the tyranny of his government. *The whole nation diſaffected.*

STILL his majeſty had a few perſons faithful to him, and ſtrongly attached to his intereſt. Theſe dreaded a general revolt; to prevent which, they laboured with all their power to blaſt the memory of *Torbern*, and actually to prove him as guilty as the people believed him innocent. An extraordinary ſtratagem was made uſe of to accompliſh their deſign. The centinels on the walls of *Copenhagen* made oath, that they ſaw a light blazing about midnight like a ſtar, under the gibbet on which *Foburgh* was hanged. The king made enquiry into the truth of the report, and finding it confirmed by an inſtance of the ſame nature the night following, he declared it was a proof of *Foburgh*'s innocence, and charged *Torbern* with having been the cauſe of ſhedding that innocent perſon's blood. Immediately he ordered *Foburgh*'s body to be cut down, and buried with great pomp in the great church of *Copenhagen*.

A STRATAGEM of ſo little depth had an effect the very reverſe of what the king and his friends expected. Inſtead of believing *Torbern* guilty, this tranſaction only reminded

the people of a former inſtance of the king's ſeverity and inflexible cruelty. This he perceived, and repented ſincerely of uſing ſo mean a cloak for an unworthy action, which was only adding to his own guilt. We have been the more particular in relating the above incidents, as they had no ſmall ſhare in the ſubſequent revolution.

It was apparent from his majeſty's conduct the following year, that he believed himſelf faulty; for when he ordered the biſhop of *Odenſee*, and his chancellor, to be ſeized, he only impriſoned them, by laying an eaſy reſtraint on their motions in a private family. Yet was the cauſe of his being arreſted of a more criminal nature than what either *Feburgh* or *Torbern* were put to death for. He was ſuppoſed to have given up the intereſt of his country, and ſold the honour of his king to the *Lubeckers*, for a ſum of money he received, when he tranſacted the laſt peace.

A. D. 1517. Lutheraniſm *firſt introduced into* Denmark.

This year began an epoch the moſt important of any in the *Daniſh* hiſtory. From the firſt planting of Chriſtianity in *Denmark*, the church of that kingdom had always acknowledged the ſupremacy of *Rome*, and, in all ages, kept up a conſtant communion with the pope, and other biſhops of that perſuaſion. Now the inclination which *Chriſtian* ſhewed for the doctrine of *Luther*, began to effect a change. It would be unneceſſary to trace here the riſe, opinions, and doctrines of the eloquent *Luther* whom we have already had frequent occaſion to mention; ſufficient it is, that the legate's avarice, and *Chriſtian*'s reſentment, at ſeeing his people impoveriſhed by the intrigues of that holy villain, made *Luther*'s doctrines and arguments be received with double force in *Denmark*. *Chriſtian* ſent for ſkilful doctors and profeſſors, to teach the Proteſtant religion in his dominions; but his too great eagerneſs in ſeizing ſome church-lands, and openly eſpouſing the doctrine of *Luther*, coſt him dear afterwards. Nothing could be more unſeaſonable than any innovations in religion, at a time when the nobility were diſaffected, and highly incenſed by the death of *Torbern*; and the clergy, by the impriſonment of the biſhop of *Odenſee*, and ſequeſtration of their lands. Theſe two powerful bodies diſapproved the change he endeavoured to effect in the public belief, without their concurrence; and they ſeized the opportunity of retrenching the prerogative, which ſome late acts of *Chriſtian* ſeemed to enlarge beyond the natural boundaries between the king and people. With this view they raiſed up one *St. Brigget*, to preach prophecies concerning the king's baniſhment; oracles which were frequently obſcure, but always interpreted in the manner moſt agreeable to their deſigns. The people took fire, and were at length

A pretended prophet appears in Denmark.

length infatuated into an implicit belief of the truth of theſe reveries, upon the declaration of *Chriſtopher Raimsberg*, a perſon celebrated for learning and piety, that they were applicable to the king.

BUT *Chriſtian* was not in the leaſt diſturbed by theſe pretended prophecies, at which he laughed publicly, and aſked *Raimsberg* in a jocular manner, whether as they propheſied his baniſhment, they did not likewiſe foreſee his return to his dominions. Certain however it is, that in a political light he ought to have treated an impoſtor, dangerous to the public and himſelf, in a different manner. Had he laboured hard to detect the fraud, it would have diſgraced the nobility and clergy with the people, paved the way for the change of religion he was endeavouring to introduce, and eſtabliſhed himſelf firmly on the throne, which now tottered with him.

Affairs of Sweden.

IN the mean time a civil war broke out in *Sweden*, and the adminiſtrator beſieged the archbiſhop in the fortreſs of *Stekia*, whither *Chriſtian* immediately ſent a fleet to his relief. The command of this ſquadron was given to *Norby*, *Giſſel*, and *Morian*, who coming to an anchor before the fortreſs, landed their troops, raiſed the ſiege by obliging the *Swedes* to retreat, and relieved the archbiſhop without fighting a ſtroke. Indeed the *Swediſh* hiſtorians ſpeak differently, but very inconſiſtently of the conſequences of this expedition, affirming that the *Danes* were cut in pieces, but taking no farther notice of the archbiſhop or garriſon [a].

BUT whatever advantages the *Daniſh* arms might have gained in *Sweden*, a war with that kingdom was highly prejudicial to *Chriſtian*'s intereſt, as it ſtrengthened the faction at home, while he was employed againſt foreign enemies. The legate *Arcembold* had likewiſe ſtrongly united himſelf with the adminiſtrator and *Daniſh* malcontents, and even prevailed on the pope to thunder out his bulls againſt the reformiſts and ſectariſts, in which number were included all the king's adherents.

IN this ſituation ſtood the affairs of both kingdoms, when the houſe of *Auſtria*, at the king's intreaty, interceded with the holy ſee in behalf of *Chriſtian*, obtained a revocation of the bull, and a decree of the pope and conclave, whereby the adminiſtrator and his adherents were laid under a ſevere interdiction for their diſobedience and rebellion, and *Chriſtian* empowered to treat them as ſchiſmatics excommunicated from the boſom of the church. No ſooner had *Chriſtian* fortified himſelf with this ſpiritual commiſſion, than he de- A. D. 1518.

[a] PUFFEND. t. v. ibid.

termined

Chriſtian *renews the war with* Sweden.

an excellent officer. He likewiſe put to ſea a formidable fleet, with orders to ſeize on all the *Swediſh* ports that were acceſſible. Armed with the pope's authority, he gave full ſwing to the bloodineſs of his diſpoſition, ordering his troops to commit all kinds of cruelty and exceſs, in order to intimidate the enemy, and wean the affections of the *Swedes* from the adminiſtrator. His inſtructions were but too well obſerved; *Crumpen* penetrated to the heart of *Sweden*, and committed frightful diſorders; after which he returned to *Denmark*, laden with rich booty, without exchanging a blow with the enemy.

CHRISTIAN's ſoul was wrapped up in the conqueſt of *Sweden*. Impatient for the return of ſpring, he ordered *Crumpen* to enter *Weſt-Gothland* in the depth of winter, at the head of a numerous army, and by every poſſible method to endeavour bringing the enemy to a battle. In this he ſucceeded, the adminiſtrator marching againſt him with equal forces. Three battles were fought, in the firſt of which nothing was decided; in the ſecond the adminiſtrator loſt an arm, and was greatly hurt by a fall from his horſe; and in the third the *Swediſh* army was totally defeated and diſperſed, the adminiſtrator dying ſoon after of the wounds he received. A fourth engagement happened the day ſucceeding the laſt battle. The adminiſtrator had lodged a body of infantry, ſtrongly intrenched in a neighbouring foreſt, to ſecure a paſs which *Crumpen* determined to force. The *Swediſh* peaſants amounted to ten thouſand, and repulſed the *Danes* in the firſt aſſault. A ſecond was given, in which the *French* auxiliaries led the van, while *Crumpen* made a tour round the intrenchments to diſcover ſome place of leſs ſtrength. The prince of *Foucarmont* behaved with that gallantry that has always diſtinguiſhed his nation; he leaped over the ditch ſword in hand, but fell back in conſequence of a wound. His ſoldiers were now animated with the deſire of revenge, they puſhed forwards, and were happily ſeconded by *Crumpen*'s attack on the rear, which ſoon put the enemy in diſorder, though they diſputed every inch of ground with obſtinacy. At laſt, deſpairing of longer defending themſelves, they ſallied out ſword in hand, and after prodigious ſlaughter on both ſides, eſcaped under favour of the night, after loſing two-thirds of their number.

The Swediſh army defeated.

CRUMPEN having nothing to oppoſe him marched into the heart of the kingdom. At this juncture the archbiſhop of *Upſal* declared immediately for *Chriſtian*; and the people being deſirous of nothing ſo much as a ſovereign, who might re-eſtabliſh the repoſe of the country, did not ſeem averſe to the

the motion, though there ſtill remained a faction that uſed all their influence to elect a new adminiſtrator. In conjunction with ſome others, the prelate ſent deputies to *Crumpen* to demand a truce; but the *Daniſh* general, fearing the intention was only to gain time, would agree to no other terms than a ſuſpenſion of arms for eleven days, during which the ſtates were to aſſemble at *Upſal*. Here he appeared for his maſter, propoſed an extinction of the dignity of adminiſtrator, and re-eſtabliſhment of the union of *Calmar*, in both which he met with little difficulty, in an aſſembly wholly devoted to *Chriſtian*. He promiſed, in the king his maſter's name, to procure an act of indemnity, to preſerve the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the ſeveral orders of the kingdom, and exactly to obſerve all the conditions of the treaty of *Calmar*. *Affairs of Sweden.*

As ſoon as buſineſs was finiſhed, the archbiſhop declared *Chriſtian* king of *Sweden*, in the name of the ſtates of the kingdom; and he wrote to the provinces requiring them to comply with this reſolution of the aſſembly, threatening thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit, with the moſt rigorous puniſhment of the law. The greater part of the kingdom ſubmitted to the will of the ſtates; but the adminiſtrator's widow ſtill held the cities of *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and others. Many bloody battles were fought, and ſieges undertaken, after it was imagined that *Chriſtian* was fully eſtabliſhed in the government. Theſe however we muſt avoid relating in this place.

In the year 1520, the king arrived in *Sweden*, where, after reducing *Stockholm*, he was crowned with great ſolemnity, ſoon after which he returned to *Denmark*. In his abſence the diſaffected in *Denmark* grew more bold: they ſpoke their ſentiments freely of his government, and openly and inſolently refuſed to pay the taxes to his officers. The ſenate and nobility, inſtead of oppoſing theſe diſcontents, ſeemed to countenance them: they bore with impatience the immoderate authority he aſſumed, and the deſpotiſm he affected, only to tranſlate it into the hands of a haughty, capricious woman. However, his ſudden return as conqueror of *Sweden* ſtruck dumb the tongue of faction, and huſhed every murmur of diſcontent. Every man endeavoured to conceal his ſentiments, and put on a face of joy. His miniſters, always ready to play on the paſſions of kings, told him that he muſt ſecure his conqueſts by aboliſhing the ſenate, and rendering himſelf arbitrary: there was not, they ſaid, a ſingle ſenator who was not deſirous of heading a rebellion, in hopes one day of riſing to the dignity of adminiſtrator; the nobility muſt be humbled *Chriſtian crowned king of Sweden.*

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emperor; the intention of which is not mentioned, except that he obtained the reverſion of *Holſtein* to the crown of *Denmark*.

In the mean time *Guſtavus*, ſon of *Eric Vaſa*, projected great ſchemes for the delivery of his country from the tyranny of *Chriſtian*. At *Mora* he raiſed a body of peaſants with ſuch ſecrecy and celerity, that he attacked and defeated the governor of the province, before he was apprized of an inſurrection. His army ſoon increaſing with his proſperity, he attempted greater matters; and over-run moſt of the provinces of *Sweden*, before any army could be got in the field to oppoſe him. The people, in general, cried out to revenge the butcheries committed by the *Danes*: however, the brave *Guſtavus* was ſomewhat ſtartled with a meſſage ſent to him by *Chriſtian*, that unleſs he laid down his arms, and quelled the ſedition, he would put his mother and ſiſters to the moſt cruel tortures. But patriotic love ſuppreſſed even the feelings of nature: *Guſtavus* marched on, followed by the faithful *Dalecarlians*, put all the *Danes* he met to the ſword, and even gave no quarter to *Swedes* who were obſtinately attached to *Chriſtian*.

Revolutions in Sweden.

All this while *Theodore*, the king's viceroy, was levying forces, with which he at laſt marched to the river *Brunebe*, with intention to diſpute the paſſage with *Guſtavus*: however, ſome motions, made by the latter, determined him to return to *Stockholm*, which city he plunged into the depths of luxury, as if it had been in the midſt of profound peace. Taking advantage of the viceroy's retreat, *Guſtavus* puſhed on to *Weſteras*, where was encamped a large body of *Danes*, whom he attacked and defeated, after an obſtinate engagement. Then he entered the town, where, finding no reſiſtance, the ſoldiers abandoned themſelves to drinking and pillaging: an imprudence that had nearly ruined the cauſe of liberty; for the garriſon of the citadel ſallying out upon them unprepared, would have deſtroyed the *Dalecarlians*, had not the vigilance, bravery, and good fortune of *Guſtavus* parried the impending blow. Ordering a corps of officers to make head againſt the *Danes*, he flew like lightning to recal his men from pillaging, rallied them, and led them on ſo furiouſly, that the enemy were ſoon repulſed, and the citadel immediately forced to ſurrender.

Riſe of Guſtavus.

Animated with his late victories, every day twined new laurels round the conqueror's brow, and at length encouraged him to march ſtrait to *Stockholm*; but not with a view of beſieging it, having no fleet to block up the harbour: his deſign was no more than to ſtrike terror, and perhaps countenance the inſurrection of his friends in the city. In this he was miſtaken; but his appearance had one good effect: it drove the viceroy

and

and archbiſhop, intimidated at his approach, to ſeek protection in flight, and commit the command of the city to an old *Daniſh* officer.

CHRISTIAN beheld the rapid progreſs of this revolt with uneaſineſs and chagrin; but many circumſtances concurred in preventing his ſending ſuccours to the viceroy. The firſt was the queen-mother's death; and the next, and more powerful, the general diſcontent which prevailed all over *Denmark*. He knew that nothing but a ſtrong ſtanding army kept the nobility in awe, and that the moment he either ſent an army or went in perſon to *Sweden*, he expoſed himſelf to the conſequences of a revolt in *Denmark*. In this ſituation were matters when the viceroy and archbiſhop arrived at court, where they were received with reproaches of cowardice and treachery. The viceroy was ſeized, put to the torture, and forced to confeſs a number of horrid crimes of which he had been guilty; upon which the king appointed a day for his execution. Even the tears and intreaties of *Sigebrete* could not ſave this favourite of her's; ſo provoked was *Chriſtian* at the loſs of *Sweden*, which he now looked on as irrecoverable. Finding himſelf in no condition to oppoſe *Guſtavus*, he reſolved upon executing his revenge in the moſt cruel and brutal manner on his mother and ſiſter, both which ladies he ordered to be tied in ſacks, and thrown into the ſea. Next he ordered his governors of provinces and garriſons to put all the *Swedes* within their juriſdiction to the ſword; a barbarity which induced *Guſtavus* to publiſh an edict, commanding his adherents to exterminate the *Danes*, without giving quarter, wherever they found them.

TOWARDS the year 1522, *Chriſtian* ſent *Norby* with a ſtrong fleet and army to raiſe the ſiege of *Stockholm*, before which city *Guſtavus* ſat down with his whole army. *Norby* was vigilant in performing his duty, though from motives ſelfiſh and ambitious. He flattered himſelf, that if he could defeat *Guſtavus*, it might pave his way to the throne of *Sweden*. He knew the people would never ſupport the tyranny of *Chriſtian*, and might perhaps be prevailed on to accept for their king a perſon whoſe power and military capacity would be able to protect them. Full of theſe notions, he debarked his troops, and led them againſt the *Dalecarlians*, whom he drove out of their lines. *Guſtavus* however rallied his men, and fought with ſuch vigour, that *Norby* embarked the *Danes*, and ſuffered him to proſecute the ſiege, after he had thrown in ſupplies of ſtores, men, and proviſion into the city. A. D. 1522.

GUSTAVUS, finding it impoſſible to compaſs his deſ
without a fleet, had recourſe to the regency of *Lubeck*; a
obtained an auxiliary ſquadron on ſuch grievous terms
would have been diſhonourable, in caſe of leſs emergent
ceſſity. Now the harbour was blocked up, and the city
duced to great ſtraits, a *Daniſh* convoy having been int
cepted. Upon advice of this, *Norby* again ſet ſail for *Sto*
holm, and found in the road a ſquadron of *Lubeckers* and *Fl*
ings, which he attacked, and fought furiouſly for the wh
day, renewing the combat again next morning. A ſto
wind however aroſe, which parted the combatants be
victory declared herſelf on either ſide, which obliged the
niſh admiral to moor his ſhips in the creek of a little iſla
at a ſmall diſtance from the place of action. Here in
night he was fixed by a ſudden froſt, that congealed the
rounding water, and expoſed him to all the attacks of
enemy. *Guſtavus* took advantage of the favourable oppo
nity, and, reſolving to burn *Norby*'s ſquadron, put himſel
the head of the *Lubeck* troops encamped on the coaſt, p
over on the ice to the iſland, and advanced in the nigh
near as he poſſibly could to the enemy. *Norby*, on diſco
ing him, began a continual fire with his cannon and
arms; which, however, did not prevent *Guſtavus* from
vancing boldly to the ſides of the ſhips, ſome of his
pouring in vollies of ſmall ſhot and arrows, while others
lighted torches in their hands to ſet fire to the rigging.
ſides fought with obſtinate bravery; but the *Danes* ha
advantage from their high ſituation, their cannon, an
ſlippery footing of the enemy. All the endeavours of
vus could not overcome theſe difficulties, which beg
break the courage of the *Lubeck* general, and at laſt mad
found a retreat, in the very middle of the battle. The
of the ſun ſoon diſſolved the ice, and furniſhed *Norby* with
an opportunity of ſetting ſail before another attempt could be
made [a].

Diſcontents in Denmark.

IN the mean time all *Denmark* was in confuſion. The number of the diſaffected increaſed daily; and the king, always violent, became now furious, reſolving to trample upon all law and government. He endeavoured to extort, by menaces, his dukedom of *Holſtein*, and claim on *Norway*, from his uncle *Frederick*; but was diſappointed by the vigilance, prudence, and moderation of that prince. He irritated the *Vandal* cities to lay ſiege to *Elſineur*, which they reduced to aſhes. To oppoſe them, he aſſembled an army of twelve thou-

[a] Revol. de M. VERTOT, t. i. p. 127.

thouſand men in *Zealand*, at the time when the general die was aſſembling at *Arhus*. The *Jutlanders*, who knew th cruelty of his diſpoſition, began to apprehend that this mili tary force was ſet on foot to enable the king to ſacrifice them as he had done the nobility of *Sweden*. He appeared at th diet of *Holſtein* in arms; and would probably have enforce his demands by dint of ſuperior ſtrength, had not the duk wiſely taken meaſures to oppoſe him. His whole conduct aſſured them of his intention to govern by military laws; an they determined to riſque all, rather than ſupport ſo intolerable a yoke. They knew the ſentiments of the whole nation cur cured with their own; but they believed it glorious to arm the firſt in the cauſe of liberty. All *Jutland* roſe in one ge neral revolt; *Chriſtian* was formally depoſed at a general diet held at *Wiburg*, and a particular decree paſſed, ſpecifying the reaſons for ſuch a proceeding. *Magnus Munce*, chief juſ tice of *Jutland*, was intruſted with the dangerous commiſſion of acquainting his majeſty of the reſolution of the diet. He met *Chriſtian* on his way to attend the diet at *Arhus*, com plimented him on his happy paſſage to *Weel*, where he then was, dined with the king, and, after dinner, left in the win dow the decree of the *Jutland* ſtates. It had not lain long here before the king, obſerving a large ſcroll of parchment, ordered it to be read, and no ſooner perceived the contents than he ordered ſearch to be made for *Munce*; but that noble man had removed himſelf out of the reach of danger.

CHRISTIAN, ſeeing there was no ſafety for him in the country, ſet out for *Kolding*, a town ſituated on the frontiers of *Holſtein* and *Jutland*. He was maſter of *Copenhagen*, all the iſlands in the *Baltick*, and the kingdom of *Norway*; yet diſ truſting foreigners and ſubjects, and his conſcience repreſent ing the evil beyond remedy, he took no ſteps towards quaſh ing the rebellion. Inſtead of that, he began ſupplicating thoſe ſubjects whom he had uſed with ſuch pride and barbarity. Inſolent proſperity is ever the moſt abject in adverſity. His chief counſellors, in this ſituation, were *Olaus Roſencratz*, *Magnus Bilde*, governor of *Kolding*, and *Renold Heiderſtorp* general of the infantry. On aſking their advice, the firſt gave it as his opinion, that his majeſty ought to demand pow erful ſuccours from the emperor, his brother-in-law: *Bilde* adviſed him to offer terms of accommodation, and all the ſa tisfaction he could make to his ſubjects; and *Roſencratz* con ſented himſelf with obſerving, that his majeſty ought to pro vide for the ſafety of the queen, and the young princes.

CHRISTIAN would ſeem to have aſked their opinion only to mortify them by preferring his own. Inſtead of making

propoſals to the diet, he went to *Ringſtadt*, where there happened to be a great fair. He harangued the populace with tears in his eyes, and ſo pathetically ſet forth his penitence and misfortunes, that, moved with his condition, the generous peaſants took a freſh oath of allegiance, and offered their aſſiſtance againſt all his enemies. The king thanked them for their good intentions; but it was now in vain, he thought, to attempt re-eſtabliſhing himſelf by force of arms. He diſtruſted his beſt friends, and imagined the whole world combined againſt him. His great dread was leſt the *Baltick* ſhould be ſhut up by fleets of the hanſe-towns, and his eſcape from *Denmark* cut off. To prevent this greateſt of evils, he equipped at *Copenhagen* a fleet of twenty ſail, on board which he put all his private treaſure, the jewels, ornaments, and plate of the crown. Next he ſent to *Callenburg*, and removed from thence the public treaſury into his own ſhip, together with all the records, charters, and public acts of the government. Attended by his queen, children, and *Sigebrette*, he ſet ſail from *Copenhagen*, and was overtaken in his paſſage to the continent by a violent ſtorm, which beat his fleet about the *Baltick* for the ſpace of three weeks, until he was reduced to the laſt extremity for proviſions. At length arriving at *Weſel*, he ſent to his brother-in-law the emperor, not doubting but he would arm all *Germany* to reſtore him, and little conſidering that the friendſhip of princes dies away with the proſperity that gave birth to it, and often degenerates into contempt and rancour. Thus *Chriſtian*, who arrived at a greater degree of power than any of his predeceſſors, by the union of the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, of the dutchies of *Sleſwick*, *Holſtein*, and *Stormar*, and the alliances of *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, was depoſed by his own ſubjects, deſerted by all his friends, and left a moſt piteous monument of the effects of pride, cruelty, and deſpotiſm, exerted over a free-ſpirited, generous, and warlike people. He ſeemed, indeed, to be one of thoſe princes which heaven in wrath ſets over a nation, as a puniſhment for the ſins of the people, and a trial of their patience. Yet, with all his faults, *Chriſtian* was brave, and perfectly ſkilled in the art of reigning, could a corrupted heart receive the dictates of a ſolid underſtanding and clear head.

Endeavours to reſtore himſelf.

He is formally depoſed.

By his queen, *Iſabella* of *Auſtria*, he had five children; *John*, who ſhared for ſome years in his diſgrace; *Philip*, and *Maximilian*, who died young; *Dorothy*, married to the elector-palatine; and *Chriſtina*, who had for her firſt huſband *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, and for her ſecond *Francis* duke of *Lorrain*.

FRE-

FREDERICK I.

THE abdication of *Chriſtian* II. paved the way to the throne for his uncle *Frederick*, duke of *Sleſwick*, *Holſtein*, *Stormar*, *Wagria*, and the country of the *Dithmarſians*. Theſe dominions he inherited by the will of his father, though his brother king *John* wreſted from him half his territories. He had often attempted to recover not only the countries taken from him during his minority, but to make good his claim upon a certain portion of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*; but without, however, bringing his projects to bear, for want of ſtrength to ſupport them. Frederick I.

THE *Jutlanders* were the firſt who declared for *Frederick*; and their voice was echoed by all the other provinces of *Denmark*. *Copenhagen* ſtill adhered to *Chriſtian*, and the example of the capital was followed by the kingdom of *Norway*. His majeſty's firſt endeavour, therefore, was to reduce *Copenhagen*, which *Magnus Gye* the governor reſolved to defend obſtinately, relying on the ſuccours which *Chriſtian* proiſed to ſend from *Germany*. Being diſappointed, however, his expectations, he ſurrendered the city in the beginning of the year 1524.

IMMEDIATELY after he had got poſſeſſion of the capital, *Frederick* convoked a general diet, by which he was ſolemnly proclaimed king of *Denmark*, after an edict had been firſt publiſhed, declaring the reaſons of the diet for withdrawing their allegiance from *Chriſtian*. The ſtates of *Norway* acceded to the reſolution of the *Daniſh* diet, and proclaimed *Frederick* with the ſame formalities. Still, however, the ſatisfaction of the new king was incomplete and imperfect. He could not behold *Guſtavus*, raiſed to the throne of *Sweden*, but with an eye of jealouſy: he eagerly wiſhed, from motives of ambition and intereſt, to ſee the three kingdoms reunited, and with that view wrote to ſome of the chief nobility of *Sweden*. The anſwer he received was not agreeable to his wiſhes; but it did not damp his hopes. A. D. 1524. Frederick *proclaimed king*.

ARCHBISHOP *Troll* added the breath of adulation to theſe ſparks of ambition, which ſoon blazed forth with more ſtrength than was natural to the pacific diſpoſition of the new monarch. This prelate regarded the elevation of *Guſtavus* as an inſurmountable obſtacle to his own return to his archbiſhopric of *Upſal*. He ſeized, therefore, all occaſions of repreſenting to *Frederick*, that the crown of *Sweden* belonged to him, as the ſon of *Chriſtian* I. and that he could not, without incurring the contempt of *Denmark* and *Norway*, ſuffer it *He harbours deſigns againſt* Guſtavus.

to remain long in the hands of an uſurper. Nor did he forget to add the inclination which the *Swediſh* clergy always entertained for the kings of *Denmark*, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that his adherents wanted only his countenance, and his claiming publicly the crown of *Sweden*, to declare openly for him.

FREDERICK made no great reſiſtance: he yielded quietly to arguments ſo congenial to his own thoughts, ſo flattering to his ambition, and agreeable to his intereſt. Before the diet broke up, he procured their approbation for his being crowned king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*; and he diſpatched ambaſſadors to the *Swediſh* ſenate, complaining of the election of *Guſtavus* in prejudice to his right, and in direct violation of the treaty of *Calmar*.

State of Sweden.

THE *Swedes* were no longer in a diſpoſition to give ear to ſuch remonſtrances. The union of *Calmar* had more than once almoſt proved fatal to their liberties, which they now enjoyed in the greateſt felicity, under a prince poſſeſſed of every quality that could engage their affection, render the nation reſpectable, and ſecure happineſs to his ſubjects. It was therefore the intention of the ſenate to diſmiſs the ambaſſadors with a very abrupt anſwer; but *Guſtavus* prevailed on them to treat them as the repreſentatives of a great monarch. After entertaining them magnificently at his own table, he had them introduced into the ſenate, gave them permiſſion to ſet forth their maſter's claim, and referred the anſwer, in order to render it more ſatisfactory, to the general diet. When the diet met, the ambaſſadors pleaded their maſter's claim in a laboured harangue; and were anſwered, in a ſpirited manner, by the ſpeakers of the diet, that the crown of *Sweden* was elective, and as ſuch beſtowed upon *Guſtavus*, their preſent monarch, as the juſt reward of his merit, and the tribute due from the gratitude of a people delivered from tyranny and oppreſſion by his valour and conduct. They then declared, in the name of the diet, *Troll*, archbiſhop of *Upſal*, a traitor and enemy to his country: nay, in the heat of their zeal and affection for *Guſtavus*, the ſpeaker was authorized to declare before the ambaſſadors, that *Guſtavus* ſhould have power to declare peace or war, and to enjoy many other prerogatives never before granted to a *Swediſh* monarch, out of pure reſpect to his perſon.

Conduct of Guſtavus *to the* Daniſh *ambaſſadors.*

AN anſwer ſo explicit left no room for expoſtulation; the ambaſſadors were for withdrawing out of the kingdom; but *Guſtavus* politicly entertained them for ſome days with a review of his troops, a ſight of his arſenals, and every thing elſe that could ſet forth his power, and ſtrike a damp on the pre-

pretenſions of *Frederick*: after which he diſmiſſed them with magnificent preſents, and the higheſt eſteem for his perſon and character. He accompanied the *Daniſh* ambaſſadors with an envoy from himſelf to *Frederick*, to demand the releaſe of the adminiſtrator's widow, and other ladies, impriſoned by *Chriſtian*. Nor was this the only object of his commiſſion. *Guſtavus* knew well, that the emperor was brother-in-law to *Chriſtian*, and powerful enough with the union of *Spain* and the *Indies*, to re-eſtabliſh *Chriſtian*, in defiance of the united endeavours of the three kingdoms, and much more ſo, if they were divided and at war with each other. The agent was ordered to examine narrowly into the character and deſigns of *Frederick*, and to ſee whether there were hopes of engaging him in a ſolid peace, ſo neceſſary to both nations in the beginning of their reigns, and the very dawn of their authority. So well did this miniſter acquit himſelf, that he filled *Frederick* with eſteem for the character of *Guſtavus*, and reſpect for his power, very different indeed from what the archbiſhop of *Upſal* had repreſented. This was not the time to revive his pretenſions, and begin a war with a prince ſo much maſter of the affections of his ſubjects; he therefore offered the envoy to terminate all their differences amicably, and to form a league offenſive and defenſive with *Guſtavus*. The more to ſhew his eſteem for the *Swediſh* monarch, he ſent back all the priſoners under a ſtrong eſcort, and particularly the adminiſtrator's widow, attended by a ſplendid retinue to the frontiers of *Sweden*.

An alliance between Frederick *and* Guſtavus.

In the mean time the conduct of admiral *Norby* called loudly for chaſtiſement. That officer had retired with his fleet to the iſle of *Gothland*, of which he was governor, claimed independency, commenced a pirate, and committed ravages on the high ſeas, on the ſhipping of all nations without diſtinction. The *Lubeckers* and hanſe-towns were, in particular, great ſufferers by him; and they carried their complaints to *Guſtavus* of *Sweden*, with ſuch promiſes of aſſiſtance, as induced that monarch to undertake the conqueſt of the iſland. Accordingly eight thouſand men were landed in *Gothland*, under the conduct of *Bernard Milen*, while the *Lubeck* fleet cruized round the coaſts, to prevent all ſuccours from *Frederick* from entering the iſland. *Norby* was ſoon reduced to difficulties; upon which he ſent one of his creatures to *Frederick*, to aſſure him that he was ready to acknowledge his ſovereignty, provided he would ſend him aſſiſtance againſt the *Swedes*; a propoſal with which the *Daniſh* monarch did not heſitate to comply. He became jealous of the enterpriſing genius of *Guſtavus*; and ſaw that it was his intereſt to check the ag-

Revolt of admiral Norby.

grandizement of a neighbouring prince. The iſland of *Gothland* was beſides a dependence on the crown of *Denmark*; and this more particularly led him to accept the terms offered by *Norby*. However, as it was not poſſible to ſuccour him, while the *Lubeck* fleet kept the ſeas, without engaging in a direct war with the hanſe-towns, at a time too when he feared a deſcent on his dominions by *Chriſtian*, he reſolved to try the effects of a negotiation. He diſpatched an ambaſſador to *Lubeck*, complaining of the attempt made by *Guſtavus* on his dominions, and prayed the regency to uſe their mediation in prevailing on him to withdraw his forces.

Frederic's *negotiations with the regency of* Lubeck.

FREDERICK knew perfectly well the treaty lately executed between *Lubeck* and *Guſtavus*; but he exerted his endeavours to break it. To effect this, he repreſented by his ambaſſador, the concern the regency had in preventing *Sweden* from growing too powerful. That *Guſtavus* was an enterpriſing prince, full of courage and ambition, who would require the union of all his neighbours againſt him, to keep bounds to his conqueſts. That *Gothland* was a dependence on the crown of *Denmark*; and that *Norby*, now returning to his duty, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of ſupporting him as his ſubject. That, however, he would ſubmit the whole affair to the arbitration of the hanſe-towns, rather than kindle a war in the North: and finally, that he conſented to ſequeſter the iſland into the hands of the regency, until the diſputes regarding it were finally decided.

He relieves Norby, *who was beſieged by the* Swedes.

FREDERICK's propoſals were too moderate, too politic, and too agreeable to the intereſt of the regency, not to be perfectly well received. They ſaw themſelves relieved from the piracies of *Norby*, and at the ſame time exempted the expence of maintaining a fleet at ſea, to protect the conqueſts of the *Swediſh* monarch. They preferred ſeeing *Gothland* defended by their own garriſon, though attended with ſome expence, to putting it into the hands of *Guſtavus*, and thereby enabling him to moleſt their commerce. It was for theſe reaſons the regency concluded a ſecret treaty with *Frederick*, by which they promiſed to connive at his endeavours to throw in ſuccours into *Wiſby*. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the king of *Denmark* ſhould ſend an ambaſſador to *Sweden*, to complain of *Guſtavus*'s invaſion of *Gothland*; and that he ſhould be followed by deputies from the hanſe-towns, offering their mediation, and declaring they would take arms againſt the party who ſhould oppoſe a reaſonable accommodation.

In conſequence of this treaty ſupplies were thrown into *Wiſby*; an interview paſſed between *Frederick* and *Guſtavus*, at which the affair of *Gothland* was warmly debated, and referred

red for a full deciſion to a congreſs of commiſſioners from *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and the hanſe-towns. The *Daniſh* deputies came at the time appointed, but made only a ſhort ſtay for the *Swedes*, who were kept back by contrary winds. *Frederick* made uſe of this occaſion to break off a congreſs to which he had no inclination, having now thrown in ſupplies into *Wisby*, and received an oath of allegiance from *Norby*. His *Swediſh* majeſty remonſtrated, but to no effect, as *Frederick* was in no humour to ſubmit to the hazard of arbitration an iſland of which he thought himſelf already ſecure. In a word, he over-reached the commiſſioners of *Lubeck* and *Sweden*; but was himſelf almoſt outwitted by *Norby*, who had entered upon a negotiation with the *Swediſh* general *Milen*, his old friend, and obtained from him a ſuſpenſion of arms. The ſiege was raiſed without the knowledge of *Guſtavus*, and to the great diſcontent of the whole *Swediſh* army. No ſooner was *Norby* delivered from the terrors of a ſiege, than he reſolved to break his oath to *Frederick*, and preſerve his independence. In vain was he ſummoned, in vain was he threatened with puniſhment by the *Daniſh* monarch: he not only refuſed keeping his parole, but made a deſcent with his fleet on *Schonen*, where he was joined by all the burghers and peaſants attached to the late king *Chriſtian*. Here, after burning a number of villages, he made himſelf maſter of *Salsburg*, *Lunden*, *Landſcroon*, and ſome other places.

Norby *refuſes to execute his promiſe to* Frederick.

JOHN RANTZAW was ſent by the king to oppoſe his progreſs with two battalions of infantry, and a few ſquadrons of horſe. *Norby* was at this time employed in the ſiege of *Helſinburg*; and that his operations might receive no interruption, he detached one of his generals with eight thouſand men, to give battle to *Rantzaw*, whoſe whole force ſcarce amounted to half that number. It was indeed expected, that *Rantzaw* would not have ſtood his ground; but this experienced officer knew what degree of confidence was to be placed in diſcipline and valour. He attacked the enemy with ſuch firmneſs, that their ranks were ſoon broken and put in diſorder, about a thouſand of them killed, and the reſt put to flight. Five hundred priſoners taken in the purſuit were ſent to king *Frederick*, with a great number of enſigns, and other military trophies.

He is defeated by Rantzaw.

THIS defeat greatly diſconcerted *Norby*, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of *Helſinburg*. After ſome motions to collect his ſcattered troops, he retired to *Landſcroon*, which he put in the beſt poſture of defence. *Rantzaw* immediately followed and blocked up the city, until a ſufficient reinforcement arrived to commence the ſiege in form. Here he did not

not remain long, before *Otton Stiggot* collecting together ſeveral thouſand peaſants, who adhered to *Chriſtian*, marched with intention to raiſe the blockade; and *Rantzaw* having advice of his motions, marched out of his intrenchments to give him battle, which he did with all imaginable ſucceſs, diſperſing the peaſant army, and returning the ſame day to his camp before the city. This ſtroke operated powerfully on the courage of *Norby*; he immediately demanded a parley, delivered propoſals of capitulation, which *Rantzaw* ſent for the approbation of king *Frederick*. The king fearing leſt *Norby* would deliver the iſle of *Gothland* to the *Swedes*, ſhould he inſiſt upon too rigorous terms, erred perhaps in the other extreme, by ſhewing too much lenity and indulgence to a man who had ſo often broke through oaths and the moſt ſolemn engagements. He contented himſelf with a promiſe from *Norby*, that he would refrain from all further violences, put the city and citadel of *Wisby* into his hands, and take a freſh oath of allegiance; terms with which *Norby* made no ſcruple of complying, as he intended to regard them no longer than neceſſity and his intereſt required. Taking with him ſome *Daniſh* lords, into whoſe hands he was to ſurrender *Wisby*, he ſet ſail for *Gothland*; but when he arrived there, put off the performance of his promiſe, and prevaricated in ſuch a manner, that it was plain he had other deſigns. *Frederick*, however, took his meaſures ſo vigorouſly, that he reduced him to the neceſſity of ſurrendering the city, and evacuating the iſland [a] (A).

Further proofs of Norby's *perfidy.*

A. D. 1526.

THE following year it was, that *Margaret* of *Auſtria* ſent ſome ſhips into the *Baltick*, to make a diverſion in favour of *Chriſtian*; but nothing conſiderable was performed by this ſquadron. *Frederick* ſeemed to enjoy perfect tranquillity in temporal affairs; but it was not ſo in ſpirituals. *Lutheraniſm* had made ſuch progreſs in *Denmark* under *Chriſtian*, in defiance of all the endeavours of the biſhops and *Romiſh* clergy, that, under *Frederick*, who himſelf embraced Proteſtantiſm, the nation was divided into two parties, each of which ſupported their ſentiments with all the zeal and heat peculiar to religious diſputes. To prevent civil diſcord, the king publiſhed an edict, prohibiting all his ſubjects, under ſevere pe-

Religious diſputes in Denmark.

(a) Vid. PUFFEN. t. iv. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 86.

(A) *Norby* afterwards enjoyed the prefecture of *Zeliſburg*; but his reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit ſet him on freſh revolts, which deprived him of his government: after which he entered into the ſervice of *Ruſſia*, next of *Charles* V. and laſtly, was ſlain at the ſiege of *Florence*.

nalties,

nalties, from laying any reſtraints on conſcience, or any way depriving a man of his reputation, fortune, or liberty, on account of his religious opinions. The doctrines of the reformation were permitted to be preached publicly; and thus the *Romiſh* religion loſt its influence every day. The *Lutherans* aſcribe the king's conduct to piety, while their adverſaries affirm, that policy alone governed his actions [a]: be that as it will, his moderation conveys no ſlight idea of his underſtanding, and certainly, at the time, contributed greatly to his firm eſtabliſhment on the throne.

THIS year the king held a general diet of the ſtates, to make ſome new regulations in religion, for the quiet and repoſe of the kingdom. Here it was that he firſt openly avowed himſelf a Proteſtant, bitterly inveighed againſt the ſpiritual tyranny of the church of *Rome*, and ſtopped the perſecutions of the popiſh clergy, by the following act paſſed by the diet: 1ſt, That every ſubject of *Denmark* ſhould be free to profeſs either the doctrines of *Luther*, or of *Rome*. 2dly, That no perſon ſhould be moleſted on account of his religion. 3dly, That the king ſhould exert his royal prerogative in defending the reformiſts againſt the tyranny and oppreſſion of their enemies: and 4thly, That the religious of all orders ſhould be permitted to marry and live in any part of the kingdom they thought proper, without reſpect to particular monaſteries, foundations, or ſocieties. A. D. 1527. *Frederick openly declares in favour of the reformed religion.*

IN conſequence of this decree all abbeys and cloiſters were deſerted, all auſterities and celibacy in particular diſregarded; *Lutheraniſm* was publicly preached, and embraced in all quarters; yet ſtill many warm conteſts aroſe between the clergy of either party, in which the king was forced to interpoſe. At laſt the city of *Malmoc* erected the ſtandard of *Luther*, publicly prohibited maſs, idols, and the other ſuperſtitions of the *Romiſh* church; and ſet an example, which was ſoon followed by the reſt of the cities, to the utter extinction of popery. The New Teſtament, and Pſalms of *David*, were tranſlated into the vernacular language; profeſſorſhips of theology founded, and filled with Proteſtant doctors. The biſhops took the alarm, and waiting upon the king in a body, could obtain nothing more, than that the affairs of religion ſhould receive farther regulations at the next general diet. *The city of* Malmoc *deſtroys all the badges of* Romiſh *ſuperſtition.*

BEFORE the diet aſſembled, ſome attempts were made by *Chriſtian* for recovering his crown. He had conſtantly reſided in *Flanders*, and never failed imploring the emperor *Charles* V. to aſſiſt him with forces and money, but without ſucceſs. A. D. 1531.

[a] SECKENDORFF Ep. 149.

That

That wiſe prince ſaw too clearly into his character, to believe that he could keep poſſeſſion of an authority which he ſo groſly abuſed, or recover the affections of a free, ſpirited people, whom he had endeavoured to enſlave. His prayers, however, prevailed with *Margaret* of *Auſtria*; ſhe fitted out a fleet, and raiſed a body of forces in his favour. The fleet was ſcattered, and ten ſhips loſt in a ſtorm; but others landed the troops in *Sweden* and *Norway*, where they were joined by great numbers of diſcontented perſons, and particularly by the *Roman* Catholics, who ſought their revenge in rebellion. His arms made ſuch progreſs, as to call upon *Frederick*'s ſerious attention. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, under the conduct of *Canute Gyllenſtiern*, and *Eric Gyllenſtiern*, brothers to the viceroy of *Norway*. Theſe generals ſet ſail, and came up with *Chriſtian*'s fleet before *Bahus*. Here they attacked them, and, after an engagement which laſted the whole day, took, ſunk, burnt, and deſtroyed the *Flemiſh* ſquadron, without letting a ſingle ſhip eſcape.

Chriſtian *makes ſome attempts to recover his crown.*

CHRISTIAN was at this time laying ſiege to *Aggerhus*, which he raiſed on advice of the defeat of his fleet. The *Gyllenſtierns* landed their forces, and obliged him to attempt a retreat to *Sweden*, through *Weſt Gothland*; but he found himſelf oppoſed by a body of three thouſand horſe, ſent to block up the paſſage by king *Guſtavus*. *Chriſtian* was now greatly embarraſſed. On the one ſide he ſaw the forces of *Denmark*, and on the other thoſe of *Sweden*, neither of which his ſituation would permit him to engage with any probability of ſucceſs. In this dilemma he threw himſelf into the town of *Congel*, which he fortified in the beſt manner circumſtances would allow, rather with a view to procraſtinate his fate, than in expectation of being able to defend himſelf for any time. Here he was preſſed with famine, deſerted by his men, and reduced to ſo piteous a condition, that *Gyllenſtiern*, biſhop of *Odenſee*, taking compaſſion on his ſufferings, uſed all his arguments to prevail upon him to ſurrender, rather than periſh with hunger, which he neceſſarily muſt in a ſhort time. He remembered that *Chriſtian* had formerly been ſovereign of three powerful kingdoms, and was led by his humanity to ſtipulate terms which he had no power to grant. In a word, he perſuaded that prince to put himſelf in his power, that he might conduct him to *Frederick*, aſſuring him that the force of blood would operate ſo ſtrongly on the king, as to procure *Chriſtian* the kindeſt reception. *Gyllenſtiern* intended no artifice; he firmly believed all that he advanced, and was greatly aſtoniſhed to find *Frederick* incenſed at his conduct. He was

He is made priſoner.

A. D. 1533.

even

en ſtung to the heart; on hearing that unfortunate monarch
is ſeized and impriſoned on his arrival at *Copenhagen*. He
nonſtrated to *Frederick*, but could obtain no redreſs. *Chriſ-*
n was confined and ſtrictly guarded in the caſtle of *Sun-*
burg, until *Frederick*'s death, which happened at *Gottorp* on
e thirteenth of *April*, in the year 1533.

FREDERICK obtained the name of *Pacific*, from his aver-
n to war, and the moderation of his conduct. He was the
t *Daniſh* monarch who had openly embraced and eſpouſed
e reformed religion; for though it was introduced in the
gn of his predeceſſor, yet had it made no conſiderable pro-
ſs. Hiſtorians greatly celebrate the piety, prudence, and
ady government of this prince. His reign indeed was prof-
rous to himſelf and his people; he lived in their affection,
d highly eſteemed and regretted by one part of his ſubjects;
ile the *Roman* Catholics, in general, deteſt his memory
this day, for effecting a reformation in religion to the
er extinction of their tyrannical ſuperſtition and ſpiritual
wer.

Death and character of Frederick I.

SECT. XIV.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of Chriſtian III.

CHRISTIAN III.

FREDERICK was ſucceeded by his ſon *Chriſtian* III. go-
vernor of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein* in his father's life-time.
general diet aſſembled at *Copenhagen* on the twenty-fourth
June, to deliberate on the election of a king, to which
riſtian ſent two noblemen of diſtinction to appear in his
me. All the biſhops and *Romiſh* clergy ſtrongly ſupported
: intereſt of prince *John*, ſecond ſon of *Frederick*, in oppo-
on to *Chriſtian*, who had embraced the reformed religion.
ney alledged, in favour of this young prince, that he was
n after his father's acceſſion to the throne, though their
e motive was, the hopes they entertained of breeding him
in their own religion. A third party were for recalling
riſtian II. but this faction was ſmall, and intirely abſorbed
the two others. The nobility in general ſupported *Chriſ-*
n III. and the clergy, finding they could not carry their
nt at that time, propoſed that the election ſhould be de-
ed to the following year, in order that the ſtates of *Nor-*
y might be aſſembled, and the ſame king ſeated on the
one of both kingdoms. This propoſal having gained the

Diſputes about a ſucceſſor, and the kingdom divided into three factions.

aſſent of the majority, the ſtates next reſolved to ſend an ambaſſy to *Mary*, governante of the *Low-Countries*, to propoſe a peace, or at leaſt a truce for ſome years.

In the mean time ſome of the chief nobility, among whom were *Magnus Goe* and *Eric Bonner*, entered a proteſt againſt adjourning the diet. In this they bitterly exclaimed againſt the biſhops, whoſe private intereſt they affirmed prevailed over every meaſure for the general good. Having entered this proteſt they retired into the country, followed by a great number of the other nobility, and thus left a clear majority to the clergy in the diet. The biſhops did not fail to take advantage of this circumſtance: they propoſed the following decree, and had influence enough to get it paſſed; firſt, that the election of a king ſhould be deferred for one year; ſecondly, that church-lands and monaſteries ſhould remain in their preſent ſituation, until the next diet; thirdly, that as the biſhops had drawn up different charges againſt certain miniſters of the reformed religion, and particularly an accuſation of a heinous nature againſt *J. Touſſon*, he ſhould be obliged to appear and anſwer to the charge; fourthly, that *Chriſtian*, the oldeſt ſon of the late king *Frederick*, ſhould be diſqualified from ſucceeding to the throne, on account of his having embraced the reformed religion; and that *John*, the ſecond, ſhould be bred in the faith of the *Romiſh* church, and for that reaſon preferred to his brother in the future election [a].

Artifices of the Popiſh *clergy.*

In this manner was the kingdom of *Denmark* divided, after the deceaſe of *Frederick*. The civil diſcontents furniſhed the regency of *Lubeck* with an opportunity of renewing their attempt to engroſs the whole traffic of the *Baltick*. The means they uſed to accompliſh this deſign were indeed extraordinary, and ſuch as require being atteſted by good authority before they could gain credit; but the relation of them does not belong to this part of our hiſtory (A).

About

[a] Puffend. t. iv.

(A) It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the *Lubeckers* had formed ſchemes the moſt ambitious and ideal that ever entered the brain of a ſenſible people. They projected nothing leſs than the univerſal empire of the North; and in endeavouring to execute their plan, had almoſt annihilated the very being of their little ſtate, whoſe whole ſtrength conſiſted in commerce, and a confederacy with the other hanſe-towns. Our author alledges, that they proceeded ſo far as to ſell the kingdom of *Denmark* to *Henry* VIII. of *England*, and that he advanced on this bargain the ſum of twenty thouſand crowns, with a pro-

A. D. 1534.

ABOUT this time was held a general diet at *Odenſee*, for the election of a ſovereign. *Chriſtian* of *Sleſwick* ſent ambaſſadors thither, who uſed every artifice to gain a majority. They repreſented, that *Denmark* being without a head, and expoſed to a number of enemies, it would be for the public good that a treaty of perpetual union and alliance were concluded between *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Holſtein*; a propoſition quite agreeable to the ſentiments of the diet, though it did not take place at that time. They engaged that *Chriſtian* would govern the kingdom rather as the father than the ſovereign of his people. They promiſed that he would preſerve the liberties of the people, and extend as far as was in his power, the rights and influence of the nobility; but that if the diet thought proper to prefer his brother *John*, he would acquieſe in their judgment, and never give him any moleſtation. They added however their maſter's requeſt, that the diet would proceed to the election of a king, in order to ſtop the confuſion and diſcord that now diſtracted the kingdom. Yet after all, this diet likewiſe broke up without coming to any agreement.

Several diets held for the election of a ſovereign.

THIS year ambaſſadors arrived from *Sweden*, with an account of the conſpiracy formed by the regency of *Lubeck* againſt the king. The *Danes* offered their mediation, without knowing that a ſimilar plot was formed againſt themſelves. This ambitious regency, in order to accompliſh higher views, had projected the reſtoration of *Chriſtian* II. and in this deſign they engaged prince *Chriſtopher* of *Oldenburg*, a cadet of that family, archbiſhop *Troll*, *John* count of *Hoya*, a great number of exiles, many of the diſcontented clergy, and the chief magiſtrates of *Malmoe* and *Copenhagen*. *Chriſtopher* of *Oldenburg* was charged with the enterprize of ſetting *Chriſtian* II. at liberty. With this view he paſſed the *Elbe* at the head of four thouſand foot, and then wrote to *Chriſtian* of *Sleſwick*, demanding to know why he detained king *Chriſtian* a priſoner in *Sunderburg*. He complained that his majeſty was confined contrary to the faith of a treaty, and the ſafe-conduct granted him by *Frederick*'s general. He inſiſted that he ſhould be releaſed, otherwiſe he threatened to employ all his own forces, together with thoſe of his friends and allies, to procure him juſtice and his enlargement.

The ambitious deſigns of the regency of Lubeck.

a promiſe of paying the remainder on their fulfilling the contract; a piece of ſecret hiſtory intirely paſſed over by our beſt *Engliſh* hiſtorians (1).

(1) *Des Roches*, *t.* v. *p.* 82.

DUKE

DUKE *Chriſtian* anſwered, that the king was confined by order of his late majeſty, in conſequence of repeated remonſtrances from the ſtates of *Denmark* and *Sweden*: that he could not therefore ſet him at liberty, without the joint conſent of both theſe nations: and finally, he gave him to underſtand, that in this particular he was not his own maſter. But this anſwer was by no means ſatisfactory to *Chriſtopher*, who replied, that he was aſtoniſhed *Chriſtian* ſhould excuſe himſelf by ſuch a pretence, as he was independent of both kingdoms. It was notorious, he ſaid, that *Sunderburg* belonged to him, and conſequently he had power to ſet at liberty a prince confined againſt all law and equity; concluding that the regency of *Lubeck* and the *Vandal* cities would intereſt themſelves in the affair, and employ force of arms to obtain what was denied to fair remonſtrances [b].

HAVING made the ſame remonſtrances to the ſenate of *Denmark*, and with the ſame effect, he returned to *Lubeck*; upon which the regency ordered their army to march, under the command of *Wallenweber* and *Marc Meyer*, into *Holſtein*. Here they raiſed heavy contributions, and took the fortreſſes of *Trittaw* and *Eudin*. They formed the ſiege of *Segeberg*, took the town, and were preparing to attack the citadel, when they heard that *Chriſtian* having received a reinforcement from *Denmark*, was on his way to give them battle. It was the ſame *Rantzaw*, of whom we have ſpoke in the preceding pages, that now commanded *Chriſtian*'s forces, attacked the *Lubeckers*, defeated them, and retook *Eudin* [c].

Chriſtian lays ſiege to Lubeck.

THIS defeat did not diſcourage the prince of *Oldenburg*, and his confederates the *Lubeck* generals; it only obliged them to alter their meaſures, evacuate *Holſtein*, and embark their army, in order to invade *Denmark*, and thus divide the forces of that kingdom. The *Holſtein* general made the beſt uſe of their abſence. He penetrated to the town of *Travemunde*, which he beſieged and took. Having demoliſhed the fortreſs of *Muggeberg*, he began to throw a bridge over the *Trave*; a proceeding which greatly alarmed the city of *Lubeck*, who immediately ſent all their forces to oppoſe him. Theſe *Rantzaw* defeated, puſhed farther, and put *Chriſtian* in poſſeſſion of both ſides of the river, by which means he became intire maſter of all the ſhips in the harbour. Here he remained for ſome months, burnt all the ſhipping, and greatly diſtreſſed the city of *Lubeck*.

IN the mean time *Denmark* was in the moſt perilous and diſtracted condition. *George Munter*, conſul of *Malmoe*, had

[b] CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 92. [c] DES ROCHES, t. v. p. 51.

treach-

treacherously seized upon *Gyllenstiern*, governor of the citadel, after which he razed it to the ground, and declared in favour of king *Christian* II. just as *Christopher* of *Oldenburg* entered the *Sound* with his fleet. *Munter* immediately went on board the prince's ship, and relating the success of his enterprize, induced *Christopher* to land his forces. Soon he became master of *Roschild*, *Koge*, *Sockholm*, *Stega*, and *Copenhagen*, which last city was surrendered to him, on condition that he enlarged its privileges, and swore to preserve the inhabitants in the free use of the *Lutheran* religion, which they had embraced. All these places he held in the name of *Christian* II. exacting an oath of allegiance to that prince from the inhabitants of the several towns and fortresses in his possession. In a word, he became master of *Zealand* and *Schonen*, and was upon terms with the diet of *Norway* for restoring the deposed *Christian* [a].

The Lubeckers masters of a great part of Denmark.

THE islands of *Laaland*, *Falstre*, and *Langland*, having followed the example of *Zealand* and *Schonen*, the *Lubeckers* beheld with satisfaction the rapid progress of their arms, and now thought it necessary to justify their proceedings by a manifesto, setting forth their reasons for entering upon this war. But they were such as only convinced the whole world of their ambition, which, by being directed to wrong objects, soon turned them into ridicule. In this manifesto they had the presumption to prescribe in points of religion to *Denmark*, and talk with an air of authority altogether vain and absurd, because it was unsupported by adequate power; for at this time *Christian* III. was laying siege to the city; and however successful their arms were in *Denmark*, they were reduced to the greatest necessity at home. Happily however for them, the states of *Jutland* resolved to meet for the election of a sovereign. *Holstein* took the same resolution, and they assembled on the fourth of *July*, at a place called *Rye*, near *Sunderburg*. It became the general opinion that their choice ought to fall upon a prince capable of governing by himself, and whose experience and conduct might again re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. A majority of voices declared for duke *Christian*, who had an army powerful enough to execute his designs. The states of *Fionia* were invited to accede to their election, and they accepted *Christian*, to whom ambassadors were immediately sent with an offer of the crown.

Christian III. elected king of Denmark.

THE clergy had made some complaints, on account of his religion, but they were disregarded. *John Fris de Hessa-*

[a] DES ROCHES, ibid. PUFFEND. ibid.

lager was ſent upon this commiſſion, and likewiſe charged to acquaint *Chriſtian*, that it was of the utmoſt conſequence to provide againſt the enemy's getting poſſeſſion of *Fionia*, which had now declared for him. *Chriſtian* ſet out directly for *Herſens*, where the nobility and commons of *Jutland* were aſſembled to receive him. Here he was ſolemnly crowned, and acknowledged king of all *Denmark*, and as ſuch received the oaths of all preſent.

KING *Chriſtian*'s firſt care was to apprize *Guſtavus* of *Sweden* of his election; to complain of the irregular conduct of the *Lubeckers*; to exhort him to enter *Schonen* with a force ſufficient to wreſt that province out of the hands of the enemy, and reannex it to *Denmark*, and, in a word, to humble the pride and clip the ſoaring wings of this ambitious republic. *Guſtavus* did not heſitate in what manner he was to act. He longed for an occaſion to revenge himſelf on the *Lubeckers*, and embraced this opportunity. He exhorted the inhabitants of *Schonen* to acknowledge *Chriſtian* III. for their ſovereign, and he ſeconded his remonſtrances with force. A body of troops was marched into the province, and effectual meaſures taken for driving the *Lubeckers* out of *Denmark*.

Fionia *revolts.*

WHILE *Chriſtian* III. was at *Kolding*, he was ſtruck with the revolt of the iſland of *Fionia*, at the inſtigation of the count of *Oldenburg*. The burghers and peaſants roſe up againſt the nobility, and were determined to throw off their ſubjection to them, by driving them out of the iſland. To compoſe theſe troubles, and aſſiſt the nobility, *Chriſtian* ſent a body of forces, which ſoon obliged the people to take a freſh oath of allegiance to him; but the count, landing a ſuperior force, had the town of *Neoburg* treacherouſly ſurrendered to him, and a new inſurrection made in his favour, which in a ſhort time put him in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland.

AT the ſame time the duke of *Mecklenburg* and landgrave of *Heſſe*, mediated a peace between the city of *Lubeck* and dutchy of *Holſtein*, in which both ſides agreed to give no aſſiſtance to each other's enemies. By this means *Chriſtian* was enabled to employ all his forces in *Denmark*; and he accordingly marched an army into *North Jutland*, under the command of the celebrated *Rantzaw* and *Eric Banner*. The two generals marched directly to *Alburg*, a town taken by *Clement*, a *Lubeck* pirate, who was encamped with a body of peaſants before the walls. *Rantzaw* attacked this corps, defeated *Clement*, and took the town by aſſault, putting the garriſon to the ſword. *Clement* eſcaped out of the battle, but was afterwards taken at *Kolding*, confined in priſon till the

year

year 1536, and then beheaded. His head was fixed on a ſtake in the market-place, and crowned in deriſion with a leaden crown, on account of his inſolence in proclaiming *Chriſtian* II.

ALTHOUGH this advantage decided nothing, yet it produced overtures for peace, and an interview between *Chriſtian* and the count of *Oldenburg*, which broke up without any determination, beſides that of deciding the difference by the ſword. When the count returned to *Copenhagen*, he aſſembled the ſtates, and demanded a ſupply of money. As the treaſury was extremely exhauſted, and the country impoveriſhed, he propoſed that the nobility and gentry ſhould diſpoſe of their wives, jewels, and trinkets; but this was an expedient with which they did not chuſe to comply, though they found means to raiſe the ſum required. Scarce was this affair finiſhed, when *George Munter* and *Ambroſe* entered the aſſembly with a bitter complaint againſt the nobility and ſenate, whom they accuſed as the authors of all the national misfortunes, by depoſing *Chriſtian* II. They demanded therefore that the count would puniſh them according to their deſerts. Fear ſeized the whole aſſembly, and no man ventured to withdraw, until the count had given them a ſolemn aſſurance, that no violence ſhould be offered.

IT was now that the count's wicked deſigns came to be diſcloſed. He had laid a ſcheme for the deſtruction of the nobility of *Schonen*, whom he aſſembled at *Landſcroon* for that purpoſe, and was juſt ready to give the finiſhing blow, when *Guſtavus* appeared very providentially at the head of an army, on the borders of the province. He was inſtantly joined by five hundred nobility and gentry, who aſſiſted in driving the count's forces out of *Schonen*, with which tranſaction the year 1534 concluded.

IN the month of *January* the *Swediſh* army entered *Halland*, and began their operations by laying ſiege to *Helmſtadt*. After remaining ſome days before the town, the magiſtrates declared voluntarily for *Chriſtian* III. upon which the *Swediſh* army proceeded on their march. Paſſing through the country round *Helſinburg*, *Landſcroon*, and *Malmoe*, they were joined by great numbers of the nobility and gentry, and ſoon after gave battle and obtained a complete victory over the earl of *Oldenburg*, and the forces of *Lubeck*. Here the earl loſt his beſt officers and ſoldiers, who were either killed or made priſoners. A ſtrong reinforcement was then ſent by *Chriſtian* III. by means of which the *Swediſh* army was enabled to lay ſiege to *Malmoe* and *Landſcroon* at the ſame time. But the victory at *Helſinburg* had more important conſequences. It induced the nobility of *Norway* to declare in

A. D. 1535. *Progreſs of* Chriſtian's *arms.*

favour of the new king; but this advantage was counterbalanced by ſome inconveniences. *Meyer* the *Lubeck* general and burgomaſter being taken in the engagement, a diſpute aroſe between the *Swedes* and *Danes*. The former inſiſted upon his being their priſoner, becauſe the victory was obtained by their forces, and the latter urged, that it was more reaſonable he ſhould belong to them, as he had immediately ſurrendered to the *Danes*. This difference was carried high; but at length terminated by an agreement, that he ſhould be confined in the frontier town of *Wardeberg*. Here he was a priſoner on parole; and *Meyer* uſed this opportunity not only to obtain his liberty, but to prevail on the magiſtrates to declare for *Chriſtian* II. and afterwards to ſeize on the citadel; both which ſucceeded to his wiſh.

IN the mean time the regency had engaged the duke of *Mecklenburg* in their intereſt, and ſent him with a fleet to *Copenhagen*, in order to attempt the releaſe of *Chriſtian* II. (A) but a difference ariſing between him and the earl, about the command of the army, *Lubeck* derived but little advantage from this alliance. Not long after their army in *Fionia* was defeated and cut in pieces by *Rantzaw*, a great number of ſoldiers and officers killed or taken priſoners, and among the latter archbiſhop *Troll*, who ſoon after died of his wounds.

FROM *Fionia Rantzaw* paſſed into *Zealand*. Here he was joined by the king in perſon, and ſiege laid to *Copenhagen*. The ſieges of *Malmoe* and *Landſcroon* were likewiſe vigorouſly puſhed in *Schonen*, and *Wardeberg* wreſted out of the enemy's hands by *Nadon Ulſton*. Thus every thing conſpired to ruin the deſigns of the *Lubeckers*, and firmly to eſtabliſh the new king on the throne, who was now ſolemnly crowned at *Odenſe* king of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Interview between Chriſtian *and* Guſtavus.

DURING the ſiege of *Copenhagen*, *Chriſtian*, contrary to the advice of his council, made a dangerous viſit to *Guſtavus* at *Stockholm*. His intention was to concert meaſures with that prince againſt the deſigns of the emperor, who, under the pretence of procuring the crown of *Denmark* for the elector *Frederic* Palatine, projected a ſcheme for reducing the three northern crowns under his own obedience. The *Daniſh* hiſtorians alledge, that *Guſtavus* made certain demands, with which *Chriſtian* could not comply; and that the manner in which the *Swediſh* monarch received this denial, obliged *Chriſtian* to retire with the utmoſt expedition out of *Sweden*. It is affirmed, that queen *Chriſtina* gave him notice of certain plots contrived againſt him, and that *Guſtavus* afterwards uſed this princeſs ſo ill, that ſhe died of grief; but theſe are

(A) *Chriſtian* was confined in the citadel which had not ſurrendered to the *Lubeck* fleet.

the

the wiſe inſinuations of writers, who would appear knowing in the myſteries of ſtate, by affecting an air of obſcurity [a]. It is certain that theſe conjectures are diametrically oppoſite to the aſſertions of the *Swediſh* hiſtorians, and indeed to the character of the heroic *Guſtavus*. Whatever reſentment *Guſtavus* harboured, he entirely concealed it, and took every meaſure to perform his engagements, and eſtabliſh *Chriſtian* on the throne. Nay, to the *Swediſh* troops may we in a great meaſure aſcribe the reduction of *Copenhagen*, which together with *Landſcroon* were ſurrendered the following year after a long ſiege.

Now it was that the emperor began to concern himſelf in the affairs of *Denmark*, and to puſh the intereſt of the elector-palatine. With this view he ſent an ambaſſador to the duke of *Saxony* and landgrave of *Heſſe*, declaring *Chriſtian* III. an uſurper, and pleading the right of the elector. This ambaſſy had no effect; for theſe princes jointly replied, that his imperial majeſty had no buſineſs with the affairs of *Denmark*; and that *Chriſtian*'s claim was undoubted, as the oldeſt ſon of king *Frederic*, ſolemnly called to the throne by the ſtates of the kingdom. The emperor received another check from the pretenſions of the earl of *Oldenburg*, who began to aſpire at the crown; with which intention he ſent a faithful emiſſary to the *Low Countries* to ſound the inclinations of the governante, to demand ſuccours to raiſe the ſiege of *Copenhagen*, and the widow of *Francis Sforza* duke of *Milan* in marriage. But he met with a repulſe, the governante declaring in favour of the elector-palatine. A. D. 1536. *The emperor endeavours to procure the crown of* Denmark *for the elector-palatine.*

THE new king *Chriſtian* was not ignorant of what was tranſacting at the emperor's court. Some letters of the governante's which he intercepted, gave him a more diſtinct idea of the intrigues carrying on againſt him, and of the elector's ſtrength. One of theſe letters was addreſſed to the garriſon of *Copenhagen*, exhorting them to be of good courage, as the elector would ſpeedily raiſe the ſiege with a numerous fleet and army. It was now the whole ſcope of *Chriſtian*'s politics to fruſtrate all theſe machinations. In the firſt place he entered into a treaty with *Menard de Hour*, who had long commanded the forces of the duke of *Gueldres*, whereby that officer undertook to make a diverſion in *Ems*, by attacking the emperor's troops in theſe quarters. This general, whoſe predominant paſſion was the love of fighting, immediately entered upon action, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in that country, in the name of *Chriſtian* III.

[a] DES ROCHES, t. v. p. 72.

Various operations on both ſides.

WHILE *Menard* was employing the forces of the empire round *Groningen*, an intereſting ſcene paſſed in *Norway*. *Chriſtian* had ſent deputies to the archbiſhop *Olaus*, to keep him and the ſtates of *Norway* firm in their alliance and union with *Denmark*. Every thing appeared to ſucceed according to his wiſh, when an ambaſſy arrived from the *Netherlands*, with magnificent preſents to the prelate from the governante. The inſtructions of the *Flemiſh* ambaſſadors were to exhort the archbiſhop and ſtates, in the emperor's name, to remain firm in the duty they had ſworn to *Chriſtian* II. when that prince was in *Norway*. The ambaſſadors promiſed that in this they ſhould be powerfully ſupported by a fleet, which the elector-palatine would command in perſon, on their coaſt. Gained by their preſents and promiſes, the treacherous prelate ordered the *Daniſh* deputies to be ſeized and put in irons. He ſtrangled in priſon the preſident *Vincent*, againſt whom he bore an antient grudge. He diſperſed troops in the different quarters of the kingdom, to oblige the people to declare in favour of the elector. He went ſtill farther, and had himſelf crowned king, in the name of that prince. Moſt of the nobility were ſtrongly attached to *Chriſtian* III. but the dread of incurring the reſentment of this powerful prelate, kept them ſilent and inactive. *Eric Gyllenſtiern* alone had the courage to ſet the remaining *Daniſh* deputies at liberty, with whom he ſet ſail for *Denmark*.

THIS ſudden change in the affairs of *Norway*, and the rapid progreſs the elector-palatine was making to aſcend the throne, obliged the regency of *Lubeck* firſt to think of peace. Their eyes were now opened, the expences of the war became grievous, and their fine ideal plan of empire vaniſhed and mouldered in the teſt of rigid enquiry. They ſolicited the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the cities *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Magdeburg*, and *Brunſwick*, to interpoſe their mediation between them and *Chriſtian* III. and to regulate the conditions of peace.

Peace between Denmark *and* Lubeck.

DEPUTIES from all theſe powers met at *Hamburg*, and ordained, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe between *Denmark* and *Lubeck*, and that their antient friendſhip ſhould be renewed; that the iſland of *Bornholm* ſhould be ceded in ſurety to the regency of *Lubeck*, for the ſpace of fifty years, and until the king paid them fifteen thouſand ducats, on account of their obliging the earl of *Oldenburg* to evacuate *Denmark*. *Chriſtian* acceded the more readily to theſe conditions, that he ſaw a new enemy riſe up againſt him, the kingdom drained of money, and the people tired out with the long continuance of the war. One circumſtance alone embarraſſed him;

him; it was his having concluded this peace without conſulting *Guſtavus*, and even contrary to the treaty with him. In effect, *Guſtavus* reſented his conduct, and gave orders to his forces to evacuate *Denmark*. He likewiſe demanded the money he had lent *Chriſtian*, or rather the provinces of *Wyck* and *Babus*.

THE *Daniſh* monarch was not ignorant of what conſequence it was to live on terms of amity with *Guſtavus*. He immediately ſent an ambaſſy to him to excuſe his conduct, by aſſuring him, that the time allowed for concluding the treaty was too ſhort to admit of conſulting his inclinations; and that he feared if he did not embrace the occaſion, the city of *Lubeck* would join with the elector-palatine. In fact, it was no leſs the intereſt of *Guſtavus* than of *Chriſtian*, that the two nations ſhould continue in friendſhip. He therefore prudently admitted the ambaſſador's apology, demanded a renewal of the league between the two kingdoms, and countermanded the return of his troops. Still, however, he refuſed to ſign the peace with *Lubeck*; and his perſeverance in this drove the regency to ſuch deſpair, that they even conſpired againſt his life, and hired ruffians, who undertook to poiſon, or blow him up with gunpowder, placed under his ſeat at church.

IT was in conſequence of this peace, that *George Munter*, ſeeing no hopes of ſuccours from the *Low Countries*, from *Lubeck*, or from the elector-palatine, and that his fellow ſubjects were tired out with the war, determined to throw himſelf upon the king's clemency, and do all in his power to forward his cauſe, and promote the tranquility and repoſe of the country; *Malmoe*, of which he was governor, he ſurrendered before the operations of the beſiegers had compelled him, and he ſet out for *Copenhagen* to endeavour to perſuade the garriſon and inhabitants to ſubmit. By this means it was that theſe important places came into the king's hands, though, indeed, at *Copenhagen* the garriſon was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that dogs, cats, rats, and the moſt loathſome animals, were thought delicious food. Children, after ſucking all the milk in the mother's breaſt, drank their own blood, and periſhed in the arms of their parents. The people became ſo feeble with hunger, that they dropt down dead in the ſtreet, were often found dead in their beds, and yet did they ſtill perſevere in their refuſal to ſurrender, until *George Munter* came among them.

AFTER inexpreſſible miſeries ſuſtained, at laſt *Copenhagen* ſurrendered; and duke *Albert*, and the earl of *Oldenburg*, were forced to throw themſelves at the king's feet to obtain pardon. While the earl was in this ſupplicating poſture, the king reproached him with having entered *Holſtein* without any

Copenhagen ſurrenders to Chriſtian III.

ſubject of complaint, without any declaration of war, to plunder and lay waſte like a robber. He accuſed him of having taken arms to ſupport the unjuſt quarrel of *Lubeck*, and of being the occaſion of all the bloodſhed in *Denmark*; adding, that now was the time to gratify his vengeance, but that, in conſideration of their affinity by blood, he pardoned him.

Chriſtian *eſtabliſhes the reformed religion.*

As ſoon as the new king found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the capital, he laboured to execute a plan communicated to him by *Guſtavus*, for reducing the temporal power of the biſhops and clergy, who were the great ſticklers againſt his election. He ſaw himſelf ſupported by the ſenate and nobility, who had placed the crown on his head; without fear therefore he attacked the clergy of higheſt dignity and influence. With this view he aſſembled a diet at *Odenſee*, and took the firſt ſteps towards depoſing the biſhops, and favouring the reformed religion. An order was iſſued for apprehending them all; and *Bilde*, biſhop of *Arbus*, alone found means to eſcape. A few of them became martyrs to their religion, particularly the biſhop of *Roſchild*, who ſuffered his family to be perſecuted, himſelf to be deprived of his dignity and ſee, to be confined in priſon, and even in irons, in which he died, without making the leaſt recantation, or, like the other biſhops, accommodating himſelf to the king's humour.

A. D. 1537.

The diet paſſed a decree, whereby all the church-lands, towns, fortreſſes, and villages, were annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever aboliſhed. They even went ſo far as to incur the diſpleaſure of *Luther* himſelf, who wrote the king a letter from *Germany*, exhorting him to uſe the clergy with more lenity; and though he diſapproved the doctrine, yet to pay the due reſpect to the miniſters of the antient religion of the kingdom. He told him, that intirely aboliſhing the temporal power of the church was robbing the crown of one of the ſtrongeſt pillars of its prerogative; and, indeed, *Chriſtian* did not enough attend to the conſequences of the exorbitant power now lodged in the hands of the nobility. The equipoiſe of government was deſtroyed with the power of the biſhops; the four different orders of the people were all abſorbed in the grandeur of the nobility, and even the royal prerogative dwindled to a dependence on their will.

In this ſituation ſtood the affairs of *Denmark*, when the king began ſeriouſly to prepare for the reduction of *Norway*, in conſequence of a treaty concluded with the governante of the *Low Countries*. The archbiſhop *Olaus* having notice of his intention, and of the revolution in the church of *Denmark*, ſent deputies to ſolicit his majeſty's pardon, promiſing

miſing to place the crown of *Norway* upon his head, and get him acknowledged by the ſtates of the kingdom. But inſtead of receiving his deputation, *Chriſtian* ordered his fleet to invade *Norway*, which obliged the archbiſhop to embark with all his jewels and effects for *Holland*. Immediately on his departure, the whole kingdom returned to the obedience of *Chriſtian*, who was ſolemnly crowned king.

IT could not be imagined, that a prince who had perſecuted the biſhops with ſo much ſeverity, would leave the inferior clergy of the *Romiſh* religion unmoleſted. A confeſſion of faith was drawn up, and preſented to them, with the alternative either of ſigning it or quitting the kingdom. The latter was preferred by great numbers, who retired into *Germany* and the *Netherlands*: thus the reformed religion was completely eſtabliſhed in *Denmark*, the power of the nobility raiſed to exceſs, on the ruins of the epiſcopal grandeur; the burghers and peaſants reduced to a more ſervile ſtate under their haughty lords, than they had ever known under the moſt deſpotic exertions of papiſtical tyranny; and the royal prerogative rendered merely titular, and a ſhadow which vaniſhed at the will of the nobles. It is true, that *Chriſtian* ſupported his crown with its antient luſtre; but the nobility were not yet become ſufficiently acquainted with their own power, which increaſed daily, until their pride at laſt effected a revolution, that turned the ſcale wholly in favour of the crown, and rendered *Denmark* as abſolute a monarchy as any in *Europe*.

FOR the ſpace of two years *Denmark* enjoyed a profound peace at home and abroad; an opportunity which *Chriſtian* aſſiduouſly improved to the good of his people, eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations as he thought would beſt promote their felicity. He was likewiſe endeavouring to confirm this repoſe by foreign alliances, and to terminate all his differences with neighbouring ſtates, when, of a ſudden, he ſaw his crown threatened with a ſtorm equally violent and unexpected. The elector-palatine, having levied forces in *Lower Saxony*, marched in an hoſtile manner into the dutchy of *Holſtein*, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſword; but this expedition was but of ſhort duration; the *Hamburgers* interpoſed, and obliged the elector to return with more precipitation than he had marched with into the country. *Denmark enjoys profound peace.*

NOR was this all; *Guſtavus* had this year preſented *Chriſtian* with a long bill of complaints, containing a variety of articles, to each of which he demanded an explicit anſwer. Among other articles, he accuſed *Chriſtian* of debauching his ſoldiers and officers from their allegiance to him, and incorporating them with the troops of *Denmark*; a bad requital A. D. 1539.

Diſputes between Denmark *and* Sweden.

of the many ſervices he had done to him. In particular he alledged, that when the *Swediſh* fleet arrived in the *Sound*, *Melchior Rantzaw* had encouraged the deſertion of his ſailors, and manned the *Daniſh* fleet with thoſe deſerters; that *Chriſtian* had refuſed to accommodate his fleet with proviſions, agreeable to the treaty between the two crowns; that the *Danes* had ſeized upon *Meyer*, burgomaſter of *Lubeck*, though in fact he was the priſoner of the *Swediſh* general, together with a variety of other articles of leſs conſequence, and which only ſhewed *Guſtavus*'s deſire of coming to a rupture with *Denmark*.

To anſwer theſe complaints *Chriſtian* ſent ambaſſadors to *Calmar*, where the *Swediſh* monarch at that time reſided. They apologized in the beſt manner for their maſter's conduct, but referred the final regulation to plenipotentiaries, which were to meet the following year on the frontiers.

Negotiations between Chriſtian *and the* German *powers.*

WHILE the king was buſied in preparing their inſtructions for the plenipotentiaries, the prefect of *Saltholm* was murdered, together with ſeveral of his domeſtics, at the inſtigation of biſhop *Augmund*. On the firſt notice of this horrid act, the king iſſued orders to *Chriſtopher Wilfeldt*, governor of *Drontheim*, to paſs with two ſhips of war to the iſland, to take a freſh oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, ſeize upon the biſhop, and place in his room a Proteſtant miniſter. About the ſame time a letter came to his majeſty from the landgrave of *Heſſe*, ſeriouſly adviſing him to treat with the elector-palatine concerning the dowry of *Dorothea* his wife, as the beſt means of paving the way to an accommodation with the emperor. He offered likewiſe his mediation on this occaſion; but *Chriſtian* anſwered, that as he had ambaſſadors in *Ghent*, he would ſquare his conduct by the accounts he ſhould receive from them. A negotiation in the end was ſet on foot; but after much altercation, the breach ſeemed rather wider than before; and both the emperor and governante declared to the *German* princes, that they had made overtures the moſt reaſonable, which *Chriſtian* rejected, while the *Daniſh* monarch on the other ſide made ſimilar complaints and proteſtations.

NOR were the differences between *Denmark* and *Sweden* more eaſily terminated. Their mutual intereſts kept them united; yet did they live in a ſtate of perpetual enmity and defiance. *Guſtavus*, unſatisfied with the acquiſition of a kingdom diſmembered, thought of nothing but re-uniting it; while *Chriſtian*, on his ſide, could not altogether forget his claim to the crown of *Sweden*. Frequent congreſſes were held; but they all concluded in nothing more than fixing the ſum due to *Guſtavus* by the *Daniſh* monarch, and the time of payment.

payment. As the *Swediſh* monarch thought himſelf hardly uſed in the reduction of this ſum far below his expectation, he made new claims, which fruſtrated the effects of all former agreements, prolonged the negotiations, and at laſt occaſioned their breaking up without eſtabliſhing a coalition, or even tolerably reconciling the parties to each other. At laſt the two princes had an interview, which terminated happily in a peace for five years, during which time they were to decide all their diſputes, except what regarded the iſland of *Gothland*. It was believed that this affair required more time, as the caſe was intricate, and many documents to be examined on both ſides, in ſupport of their ſeveral claims. It would indeed have been extremely impolitic in the northern princes, at a time when the emperor was lying in wait for ſuch an advantage, in order to ſeize upon the crowns of the three kingdoms, as it evidently appeared was his deſign. *Chriſtian* II. had made it an article in the marriage-contract with the emperor's ſiſter, that his crown ſhould devolve upon *Charles*, ſhould he die without iſſue male; and his ſupporting the elector-palatine was nothing more than a previous ſtep to further declarations. The ambition of *Charles* V. grew up with his power: he ſchemed univerſal monarchy, and *Guſtavus* and *Chriſtian* had every thing to fear from his abilities. This it was that kept them united, and obliged them to look round for other alliances, the more ſecurely to fortify themſelves againſt all attacks on the ſide of *Germany*. Accordingly a treaty was ſtruck up with *Francis* I. king of *France*, whom they looked upon as the moſt convenient ally, on account of his courage, his animoſity to *Charles*, and the powerful diverſions which his ſituation enabled him to make in their favour. In this treaty of alliance, *Chriſtian* promiſed to deny the paſſage of the *Sound* to all the enemies of *France* (A).

Peace concluded between Denmark *and* Sweden.

Treaty between Denmark *and* France.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Chriſtian* found himſelf ſtrengthened by theſe alliances, he continued his negotiations for a peace with the princeſs-governante of the *Netherlands*, and the *Hamburghers* uſed their utmoſt endeavours to conciliate them; but the princeſs demanding the free paſſage of the *Sound* for the *Hollanders*, the conference was broke off, and all the ſhips and merchandize of the *Hamburghers* ſeized in the ports of the *Netherlands*, under pretence of that city's being ſubject to *Holſtein*, and conſequently to *Denmark*. This action was therefore looked upon as juſt repriſals for the ravages com-

A. D. 1542.

The governante of the Low Countries *declares war on* Denmark.

(A) The treaty of alliance between *France* and the northern crowns, was concluded in the year 1542.

mitted by general *Menard* round *Groningen*. Immediately after an edict was publiſhed, whereby all the ſubjects of the *Netherlands* were permitted to cruiſe upon the *Danes*. The ſea was covered with privateers, who exerciſed the utmoſt cruelty on the priſoners they made. *Chriſtian* repelled theſe attacks, by giving the ſame licence to his ſubjects; and thus a ſort of piratical war was carried on, without any open declaration of a rupture between the princeſs-governante and his *Daniſh* majeſty.

Rebellion in Sweden.

In the mean time an inſurrection appeared in the province of *Smalandia*, which obliged *Guſtavus* to have recourſe to *Denmark* for aſſiſtance againſt the rebels. *Chriſtian* readily ſent him a ſum of money, and a body of infantry commanded by *Eric Banner* and *Holger Roſencrantz*, by means of whoſe valour *Guſtavus* quaſhed the rebellion more eaſily than he expected. It was diſcovered, by intercepted letters, that the elector-palatine, the biſhop of *Scarq*, and the other exiles, had fomented this rebellion. Many ſtrangers, charged with letters, were ſeized in *Norway*, on their way to *Sweden*, and all of them ſent by the king's order to *Guſtavus*. *Chriſtian* did more: he ordered his governors to keep ſtrict watch at all the ports, and ſent ſquadrons to cruize along the coaſts to prevent being ſurpriſed. Nor was all this care merely on account of *Guſtavus*: many of the intercepted letters intimated deſigns on *Denmark*, which gave the firſt intimation of the league between the northern crowns and the proteſtant princes of *Germany*.

War between the emperor and northern crowns.

As the war, which now happened between the emperor and the northern crowns, relates chiefly to *Sweden*, we ſhall not here enter upon the particulars of it. Almoſt all the attempts of the elector *Palatine* were made on that ſide; the emperor's edicts were publiſhed againſt *Guſtavus* in particular, and *Denmark* had little ſhare in theſe tranſactions, otherwiſe than as the ally of the *Swediſh* monarch, intereſted alſo to preſerve the ballance of power, and prevent the houſe of *Auſtria* from growing too potent. Towards the cloſe of the year 1543, *Chriſtian* indeed publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that he had repeatedly ſought to terminate his differences with the emperor amicably, but without being able to obtain equitable terms: that he had been for ſeveral years kept in a ſtate of irkſome ſuſpence, whether he was to expect peace or war, whether he was to enjoy the friendſhip of the houſe of *Auſtria*, or to prepare for the defence of his crown and kingdom againſt their ambitious deſigns: that his intention in ſeizing on the *Flemiſh* ſhips in the *Sound*, was to draw the court

Chriſtian's *manifeſto.*

of

of *Bruſſels* to an open declaration either of peace or war; but as this meaſure had not the deſired effect, he would now exert the means given him by Providence to ſecure his people, and obtain his own juſt demands. Immediately after the publication of this manifeſto, he ſent a ſquadron of forty ſhips to ſea, on board which he embarked ten thouſand land-forces. This formidable armament was deſtined againſt the *Netherlands*; but it was diſperſed in a ſtorm, that fruſtrated the whole project (A).

AFTER this we read of no preparations againſt the *Flemings*, nor any hoſtilities committed between them and *Denmark*. On the contrary, a general peace was reſtored this year to *Denmark* by a treaty ſtruck up with the court of *Bruſſels*, whereby the *Flemings* were permitted the paſſage of the *Sound*, and freely to navigate the *Baltick*. Soon after this another treaty of peace was ſigned at *Spires*, between the emperor, on the one hand, and *Chriſtian* on the other, whereby each renounced all alliances contrary to the intereſt of the other. A. D. 1544. *Peace with the Netherlands.*

CHRISTIAN, finding himſelf now in the quiet poſſeſſion of his crown, in peace with all foreign powers, in alliance with his neighbours, and ſovereign of the hearts of his ſubjects, all in conſequence of his own courage, perſeverance, and prudence, turned his attention to domeſtic affairs. He began with diſmembering his dominions, in order to provide for his brothers. With the princes *John* and *Adolphus* he ſhared *Holſtein*, leaving it to ſome future occaſion to make proviſion for *Frederick*. It was contrary to an act, paſſed on *Frederick*'s acceſſion, ever to ſeparate *Sleſwick* or *Holſtein* from the crown. The many inconveniences, the wars, and bloodſhed, conſequent on the inveſtiture of *Sleſwick* by *Olaus*, had determined the diet to this act. All the world was aſtoniſhed at this diſmemberment: the ſtates exclaimed againſt a meaſure ſo contrary to law, and ſo pernicious in effect; but *Chriſtian*'s tender regard for his brothers overballanced every motive of policy. He perſuaded himſelf, that he had ſufficiently adhered to the above act by explaining away its meaning, and ſubſtituting a perpetual union of government between the dutchies and the crown; that they ſhould be ſeparate in particular rights and privileges, but combined by the ſtrongeſt and moſt indiſſoluble ties of amity, intereſt, and friendſhip. Chriſtian *diſunites* Holſtein *and* Sleſwick *from the crown.*

(A) The *Daniſh* writers allledge, that this fleet cauſed conſiderable uneaſineſs to *Henry* VIII. of *England*. Before it ſailed, he ſent an envoy to *Chriſtian*, demanding, whether that force was intended to aſſiſt the *French* king, with whom he was at war; but he could obtain no other anſwer, than that *Chriſtian* had no quarrel with the king of *England*.

We

We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of this union, confirmed and explained in a treaty between *Chriſtian* IV. and *Frederick* duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*, in the year 1623: ſufficient it is to obſerve in this place, that though the meaſure was in itſelf inconſiſtent with ſound policy, yet was it attended with no bad conſequence for a long time, as the union remained inviolate for the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years.

Chriſtian II. *renounces all claim to the crown of* Denmark. A. D. 1546.

NOTHING material occurs in the hiſtory of this country before the year 1546, when *Chriſtian* II. renounced, in the moſt ſolemn manner, all right and claim to the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway*, excluding likewiſe his heirs and ſucceſſors from all pretenſions to the ſucceſſion. He acknowledged the elections of *Frederick* and *Chriſtian* III. to be legal: he ceded all claim to the dutchies of *Sleſwick*, *Holſtein*, and *Stormar*, together with the privilege obtained from the emperor of rendering it unneceſſary to receive the inveſtiture of *Holſtein* at the hands of the archbiſhop of *Lubeck*. Finally, he ſolemnly promiſed never to act ſecretly or openly to the prejudice of *Chriſtian*, or the dukes of *Holſtein*; never to go out of the fortreſs of *Callenburg*, but with the king's conſent; or hold converſation with any ſtranger, but in preſence of the governor of the citadel. He was allowed the privilege of hunting and fiſhing within the juriſdiction of *Callenburg*, and a handſome appointment was ſettled upon him, and certain other privileges, in conſequence of the treaty concluded with the emperor at *Spires*.

EVERY thing ſucceeded to *Chriſtian*'s wiſh; and he was now one of the happieſt and moſt proſperous princes in *Europe*, without any thing of conſequence to diſturb him either at home or abroad, unleſs we except an act paſſed in *Sweden*, out of the great regard the people had for *Guſtavus*. This was an act whereby the crown was made hereditary in favour not only of the lineal, but of the collateral deſcendants of *Guſtavus*; an act that wholly deſtroyed the very being of the union of *Calmar*, and for ever excluded *Chriſtian* and the family of *Oldenburg*. The *Daniſh* monarch, finding there was no remedy, determined however to make ſome public declaration of his right. Accordingly he ordered money to be coined bearing three crowns, which are the arms of *Sweden*, thereby intimating his right to the throne of that kingdom. *Guſtavus* immediately complained of this affront; but he could obtain no redreſs from a prince who could not forget his pretenſions, and whoſe heart was elated with the ſucceſs that had ever attended all his enterprizes. He therefore choſe rather to ſtifle his reſentment than enter upon a war, the event

of

of which was at beſt uncertain, and might be deſtructive to himſelf and his poſterity.

THIS year duke *Frederick*, eldeſt ſon of *Chriſtian*, was crowned king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, the ſucceſſion being ſettled by a decree of the diet in his perſon. At the ſame diet warm diſputes aroſe, whether their antient privileges of trading to *Denmark* ſhould be continued to the *Vandal* cities. Many perſons were for excluding theſe cities, on account of the part they took in the late war againſt *Denmark*; while others as ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that this was puniſhing themſelves, in order to be revenged on their enemies, as the ſubjects of *Denmark* muſt grow poorer in proportion to the diminution and decreaſe of their commerce. At laſt the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, and theſe cities were confirmed in all the privileges they ever enjoyed. A. D. 1547.

THE remainder of *Chriſtian*'s reign affords no tranſactions that can make any figure in hiſtory. *Denmark* enjoyed the moſt profound repoſe, the happy fruits of that love of peace and juſtice which conſtituted the ſhining part of *Chriſtian*'s character. It is true, he was intrepid, valiant, and fond of glory; yet his regard for the good of his ſubjects made him ſuppreſs every dictate of ambition, and even refuſe any addition to his dominions, which he ſaid were extenſive enough for any prince who would reign conſcientiouſly. An inſtance of this happened, in refuſing the offer made by the magiſtrates of *Revel* of putting the city into his hands. As it is difficult, therefore, to ſtate, in a point of view tolerably entertaining or uſeful, a ſeries of negotiations, all tending to preſerve peace and harmony in his kingdom, we ſhall cloſe the reign of this moſt exemplary prince with obſerving, that he was equally the father of all his ſubjects and of his own family; a glorious elogy acquired, after a reign of twenty-four years. He died on the firſt of *January*, 1558, and was bewailed by his people as their common father, friend, and benefactor [a]. *Concluſion of Chriſtian's reign. His death and character.*

[a] Vid. auct. citat. ibid.

SECT.

SECT. XV.

The Hiſtory of Denmark *continued, during the Reigns of* Frederick II. *and* Chriſtian IV.

FREDERICK II.

Frederick II.

FREDERICK II. the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Chriſtian* III. was of a diſpoſition very ſimilar to his father, whom he imitated alſo in his conduct. The firſt years of both reigns paſſed amidſt the din of war. Both fought with great courage and military ability; but, laying down their arms, they greatly exalted the character of the warrior by adding that of able ſtateſmen, who knew how to render their people powerful and happy.

He conquers the Dithmarſians.

SOON after his acceſſion, *Frederick* took up arms againſt the *Dithmarſians*, who had grown inſolent after the defeat of king *John*, and refuſed all obedience to the kings of *Denmark*, or the dukes of *Holſtein*. But the chief occaſion of the war was the following. Duke *Adolphus*, who reſided for ſome years at the court of *Charles* V. was one day rallied at table about the defeat one of his anceſtors had received from a handful of peaſants. The reproach touched him ſo ſenſibly, that he reſolved, on his return, to make war on the *Dithmarſiani*, and to revenge at any price the indignity put on his predeceſſors. This deſign he was juſt ready to execute, when the late king, from his natural love of peace, put a ſtop to his operations.

No ſooner was *Chriſtian* removed by death, than *Adolphus* reſumed his deſign. He communicated his plan to count *Daniel Rantzaw*, and beſtowed commiſſions on the principal officers he thought of employing. But his proceedings could not be kept ſo ſecret as not to be ſoon known at the court of *Copenhagen*, where they gave umbrage. Immediately *Adolphus* propoſed an interview with the young king at *Nettorp*, to confer on matters of the higheſt importance; and the king came to the place appointed at the head of five hundred horſe, accompanied by his uncle prince *John*. Here *Adolphus* laid before them his whole project; and it was determined among the three princes, that each ſhould bear his proportion of the expence, and furniſh a certain number of troops; and that the king ſhould, beſides, order a fleet to block the enemy up on the ſide of the river *Elbe*.

HAVING concerted the plan of operations, they ſeparated, in order to prepare for the execution; and all things being got in

readineſs, the whole army was reviewed at *Hahenweſtede*, nd marched from thence directly into the enemy's country. *rantzius*, in his account of this war, takes notice of a decla- tion which the princes drew up and publiſhed, three days fore they entered *Dithmarſh*. It ſet forth, that as the *Dith- arſians* were not only obſtinate in refuſing obedience to their wful ſovereigns, but wantonly cruel in puniſhing their ſub- cts, the king and dukes, no longer able to tolerate ſuch ex- ſſes, had at length reſolved to take arms, and reduce the bels to their duty. With this view therefore they declared ar, according to the military laws; and deſired they would her prepare to defend themſelves, or ſubmit to what ſhould demanded of them[a].

THE herald pitched on to carry this declaration to the ene- , for a long time refuſed to take charge of the commiſſion, he knew the violence and fury of that people; but he hap- ned to be a criminal, already condemned to death, who ofe running the hazard, rather than undergoing the puniſh- nt of the law, which they threatened to inflict, if he diſ- yed. Fixing the declaration, with the royal and ducal ls, on a white ſtaff, he entered the town of *Heida*, where forty-eight magiſtrates happened to be that day engaged buſineſs. He preſented the declaration to one of them, ofe face was known to him. As ſoon as it was perceived to a declaration of war, rage and madneſs ſeized the breaſts the people: they inſiſted on the immediate death of the ild; but the magiſtrates, who had ſome remains of the lings of humanity, ſaved his life by concealing him, until firſt ebullitions of paſſion were ſubſided. They returned a er to the king, couched indeed in terms full of reſpect, denying his ſovereignty. They affirmed, that they were ject to the archbiſhop of *Bremen* for upwards of four hun- d years: they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at the warlike parations, and the declaration of war againſt them, with- having firſt formally remonſtrated, and demanded ſatisfac- n in a manner contrary to equity, and their right ſigned and ed by a great number of his majeſty's anceſtors and prede- ors; even in direct violation of the Golden Bull itſelf. ey concluded their letter with blaming his majeſty for not ng them before a tribunal of juſtice, at which they ſhould be ready to appear; and with a very pathetic prayer, God would turn his majeſty's heart from the bloody reſo- on he had taken of exterminating them, their wives, chil- n, and widows, to the more godlike virtue of being a

[a] CRANTZ. Bell. Dith. t. ii. p. 14.

peace-maker; a virtue which gained his royal ſire the nobleſt of appellations, that of father of his country.

A. D. 1559. NOTWITHSTANDING theſe remonſtrances, the army continued its march, attacked the city *Meldorp*, and carried it by aſſault, after a vigorous reſiſtance. Next the confederates proceeded to *Heida*, where a bloody and deciſive battle was fought. Duke *Adolphus*, who was wounded, returned three times to the charge: the laſt diſpute was particularly ſharp and obſtinate; but fortune at length declared againſt the brave *Dithmarſians*, who were broke and cut in pieces. Such however of them as eſcaped out of the field, rallied in the fens and marſhes; but could never again make head againſt the conquerors. They had therefore recourſe to ſupplications, and ſent deputies to the *Daniſh* camp, who obtained a truce, during which all the magiſtrates of the country were to repair to the head-quarters, to receive ſuch conditions of peace as the king ſhould think fit to impoſe. Theſe were, that the *Dithmarſians* ſhould do homage to the kings of *Denmark* and dukes of *Holſtein*, and henceforward acknowledge them their ſovereigns; that they ſhould reſtore all the ſtandards and trophies taken from king *John*, and his brother *Frederick* duke of *Holſtein*; that they reimburſed the king and duke in the expences of the war, which amounted to ſix hundred thouſand ducats; that the princes ſhould have liberty to build three forts in any part of the country they pleaſed; that all the forts lately erected by the *Dithmarſians* be erazed; with a number of other conditions, hard indeed upon the vanquiſhed, but moderate with reſpect to the conquerors. Theſe terms were delivered in writing to the magiſtrates, his majeſty thinking it unneceſſary to wait for their anſwer, as the day appointed for his coronation was approaching. The care of concluding the peace he left to *John Rantzaw*, in whoſe prudence and fidelity he was ſenſible he might confide [a].

IT may be worth while to dwell a little upon the ceremonies of ſervitude through which this brave people were obliged to paſs. *Rantzaw* gave them no longer than three days to put in their anſwer to the conditions propoſed by the king; and they returned within the time, promiſing an intire ſubmiſſion, provided a few particular articles were ſoftened, and rendered more tolerable to a free people, who had never before ſtooped their necks to ſubmiſſion. *Rantzaw* complied with their requeſt; after which the deputies, in the name of their whole nation, ſigned the peace, and acknowledged the king of *Denmark* and duke of *Holſtein*, their heirs and ſucceſſors, the true and lawful ſovereigns of *Dithmarſh*; the

[a] CRANTZ. ibid.

princes,

princes, on their side, promising to govern them with equity, and defend them as their subjects against all their enemies.

THE twentieth of *June* was the day appointed for performing the ceremony of homage. On this occasion the whole nation, without distinction of age, assembled in the morning in the neighbourhood of *Heida*. They surrendered their cannon and small arms, which were carried to *Meldorp*; they asked pardon for their rebellion in presence of the duke of *Holstein* and the *Danish* lords, charged with powers from his majesty; and they took an oath of obedience to the three princes. The order of that ceremony was as follows: the princes, *Rantzaw*, and the counsellors of the king and dukes, were placed in the middle of the assembly; around them were the brave *Dithmarsians* on their knees, their heads uncovered, and the whole surrounded by a circle of armed men, which threw them into great consternation (A). Next they presented the hostages required in security of their good behaviour; upon which they were dismissed, and the *Danish* army evacuated the country. Thus the warlike *Dithmarsians*, who for so many ages had intrepidly defended their liberties against all the attacks of their neighbours, were at last reduced under the obedience of the dukes of *Holstein* in less than a month [a].

A. D. 1561. *Coldness between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.*

THIS year ambassadors arrived at *Copenhagen* from the *Swedish* king, demanding a passport for their master through the *Danish* dominions to *England*, where he proposed to marry queen *Elizabeth* [b]. This demand was granted; but *Frederick* refused to hear their complaints with respect to his bearing the *Swedish* arms, and several other particulars, which, at the interview between *Christian* III. and *Gustavus*, were put off for the space of fifty years. They did not insist upon their demands, which were only the prelude to more open declarations, lest they should give *Frederick* a suspicion of the designs of the *Swedish* cabinet. The more effectually to deceive him, a perpetual peace was signed between the two crowns in the following year, though the fresh remonstrances made about *Frederick*'s quartering the *Swedish* arms gave room for suspi-

[a] Vid ibid. p. 16. [b] DES ROCHES, t. v. p. 87.

(A) One of their priests, looking on the ground, said, in *Latin*, to his neighbour, "I see "we are to be made the sacri"fice of our own simplicity and "*Danish* perfidy." "No," says *Rantzaw*, who overheard him, "you are to be instances of the "king's clemency, who never "breaks the parole he has "given (1)."

(1) *Crantz. l.* ii.

cion that this treaty would be but of ſhort duration. It fell out ſo; for ſcarce were the *Swediſh* ambaſſadors gone before an ambaſſy arrived from *Ruſſia* and *Poland*, requiring his majeſty to enter into a league with them againſt *Eric* king of *Sweden*.

ERIC was at this time proclaiming the peace between him and *Denmark*. On advice, however, of the ambaſſies arrived at *Copenhagen*, he diſpatched a faithful envoy to the czar of *Muſcovy*, offering to form an alliance with him againſt *Poland*; but the project miſcarried. He wanted to break the confederacy which he ſaw forming againſt him; and was greatly ſurpriſed to find that *Frederick* had declined giving any anſwer to the propoſitions made by the courts of *Moſcow* and *Cracow*, until he had firſt ſounded his intentions by one of his council. *Frederick* had indeed ſent *Cauſitz Ulefeld* to *Stockholm* with this view, and likewiſe to remove any ſuſpicions which *Eric* might entertain reſpecting the ambaſſies. *Ulefeld* conducted himſelf like a true politician: he aſſured *Eric* of his maſter's inviolable regard to the late treaty between them; and inſinuated himſelf ſo artfully into the confidence of the *Swediſh* monarch, that all his doubts vaniſhed, and he repoſed ſo much in *Frederick*'s promiſes, that he demanded a ſafe convoy through his dominions for ambaſſadors he propoſed ſending into *Germany*.

Frederick *arreſts the* Swediſh *ambaſſadors.*

THE intention of this ambaſſy excited the jealouſy of *Frederick*, and he accordingly ordered the *Swediſh* miniſters to be ſeized, and all their papers examined; which might be looked upon as the firſt direct ſignal of war, amidſt all the friendly profeſſions of the two kings. Both ſides immediately prepared for war, and the firſt hoſtilities commenced about the beginning of the year 1563. The provinces of *Halland* and *Bleking*, but eſpecially the iſle of *Gothland*, *Frederick*'s pretenſions to the *Swediſh* crown, and the money lent by *Guſtavus* to *Chriſtian* III. were the real cauſes of this war, though various other pretexts were uſed by both ſides. A rivalſhip in commerce and power, and ſome advantages which *Frederick* had gained in *Finland*, during the late invaſion of that province by the *Muſcovites*, all contributed in effecting a rupture [a].

He forms an alliance with Lubeck.

THE city of *Lubeck* did not fail of embracing this occaſion of revenging themſelves on *Sweden*, for the many reſtrictions laid on their trade. They ſent ambaſſadors to *Copenhagen*, concluded a treaty with the king, and joined his fleet with a ſquadron. Soon after this the fleets of the two kingdoms met,

[a] PUFFEND. t. v. p. 123. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 104.

and

and entered upon a ſharp engagement; in which the *Danes* were worſted, and their admiral *Jacob Brockenhuiſen* made priſoner. The *Swediſh* admiral had the princeſs of *Heſſe* on board; and would have declined engaging, had he not been in a manner compelled to it by the *Dane*, who ſoon received the juſt reward of his temerity (A). *The Daniſh fleet defeated.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the firſt deſigns were broached in the *Swediſh* cabinet, and the advantage gained lately by *Eric*'s fleet; yet was he deterred from the war by the vaſt preparations he ſaw in *Denmark*, and the formidable alliance concluded between *Frederick*, the czar, and king of *Poland*, not to mention the city of *Lubeck*, and ſeveral of the hanſe-towns. No ſooner had the prince of *Heſſe* and elector of *Saxony* offered their mediation, than he diſpatched *John Gyllenſtiern* and his ſecretary *Knulſen* to *Copenhagen*, to complain of the attack made on his fleet in time of full peace, to proteſt againſt this infraction of the late treaty, to offer an exchange of priſoners, and endeavour to terminate all the differences between the two nations in an amicable manner. But little ſatisfaction was to be expected from *Frederick*, who had now in pay an army of thirty-eight thouſand infantry, a conſiderable body of horſe, and a ſtrong fleet, beſides the *Lubeck* ſquadron. The ambaſſadors returned without obtaining any redreſs, or even any anſwer to their remonſtrances; and they were ſoon followed by a herald, whom *Frederick* had ſent to declare war at *Stockholm* againſt *Eric*. It would be difficult to decide who was the aggreſſor. *Eric*'s ambitious deſigns firſt excited *Frederick*'s jealouſy, and made him arreſt his ambaſſadors, contrary to the faith of the ſafe-conduct granted them. The *Daniſh* admiral next attacked the *Swediſh* fleet, and was defeated, before any declaration of war. *Eric* then deſired to terminate their diſputes amicably; but the *Daniſh* monarch was now too deeply engaged to admit of any deciſion, but that made by the ſword. Such was the beginning of a war that continued for the ſpace of nine years. Eric *deſires peace, which* Frederick *refuſes.*

FREDERICK took the field, and encamped before *Elſſburg*, the garriſon of which he endeavoured to gain over by A. D. 1563.

(A) We have here copied the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, though *Puffendorff* expreſly ſays, that the fleet returned from *Germany* without the princeſs, the landgrave declining the marriage to a more ſeaſonable occaſion. The ſame writer ſays, that the landgrave offered his mediation to eſtabliſh peace between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and was accepted in quality of mediator (1).

(1) *Puffend. Hiſt. tom.* v. *p.* 152.

preſents and promiſes; but meeting with no ſucceſs, he left troops to beſiege it, and entered with the main body into *Weſt Gothland*, where he committed terrible ravages; while his fleet was ſubjecting the poor inhabitants of *Oeland* to all the horrors of war. He did every thing in his power to draw *Eric* on to a battle; but that prince contented himſelf with encamping advantageouſly, and harraſſing the *Daniſh* army with his detachments. As ſoon as the town of *Elſsburg* ſurrendered, *Frederick* placed a good garriſon in it, and finiſhed his operations for the campaign, the ſeverity of the approaching winter obliging him to put his troops in quarters.

Frederick takes Elſsburgh.

A. D. 1564. *Congreſs appointed; but* Eric *now declines peace.*

THE winter was employed in negotiations for a peace, ſet on foot by the prince of *Heſſe* and elector of *Saxony*. A congreſs was appointed, at which ambaſſadors from almoſt all the *German* princes and northern powers attended; but it came to nothing, as no commiſſioners on the part of *Sweden* appeared. *Eric*, in his turn, had no inclination to peace. His army was now equal if not ſuperior to *Frederick*'s, his fleet was formidable, and he reſolved to try the iſſue of another campaign. He ſoon had reaſon to repent this reſolution: his admiral was met, defeated, and above half his fleet deſtroyed by the *Danes* and *Lubeckers*. *Eric* endeavoured to revenge this diſgrace by a deſcent which he made on *Norway*, where he took *Drontheim*, and the citadel of *Steenwyſckholm*. The *Swediſh* writers ſay it was only a detachment from *Eric*'s army that entered *Norway*; and this is the more probable from the facility with which the viceroy drove them out, on receiving a ſmall reinforcement from *Denmark*.

His fleet defeated.

FREDERICK ſent deputies to the hanſe-towns, requiring of them not to ſupply *Sweden* with military ſtores; but he received no other anſwer than that, as he had begun a war without any apparent neceſſity, the hanſe-cities were certainly at liberty to profit by it. The king was irritated at this reply: he knew that *Sweden*, deprived of this commerce, muſt ſoon ſink under the weight of a war that required ſuch fleets and armies. He reſolved therefore to compel *Stralſund* in particular, from whence *Eric* drew the greater part of all his ſtores, to ſubmit to his purpoſes. With this view he gave orders for a ſquadron to cruize, for the whole year, within ſight of that city. The project ſucceeded, until *Eric*, having notice of this ſtation, ordered a ſquadron of forty-eight ſhips of war to fall upon the *Danes*, unprepared. The action was hot and bloody; and the *Daniſh* admiral behaved ſo well, that, though greatly inferior in number and ſtrength of ſhips, he brought off his whole ſquadron with inconſiderable loſs, maintaining a running fight, and bearing the brunt of the battle with his

own ſhip, until all the others were out of danger. He took ſhelter in *Gripſwald*, whither the *Swediſh* admiral would have purſued him; but the duke of *Pomerania*, who was perfectly neutral, prevented him, diſarmed the *Daniſh* ſhips, and kept poſſeſſion of them until the end of the war.

The Swedes maſters at ſea.

For a little time the *Swediſh* admiral ſcoured the ſea with impunity, and took ſeveral prizes in ſight of *Copenhagen*, before the *Daniſh* grand fleet was ready to put to ſea. At laſt the *Lubeck* admiral having joined it, both ſet ſail in queſt of the enemy, whom they met between *Wiſmar* and *Roſtock*. Here an engagement begun, which continued with the utmoſt fury for three days, both ſides ſeeming determined to periſh or conquer. Incredible acts of valour are related of the *Lubeck* and *Daniſh* admirals by their hiſtorians; and *Swediſh* writers are no leſs liberal in their praiſes of their own countrymen. On the one ſide they aſſert, that the *Daniſh* admiral was taken on the third day of the battle, after having loſt above five hundred men of the crew of his own ſhip; and on the other, it is not denied but he withdrew from the engagement. Certain indeed it is, that the *Swedes* remained maſters at ſea for the remainder of the year, and made a deſcent on the iſland *Mona*, from whence they carried off great booty (A).

A bloody engagement.

WHILE the fleets were thus employed on the ocean, the two kings at the head of their armies overflowed the land with blood, and waged a moſt cruel war. Towns were ſacked, burnt, and the inhabitants put to the ſword; whole provinces were laid deſolate, and every ſentiment of humanity loſt amidſt the horrid tumult of ambition and war. *Eric* invaded *Schonen* and *Bleking*, where he committed dreadful ravages; and *Frederick* retaliated by carrying all before him, like a whirlwind, in *Smallandia*. The *Swedes* laid ſiege to *Elfſburg*, and the *Danes* obliged them to raiſe it: upon which *Eric* vented his rage againſt *Wardeburg*, and, after giving the firſt aſſault, retired to *Weſt Gothland* to wait the event of the ſiege, which he left to be carried on by his generals; a reſolution that greatly hurt his reputation, and gave his ſubjects room to call his courage in queſtion. Duke *Charles* then con-

(A) *Puffendorff*, in relating the tranſactions of this year, takes notice of two ſea-fights, in one of which the *Daniſh* admiral was defeated, and in the other taken. All other hiſtorians mention only one engagement; and indeed it muſt be owned the accounts are ſo various and oppoſite, that it is difficult, at this diſtance of time, to aſcertain the truth; eſpecially as *Puffendorff*, as well as other hiſtorians, has been very negligent with reſpect to dates.

ducted the siege with such vigour, that, after an obstinate dispute in breach for five hours, the town and citadel surrendered; upon which the army marched off to join the king.

Eric's *army defeated.* A. D. 1565.

ON their retreat the *Danes* laid siege to the place, with intention to become masters of it before the fortifications were repaired. This drew on a battle between the two armies, at which *Eric* commanded in person. He had marched to the relief of *Wardeburg*, and *Daniel Rantzaw*, having advice of his approach, marched out of his lines to give him battle. His majesty confiding in numbers, quitted an advantageous post which he possessed, charged the *Danes* in a narrow path, where he could not extend his flanks, and was defeated with the loss of seven thousand men, together with all his artillery; a victory that cost the *Danes* exceedingly dear, and left them little to boast, except the glory of having kept the field. Besides a great number of private men and officers, no less than fifty noblemen of distinction were slain, and scarce a great family in *Denmark* but mourned for the loss of a son, husband, brother, or near relation.

THE war became so bloody, that most of the neighbouring powers offered their good offices to accommodate matters, and even the emperor wrote to the kings, exhorting them to put an end to their quarrel, which would soon bring ruin on both kingdoms, if pursued with such animosity. All remonstrances on this head were vain; neither prince had yet satiated their ambition or resentment, and it was determined by both to prosecute the war for another campaign, which might possibly produce something decisive. They did so; but the success was doubtful. *Denmark* was rudely handled by sea, and *Sweden* defeated by land; but the loss of the former was owing to a furious tempest, and of the latter to an epidemical disorder in the army, which had greatly weakened it. The two fleets engaged on the coast of *Oeland*; but were separated by a storm that drove the *Danish* admiral, and seven of the largest ships on the rocks, with the loss of nine thousand men (A); whereas the enemy escaped and got safe into port, all except one ship which foundered at sea.

A. D. 1566. *The* Danish *fleet suffers in a storm.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the contagious distemper that reigned in the *Swedish* army, *Eric* laid siege to *Helmstadt*, and effected a breach in the wall; upon which the garrison demanded a parley, and obtained a suspension of arms for

(A) From this and a number of other circumstances, we may conclude, that the *Danes* either built their ships very large, or crowded them with men. In one place we read of a ship that mounted two hundred pieces of cannon.

three

three days, to deliberate on the conditions of ſurrender. The garriſon made uſe of this delay to acquaint the *Daniſh* general of their ſituation, who immediately marched to give battle to *Eric*, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege rather than hazard an engagement with ſuperior forces.

ERIC's credulity was alſo the occaſion of another conſiderable advantage to *Denmark*. One *Ennon Brurock* arrived at his camp, and paſſed for a perſon of the firſt diſtinction in *Norway*. He perſuaded the king that the *Norwegians*, tired of the *Daniſh* yoke, had determined to revolt, and ſent him to treat with his majeſty about the crown of that kingdom. *Eric* gave an attentive ear to the *Norwegian*'s ſoothing diſcourſe, and determined to ſupport the people by a powerful diverſion in favour of their inſurrection. Accordingly he ordered a large body of troops to file off and march for *Norway*, through unfrequented paths, in order to avoid giving the alarm, or falling in with the *Daniſh* forces. This march was perhaps one of the moſt arduous that had ever been attempted, through thick foreſts and craggy ſteep mountains, without any other guide than the lights of the firmament. At length however the corps arrived in the country of *Hedemarch*, took the fortreſs of *Hammerſhuſz*, continued their route, and laid ſiege to *Aggerhus*; but were forced to remain idle before the walls for want of artillery. When their cannon arrived they began to batter in breach; but it was then too late; the *Daniſh* forces were aſſembled, and on their march ſo ſecretly and expeditiouſly, that they attacked the beſiegers quite unprepared, drove them from their works, ſlew a great number, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves in the foreſt. In this manner ended the expedition into *Norway*, and the military operations of the year, which upon the whole ſeemed to terminate rather to the advantage of king *Frederick*, as he experienced no other loſſes than thoſe which his admiral ſuſtained in combating the elements.

Eric *invades* Norway, *and is defeated.*

THIS year a diſpute aroſe between the king and the dukes of *Holſtein*, about the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, that eternal bone of contention when diſmembered from the crown. His majeſty inſiſted that the dukes were in all reſpects his vaſſals; and they on the contrary affirmed, that *Sleſwick* was given them as a free and hereditary dutchy. Many conferences were held on the ſubject; but nothing was decided before the year 1580, when it was agreed that his majeſty ſhould, within the ſpace of a year and day, inveſt *Adolphus*, the ſurviving brother, with the dutchy of *Sleſwick* as an hereditary fief, and that he ſhould in return take an oath of allegiance, and do homage as a true vaſſal.

A. D. 1567. *Diſpute about* Sleſwick.

WHILE

WHILE *Sweden* was torn with domeſtic factions, a *Daniſh* army, commanded by *Daniel Rantzaw*, entered the province of *Smalandia*, and laid all waſte with fire and ſword. After laying the whole deſolate, he paſſed by *Helweden* to *Weſt-Gothland*, where he reduced the town of *Wadſtena* to aſhes. *Lindkoping*, *Sunderkoping*, and many other cities ſuffered the ſame fate before the *Swediſh* army could be drawn together in one body. At length however *Eric* committed the charge of his army to *Peter Brahé* and *Hogenſchild Bielke*, with orders to oppoſe the farther progreſs of the enemy. They marched accordingly to *Norby*, and incamped in a poſt covered on three ſides by the river, and on the fourth by marſhes and woody ground. The ſtrength of this ſituation lulled them into a fatal ſecurity; they were ſurpriſed at day-break by the vigilant *Rantzaw*, who attacked them with incredible fury, and obtained a moſt complete victory, with very little loſs on his own ſide. The *Danes* got prodigious booty, a great number of priſoners, and all the cannon and ſtores of the enemy; after which *Rantzaw* propoſed returning to *Denmark:* but king *Eric* in perſon determined to oppoſe him with a conſiderable army under his command, marching with that view to *Ebeſio*, through which the *Danes* were to paſs. By a forced march however *Rantzaw* got before him, defeated *Bielke* a ſecond time, who lay in ambuſh in *Filſhult*, to revenge his defeat at *Norby*, took him priſoner, together with *Steen Banner*, another officer of diſtinction. *Rantzaw* then marched along the coaſts over the ice, and at laſt arrived in *Denmark*, loaded with ſpoils and covered with glory.

Swedes *defeated.* A. D. 1568.

THE civil wars breaking out again in *Sweden*, prevented the return of the *Daniſh* army in the ſpring. Duke *John*, and the king's other brothers, who were at the head of the rebellion, diſpatched an envoy to *Copenhagen*, to demand a truce for ſix months, on terms ſo advantageous to *Frederick*, that he conſented. So ſtrenuouſly had the malcontents exerted themſelves during this reſpite, that they depoſed *Eric*, placed his brother *John* on the throne, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Denmark* to procure a prolongation of the truce, or if poſſible to conclude a ſolid peace. Accordingly terms were ſigned at *Roſchild*, as advantageous to *Frederick* as they were burthenſome and oppreſſive to *Sweden*. Among other articles it was ſtipulated, that *John* ſhould pay the *Daniſh* troops for the whole time of the truce; that he ſhould reſtore all the *Daniſh* ſhips made prize during the courſe of the war; that he ſhould ſurrender *Jemptland*, *Oeſel*, *Sonneberg*, *Lealia*, *Hapſal*, *Lode*, and *Warberg*, and cede all claim to *Norway*, the iſle of *Gothland*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*. It was likewiſe

Peace with Sweden.

likewiſe agreed, that *Frederick* ſhould be ſuffered to quarter the arms of *Denmark*; and that *John* ſhould pay to the city of *Lubeck* the old debt due from *Guſtavus*, and indemnify the regency in their loſſes in the courſe of the war. *Sweden.*

It was not poſſible that a peace ſo injurious to *Sweden* could be of long duration. It was immediately pretended there, that the ambaſſadors had exceeded their inſtructions; for that reaſon they were ill received at their return, and the whole nation determined rather to proſecute the war, than ratify ſo oppreſſive a treaty. *John* made freſh overtures, and *Frederick* refuſed all new propoſitions. Accordingly the war was renewed, with more animoſity than ever. *Warneberg* was beſieged by the *Danes*, and ſtoutly defended by the garriſon, but at length forced to ſurrender, after the brave *Ramzaw* had loſt his life before it. The *Swedes* invaded *Schonen*, and the *Danes* retaliated by carrying deſolation and all the horrors of war into *Weſt-Gothland*. However, as theſe expeditions produced nothing deciſive, and were equally ruinous to both nations, *Frederick* conſented to the negotiation propoſed, and the means of eſtabliſhing peace on a ſolid and laſting foundation. *The war renewed.* A. D. 1569.

While the treaty of peace was in agitation, *Livonia*, always the theatre of war, determined to throw off its allegiance to the *Muſcovites*, *Poles*, and *Swedes*, all of whom had claims upon this province. The deſign of the inhabitants was to put themſelves under the protection of the duke of *Holſtein*, who ſhould take the title of king of *Livonia*. They had always expreſſed great affection for the *Germans*, and now promiſed themſelves a golden age, under a ſovereign of that country. The notion was perfectly agreeable to the duke's ambition; his nephew the king of *Denmark* not only confirmed him in theſe ſentiments, but ſent an ambaſſador to the czar to treat ſeriouſly of the affair. The ambaſſy ſucceeded, *Magnus* duke of *Holſtein* viſited the court of *Moſcow*, was received there with all the honours due to majeſty, acknowledged king of *Livonia*, on condition that he paid a certain tribute to the czar; and it was farther agreed, that it ſhould remain hereditary in the male line of his family, or in failure of iſſue, devolve on the duke of *Holſtein* or king of *Denmark* for the time being, and never revert to the czar. Immediately the *Muſcovites* and *Danes* joined to drive the *Swedes* out of the country; and the former immediately laid ſiege to *Revel*. This it was that induced *John* to haſten the peace with *Denmark*. He ſaw himſelf preſſed on the one ſide by the czar, and on the other by *Frederick*. He ſent inſtructions therefore to his ambaſſadors immediately to ſign A. D. 1570. *Duke of* Holſtein *choſen king of* Livonia.

Peace with Sweden. a treaty with *Denmark*, on the beſt conditions they could obtain. The chief articles agreed to by both ſides were, that *John* ſhould reſign all pretenſions to *Norway*, *Schonen*, *Holland*, *Bleking*, *Jemptland*, and *Hermdallen*; that the *Danes* ſhould reſtore *Elſiburg* on the one hand, and the *Swedes* eight ſhips which they had taken, on the other; that his *Swediſh* majeſty ſhould pay to *Frederick* the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, to indemnify him in the expences of a ſtanding army kept during the truce concluded with him, while he was only duke; and that the affairs of *Livonia*, and his *Daniſh* majeſty's bearing the arms of *Sweden*, ſhould be deferred to a future occaſion. Their majeſties, to render this peace the more durable, ſubjected the party who ſhould infringe it, to a penalty of a million of gold.

A. D. 1572. *FREDERICK* did not content himſelf with having procured an andvantageous and ſolid peace to his ſubjects; he laboured to inſure their happineſs by eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion. With this view he married the princeſs *Sophia*, daughter of *Ulric* duke of *Mecklenburg*. The ceremony of his nuptials was performed at *Copenhagen*; beſides which nothing conſiderable occured for this or the preceding year, except the death of *Dorothea*, widow of *Chriſtian* III. and the great diſpute between the duke of *Holſtein* and town of *Hamburg*, which does not immediately fall in with this part of our hiſtory, though the *Daniſh* monarch bore a conſiderable ſhare in that buſineſs. We cannot however avoid taking notice of a quarrel between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and city of *Hamburg*, which obliged *Frederick* to equip a fleet, that blocked up *Roſtock* by ſea, while the duke's forces beſieged it by land; and likewiſe to ſeize upon all the merchantmen. But this affair was ſoon terminated, and *Livonia* remained alone the only cauſe why *Frederick* did not enjoy profound peace.

A. D. 1575. *FREDERICK* kept a lieutenant in *Livonia*, and the czar an army, who committed horrible cruelties. Differences aroſe between the generals; the king remonſtrated, and the czar excuſed himſelf, without redreſſing the complaints. Matters were at laſt carried pretty high; but his *Daniſh* majeſty choſe rather to terminate the diſpute by negotiations, than enter upon a war with this rude and potent nation.

FROM this time to the year 1582, nothing memorable occurred, unleſs we reckon a ſolemn ambaſſy from *England*, with the order of the Garter ſent by queen *Elizabeth* to his A. D. 1583. *Daniſh* majeſty, a tranſaction worth recording. It was the year following that ſeveral commercial powers began to complain of the duties exacted in the *Sound*. The *Engliſh*, *Dutch*,

Dutch, *Lubeckers*, and all the hanſe-towns, remonſtrated againſt this exaction, as arbitrary and a diſcouragement to trade. The hanſe-towns carried their grievances before the emperor; and the king, to ſhew that he did not acknowledge the imperial authority, ordered the duties on all their ſhips to be doubled; a puniſhment which, however, was but of ſhort duration. On their ſubmiſſion he revoked thoſe laſt inſtructions, and put the *Lubeck* traders on the ſame footing as other nations. Policy led him to this condeſcenſion; for he had formed a deſign of reducing *Roſtock*; and the fear leſt the *Lubeckers* might interpoſe, determined him upon keeping meaſures with them. *Quarrel between Frederick and the commercial ſtates.*

THIS year the dutchy of *Courland* reverted to the crown of *Denmark*, by the death of *Magnus*, duke of *Holſtein*, without iſſue. It occaſioned diſputes between the king of *Poland* and his *Daniſh* majeſty, which both conſented to leave to the arbitration of *George-Frederick*, duke of *Pruſſia*. This politic prince turned the negotiation to his own advantage. He propoſed, that the dutchy in diſpute ſhould remain in his hands; that his *Daniſh* majeſty would reſt ſatisfied with the ſum of thirty thouſand *Joachims*, paid to him as an equivalent; and that his *Poliſh* majeſty ſhould acquieſce in the dutchies being left in truſt with the duke of *Pruſſia*. He ſucceeded in all, and in this manner became poſſeſſed of a province which fairly belonged to the crown of *Denmark*; the only inſtance perhaps where *Frederick* was over-reached in politics. This year it was that a treaty of marriage was ſet on foot between the young king of *Scotland*, *James* VI. and a princeſs of *Denmark*, which was fruſtrated for a long time by the intrigues of queen *Elizabeth*, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. Several other ambaſſies on various occaſions arrived at *Copenhagen*, which ſhew nothing more than that his *Daniſh* majeſty began to intereſt himſelf more in the politics of *Europe*, than his predeceſſors had done. *Frederick* had indeed, for ſeveral years, preſerved his kingdom in peace, rendered his commerce flouriſhing, and his counſels reſpectable. In the year 1558 he was attacked by a diſtemper, which daily encreaſed, and at laſt carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign. A. D. 1588. *His death and character.*

FREDERICK was a prince, reſpected at leaſt as much as any of his predeceſſors. To an undaunted courage, deep penetration, and great ſtability of ſentiment, he joined a magnificence that caſt a luſtre on all his actions; nor was he leſs remarkably diſtinguiſhed for the qualities of the heart. His great tenderneſs and affection for his ſubjects gained their love, and his abilities ſecured their eſteem. He always expreſſed

preſſed the utmoſt regard to juſtice, and even directed his conduct by the dictates of equity. He avoided war merely to free his country from the conſequent troubles; and becauſe his ability in the cabinet procured all the advantages he could expect from the ſword. In a word, his public and private character equally merit admiration, and to be tranſmitted as an example to poſterity, how much the conduct of an individual can influence the counſels, not only of one nation but of all the neighbouring powers, ſecure the felicity of kingdoms, and beſtow the bleſſings of peace and tranquillity upon millions, whoſe well-being depends upon the wiſdom of their governors [a].

CHRISTIAN IV.

Chriſtian IV. elected king, and a regency appointed.

IMMEDIATELY after the interment of *Frederic*, his ſon *Chriſtian* IV. then but eleven years of age, was proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and four regents appointed to hold the reins of authority during his minority. As the kingdom had for ſeveral years enjoyed profound peace, the regency was in no danger of being now diſturbed with the noiſe and tumults of war; and it greatly encreaſed their ſecurity, that the domeſtic factions in *Sweden* prevented that nation from reſuming the affair of *Livonia*, and other ſubjects which had long been the occaſion of differences between the two crowns.

His promiſing qualities.

FOR ſeveral years the chief care of the regency was to attend to the education of the young monarch, whoſe promiſing qualities every day unfolded themſelves to the great joy of his ſubjects. Maſters were procured in all the different accompliſhments of mind and body, from *Germany*, *France*, *England*, and the politeſt courts in *Europe*. *Chriſtian* more than anſwered expectation; he not only was able to anſwer all the ambaſſadors in their ſeveral languages, but to write out inſtructions with his own hand to his miniſters, at an age when other princes receive praiſe for writing a common letter of compliment. He was perfectly ſkilled in all the manly exerciſes, and took great delight in exhibiting his adroitneſs to the people. In a word, when he arrived at a proper age to take upon him the weight of government, he perfectly underſtood the true intereſt of his ſubjects, and directed all his views to promote this end. Nor did he confine his politics wholly to the good of *Denmark*; he extended them to di-

[a] Vid. CHYTRÆI Chron. Paſſim. PUFFEND Hiſt. l. i. p. 2. Des Roch. t. v. ſub vit. FRED. Loc. Hiſt. ſub hoc Reg. cum multis aliis.

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that countries, and laboured aſſiduouſly to eſtabliſh the peace of *Europe*, in order to ſtop the rapid progreſs of the *Turks*. In the year 1596 he married *Anna-Catharina*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburg*, which is the only occurrence in the *Daniſh* annals that merits notice, until about the year 1608, when a coldneſs, under the exterior of eſteem and friendſhip, began to diſcover itſelf between the monarchs of *Denmark* and *Sweden*[a].

CHRISTIAN could not forget that his anceſtors had formerly worn the crown of *Sweden*, and *Charles* IV. beheld with uneaſineſs ſo many fair provinces, which he looked upon as fiefs of his crown, in the hands of the king of *Denmark*. This mutual jealouſy occaſioned reciprocal complaints and upbraidings, which at laſt terminated in a war; for which both parties were prepared with ſpecious pretexts. *Charles* had aſſumed the title of king of *Lapland*, which gave great offence to *Frederick*, who looked upon it as a dependence on *Norway*. In all his declarations againſt *Sweden*, this was mentioned as a principal grievance, and uſed as one of the ſtrongeſt reaſons for the war that enſued in the year 1611, and begun by the ſiege of *Calmar*. His *Daniſh* majeſty ſat down with a powerful army before this city in the month of *May*, attacked it with great vigour, and was received with equal courage. Batteries of heavy cannon were erected and played with ſo much ſucceſs, that a breach was effected on the twenty-ſeventh, upon which the town was ſtormed, taken, and the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, put to the ſword.

A. D. 1609.

War between Denmark *and* Sweden.

A. D. 1611.

Chriſtian *takes the city* Calmar, *and lays ſiege to the citadel.*

THE city was no ſooner taken than *Chriſtian* inveſted the citadel, which he beſieged for two months, during which time a variety of tranſactions paſſed between the two nations. His *Daniſh* majeſty had left the command of the army to *Lucas Grabbe*, and was gone to *Copenhagen* but a few days before. *Charles*, with an army of ſixteen thouſand men, encamped at a little diſtance from *Calmar*, offered battle, fought and defeated the *Daniſh* general, and raiſed the ſiege. His ſucceſs here was ſoon followed by the ſurpriſal of *Chriſtianſtadt*; the loſs of which town gave a ſenſible uneaſineſs to the *Daniſh* monarch.

The Danes *defeated.*

CHRISTIAN ſoon retrieved his loſſes, by ſeveral little advantages by ſea and land gained over the enemy, which ſo enſpirited his army, that the ſiege of the citadel of *Calmar* was reſumed, and the garriſon forced to ſurrender. It was ſuppoſed indeed, that the *Swediſh* governor was corrupted, as he wanted neither men, ammunition, nor proviſion, when the capitulation

The citadel ſurrenders.

[a] CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 204.

pitulation was ſigned. *Borkholm*, and the iſle of *Oeland*, yielded ſoon after to the *Daniſh* arms; and ſo many other advantages followed, that *Charles*, incenſed at the reiterated diſgraces he had ſuſtained, ſent a challenge to *Chriſtian* in terms the moſt opprobrious he could deviſe, which the *Daniſh* king declined with an air of contempt, that is ſuppoſed to have ſhortened the days of his *Swediſh* majeſty, by encreaſing a malady, with which he had for ſome time been afflicted[a].

King of Sweden *challenges* Chriſtian *to ſingle combat.*

Guſtavus Adolphus *comes to the crown of* Sweden, *and effects a change in the face of affairs.*

ON the acceſſion of the great *Guſtavus Adolphus* to the throne of *Sweden*, fortune would ſeem to have forſaken *Chriſtian*. There appeared an immediate change in the face of affairs; the *Danes* were chaſed out of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, and their army reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that the ſoldiers diſbanded themſelves, and left their officers to oppoſe the enemy. HAPPILY for *Chriſtian* the *Swediſh* king was greatly embarraſſed with the *Muſcovites*, which prevented his giving his whole attention to the war with *Denmark*. He made uſe of this favourable opportunity, retrieved in ſome meaſure the honour of his arms, and, after ſeveral little advantages, was enabled to conclude a peace upon equal terms, through the mediation of the king of *England*, about the year 1613. By this peace he reſtored the city of *Calmar*, the iſle of *Oeland*, and fortreſs of *Riſby*, but retained *Elfſburg*, until his *Swediſh* majeſty ſhould redeem it, by paying a million of crowns ſtipulated in the treaty.

Peace with Sweden.

A. D. 1613.

DURING the late war the duties of the *Sound* were greatly augmented, and the *Dutch* and hanſe-towns waited with impatience for a peace, which they were in hopes would reduce them to the old ſtandard. Finding however their expectations diſappointed, they remonſtrated earneſtly to the court of *Denmark*; and the *Lubeckers*, in particular, carried their complaints before the emperor. Finding that his imperial majeſty declined interfering, they ſtruck up a league with the *Hollanders*, in defence of the freedom of navigation, which produced a treaty of alliance between the courts of *Copenhagen* and *Madrid*. Upon this remonſtrances grew warmer, and every thing was tending to an open rupture, when *Frederick*, to avoid the conſequences of a war with a republic now grown formidable, conſented to leſſen the duties, out of the great friendſhip and reſpect which he bore to the ſtates of *Holland*, as the treaty expreſſed it.

A. D. 1614.

FOR ſome time *Denmark* enjoyed perfect tranquility, and *Chriſtian* gave ſuch attention and encouragement to trade, that the commerce carried on by his ſubjects began to excite

[a] PUFFEND. l. i.

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the jealouſy of neighbouring powers. *Guſtavus* entertained fears, that proſperity and wealth would excite *Chriſtian* to freſh enterprizes againſt *Sweden*, while he was encumbered by a war with *Ruſſia*. To prevent a rupture, which could not fail of proving inconvenient at this time, he aſſiduouſly cultivated the friendſhip of the *Daniſh* monarch, and even proceeded ſo far in his advances, as to demand an interview, which was granted, on the frontiers [b].

AT this meeting the two monarchs expreſſed the utmoſt eſteem for each other; and as a teſtimony of his regard, *Guſtavus* paid the money ſtipulated by the laſt treaty, and *Chriſtian* reſtored *Elfsburg*.

No ambitious ſentiments, no jealouſy or reſentment againſt any neighbouring power, deſtroyed the peace of *Denmark* for a ſeries of years. Under a wiſe monarch, who knew how to profit by the opportunity, ſhe enjoyed all the felicity that peace and good government could give. At length, however, the affairs of the empire began to mix with the counſels of his *Daniſh* majeſty, and he ſoon found himſelf plunged into an alliance that was productive of great miſery to his dominions. At the town of *Sigeberg*, in the year 1621, a treaty of alliance was concluded between their *Britannic*, *Daniſh*, and *Sweediſh* majeſties; the electors *Palatine* and *Brandenburg*; the dukes of *Holſtein*, *Lunenburg*, *Brunſwic*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerania*; the ſtates-general of *Holland*, and all the Proteſtant princes in *Lower Saxony*. The object of this league is variouſly related; though the moſt probable opinion is, that it was intended to ſuccour the elector-palatine, to furniſh him with twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, to drive *Spinola* out of his dominions. It is added, that his *Daniſh* majeſty was charged by the league with ſending a magnificent ambaſſy to *Vienna*, to beſeech the emperor to revoke the imperial ban, fulminated againſt the elector-palatine, and to reſtore that prince to all his honours and dignities, as the only means of re-eſtabliſhing the peace of the empire. To the ſame purpoſe he wrote a letter to *Spinola*, expecting him to withdraw his forces out of the *Palatinate*.

A. D. 1621.

Denmark *enjoys profound tranquility for a ſeries of years.*

NEAR two years were conſumed in negotiations in favour of this unhappy prince, when *Chriſtian*, perceiving that nothing was to be expected from ambaſſies, determined to uſe force, and reſtore the elector by dint of arms (A). He was choſen

A. D. 1623.

[b] PUFFEND. l. i. p. 2.

(A) This year it was that the new city of *Frederickſtadt* upon the *Eyder*, was peopled by the fugitive *Armenians* from the Netherlands,

choſen head of the league, and captain-general of the forces of *Lower Saxony*, where troops were levied with all poſſible expedition. Count *Tilly*, the imperial general, wrote to the princes and ſtates of the lower circle, exhorting them to remain firm in their obedience to the emperor; and his *Daniſh* majeſty anſwered this letter, and other remonſtrances from the imperial court, by a writing addreſſed to the emperor, declaring his reaſons for taking arms. The banks of the *Weſer* became the theatre of war, and the rendezvous of four great armies. It would be unneceſſary to relate the operations of the campaign, as that has already been minutely done in the hiſtory of the empire. Sufficient it is, that the king received a wound in the head by a fall from his horſe; that he diſtinguiſhed his military abilities in his choice of a camp, which covered *Neenburg*, then beſieged by *Tilly*, greatly diſtreſſed the beſiegers, and plentifully ſupplied his own army, and the garriſon, with all manner of proviſions. *Tilly* was forced to raiſe the ſiege; the king ſent detachments to harraſs his rear; but the count being joined by *Walleſtein*, turned the ſcale, cut off all the out-parties of the army of the league, and particularly that commanded by the brave colonel *Oberatrand*, who was killed.

He is choſen head of the Proteſtant *league.*

A. D. 1625. *His military operations in* Germany.

A. D. 1626.

DURING the laſt campaign no general engagement happened between the two armies, and the winter was ſpent in fruitleſs negotiations of peace. Early in the ſpring his majeſty aſſembled his army at *Rottenburg*: it was numerous, and made a fine appearance, but unhappily compoſed of new raiſed recruits, with which he was to oppoſe two veteran armies, commanded by four of the beſt and moſt experienced officers in the world. It was therefore wiſely determined not to hazard a battle, but to divide the enemy's forces, and carry the war into the heart of their country. A variety of manœuvres were made by both ſides. *Mansfeld* was defeated by the imperial general *Walleſtein*, and the king at length drawn into an engagement with count *Tilly*, in which he was equally unfortunate. His infantry was cut in pieces, above half his officers were killed and wounded, two thouſand men taken priſoners in *Lutter*, and the king forced to make a retreat,

Chriſtian *defeated by* Tilly.

therlands, at the invitation of the duke of *Holſtein*. The kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, ſeeing the happy conſequences of drawing a number of induſtrious foreigners into their dominions, granted the ſame privileges at *Gluckſtadt* in *Denmark*, and *Guſtadt* in *Sweden*, both which places ſoon became rich and flouriſhing.

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the moſt arduous that is recorded in hiſtory, with his cavalry[a].

NOTWITHSTANDING the great loſs he ſuſtained in this retreat, it afflicted him leſs than the news he received of count *Mansfeld*'s death, whom he regarded as the right hand of the Proteſtant cauſe. From this time his affairs began to fall into diſorder; nor could his utmoſt diligence, and the exertion of his great abilities, retrieve them. Driven out of all the places he poſſeſſed in *Lower Saxony*, he was purſued into the dutchy of *Holſtein*, now become the theatre of war. *Tilly* was no leſs ſucceſsful here than he had been in *Saxony*; and his conqueſts were more rapid, as he was now joined by *Walleſtein*, before whom every thing yielded. The *Danes* were driven from all their poſts and fortreſſes, and of the whole dutchy there remained only in the king's hands the towns of *Rendsburg* and *Glückſtadt*; to the latter of which he was forced to ſet fire, after having thrown all the cannon into the ſea. *Rendsburg* met with the ſame fate; and the Imperialiſts had now nothing to oppoſe their paſſage into *Jutland*.

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b *CHRISTIAN*, incenſed and aſhamed of ſuch manifold diſgraces, collected his whole force with a reſolution to diſpute the farther progreſs of the enemy; but he was deſerted by his men, who were terrified with the very name of *Tilly*. In this ſituation the ſenate began to apprehend a revolution in the kingdom, from the general murmurings of the people. Aſſembling at *Copenhagen*, they wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to put an end to the war, and uſing all the arguments in their power to prevail on him to withdraw *Tilly* from *Denmark*, where he was making terrible ravages. They demanded, as the leaſt favour they could expect from his imperial majeſty from the antient regard and friendſhip between the houſe of *Auſtria* and the ſtates of *Denmark*, that he would grant a ſuſpenſion of arms in *Jutland*, in order to negotiate a general peace. Finally, they engaged to prevail on his *Daniſh* majeſty to accept of reaſonable terms, and requeſted, that the emperor would ſend commiſſioners to any place he would chuſe to appoint, to treat with the king's plenipotentiaries about the means of eſtabliſhing the public repoſe, and terminating thoſe differences which occaſioned the ſpilling of ſo much human blood.

IN the ſituation in which matters then ſtood, no great ſucceſs was expected from this advance made by the ſenate. His majeſty therefore made vigorous preparations for war, and renewed the treaties of alliance with *England*, *Sweden*, and the

[a] THUAN. Hiſt. l. viii. t. iv. Memoires de Danem. p. 97.

ſtates-general of the United Provinces. Having received conſiderable reinforcements from his allies, he fitted out a fleet, put to ſea, reduced the iſle of *Femeren*, taking the imperial garriſon priſoners, part of whom were cruelly murdered by the peaſants of *Stormar*, obliged *Eckelenfort* to ſurrender, and gained ſome other advantages, which were counterbalanced by an equal number of towns reduced by the enemy. Colonel *Morgan*, and the *Engliſh* garriſon in *Stadt*, were taken priſoners by the Imperialiſts, who next laid ſiege to *Gluckſtadt* and *Krempe*, the former having been repaired after the late fire. Here the garriſons defended themſelves with ſuch unparalleled bravery, that the Imperialiſts were forced by the frequent ſallies of the beſieged to abandon their poſts, and raiſe the ſiege. Both armies were now divided into a variety of corps, and the king himſelf carried on the war in *Pomerania*, where, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the iſle of *Uſedom*, and city of *Wolgaſt*, he raiſed works round the latter, in which he was attacked by the Imperialiſts, and defeated, after a bloody engagement that laſted ſeven hours. In conſequence *Wolgaſt* and *Uſedom* fell into the enemy's hands; the ſiege of *Gluckſtadt* was reſumed by *Papenheim*, *Stralſund* blocked up by another body of the enemy's troops, and the Imperialiſts were ſuperior in every country where the war was carried on.

A. D. 1628. Chriſtian *gains ſome advantages.*

Propoſals for peace.

TIRED out with a tedious and conſuming war, both ſides at length became eager for peace; and the firſt propoſitions were made by the four Catholic electors. They ſent deputies to the imperial court, requeſting his majeſty to ſend commiſſioners to *Lubeck*, to meet thoſe of his *Daniſh* majeſty, and the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. The emperor complied; but the terms he granted ſeemed ſo exorbitant and unreaſonable to the *Daniſh* miniſters, that they threatened to break off the negotiation, if conditions more equitable could not be obtained. This ſpirit in the *Daniſh* envoys had the deſired effect; freſh inſtructions were ſent to the imperial commiſſioners, and a peace was concluded on theſe conditions; that his majeſty ſhould never interfere in the affairs of *Denmark*, otherwiſe than as ſuperior of *Holſtein*; that himſelf and ſucceſſors ſhould renounce all claim on the archbiſhoprics and biſhoprics of the empire; that all cities, towns, and forts, taken from his *Daniſh* majeſty during the courſe of the war, together with the cannon, &c. ſhould be reſtored; that the priſoners ſhould be mutually releaſed without ranſom; and finally, that his *Daniſh* majeſty ſhould cede to the houſes of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein-Gottorp*, the iſle of *Femeren*, and thoſe parts of the iſlands of *Warde* and *Sulde*, which fell to them by hereditary right, reſerving

Peace concluded.

ſerving to himſelf the right of ſuperior, as inherent in the crown of *Denmark*[a].

THESE conditions the king refuſed to ratify; they were returned for amendment; and after receiving ſome ſlight alteration, were ſigned on the ſeventh of *May*, 1629. Peace was in this manner concluded; but the public tranquility was by no means reſtored. *Chriſtian* interceded with the emperor in behalf of the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, he remonſtrated ſtrongly in their favour, and publiſhed a ſpirited manifeſto, juſtifying the conduct of theſe princes with reſpect to the affairs of *Lower Saxony*; but he could obtain no conditions for them, unleſs he ſtipulated not to moleſt the duke of *Holſtein*, againſt whom he bore a mortal grudge, on account of his taking part with the Imperialiſts in the late war. His reſentment went ſo far as to engage him to commence hoſtilities in *Holſtein*, inſtead of withdrawing his army from that country, as the emperor had done. The flames of war were ready again to break out, when his majeſty perceiving the diſcontent that prevailed among his ſubjects, dropt the quarrel, and applied his attention to repairing the diſorders occaſioned by the war in his dominions. He began with re-eſtabliſhing the city *Gluckſtadt*, which had greatly ſuffered by the variety of fortune ſuſtained in the courſe of the war, and was in a manner depopulated by the length of the laſt ſiege. With this view he beſtowed upon it a great number of important privileges, and impoſed duties on all the ſhips that paſſed the *Elbe*, to eſtabliſh a fund for its aggrandiſement. A. D. 1629.

THIS occaſioned a difference with the city of *Hamburg*, who apprehended a prejudice to her commerce from theſe duties, however moderate. The magiſtrates ſent ambaſſadors to *Denmark*, complaining that their ſhips were arreſted at *Gluckſtadt*, for not paying a new duty, which could not be impoſed without the emperor's conſent. Their remonſtrances were anſwered, both ſides grew warm, and hoſtilities inſenſibly commenced. The cities of *Lubeck* and *Bremen* interpoſed their mediation, but could not obtain an accommodation; his majeſty was determined not to remit the duty; and the city of *Hamburg* was no leſs reſolute in the refuſal to pay it. At length war was formally declared, and all the ſhipping belonging to *Hamburg* ſeized in the ports of *Denmark* and *Norway*. The *Hamburgers* retaliated by taking ſome *Daniſh* ſhips at ſea; each refuſed to make reſtitution, and thus the repeated endeavours of the regency of *Lubeck*, to accommodate matters, were baffled. A. D. 1630. *Difference with the city of* Hamburg.

[a] THUAN. Hiſt. l. viii. PUFFEND. Rer. Suec. Hiſt. l. i. Lettres de SECKEND. p. 29.

In the mean time his *Daniſh* majeſty gave orders to his fleet, conſiſting of thirty-ſix ſhips of war, to enter the *Elbe*. The *Hamburgers* oppoſed the entrance of the *Daniſh* admiral with twenty-two men of war, ſix fireſhips, and twenty ſmaller veſſels, on board which were two thouſand land-forces. For ſome days the fleets anchored in ſight of each other, then they drew nearer, and began a furious cannonading. *Chriſtian* at laſt joined his fleet, and reſolving to puſh up to the city of *Hamburg*, he proceeded to erect a fort on the banks of the river, with intention to facilitate his operations, and diſtreſs the city. This produced an engagement, which terminated to the king's advantage, the enemy being forced to retire higher up the river.

Hoſtilities commenced at Hamburg.

Soon after this *Chriſtian* was prevented from proſecuting his reſentment againſt *Hamburg*, on account of a jealouſy between him and the court of *Sweden*, which ended in a war. The *Hamburg* war was entirely dropt, from the time that the princes of *Lower Saxony* met in that city, to deliberate on the means of throwing off the imperial yoke, and taking part with king *Guſtavus*, whoſe rapid conqueſts pointed him out as the ſureſt protector. *Chriſtian* could not behold, without envy, the aggrandiſement of this prince; and was particularly jealous at ſeeing him raiſed to the honour of being ſet at the head of the Proteſtant league, over which he himſelf preſided in the laſt war. However, an exterior of friendſhip was preſerved; the two kings expreſſed the utmoſt eſteem for each other, but in terms of cold civility, that denoted but little ſincerity in their profeſſions. The ſparks of mutual jealouſy were artfully blown up by the courts of *Vienna* and *Bruſſels*, who deſired nothing more eagerly than a rupture between the northern crowns. *Denmark* they knew was capable of making a powerful diverſion, and drawing off the attention of *Guſtavus* from the war in the empire. *Pappenheim* was employed to kindle the fire of ſedition; and he very artfully managed the temper of his *Daniſh* majeſty. Finding that he could not long keep his ground in the dioceſe of *Bremen*, he offered to put it into *Chriſtian*'s hands. The ſtates of *Denmark* met to deliberate on theſe propoſitions; all the nobility were for rejecting *Pappenheim*'s offers, they ſaw through his meaning, and ſent an ambaſſy to *Sweden*, to renew the friendſhip between the two crowns.

Jealouſies renewed between Sweden *and* Denmark.

A. D. 1632. In this manner was the rupture between the northern crowns poſtponed, only to light up the ſubſequent war with more fury. The aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of *Guſtavus*'s conqueſts in *Germany*, induced *Chriſtian* to offer his mediation to terminate the differences between his imperial majeſty and the king

of *Sweden*; his propoſal was embraced with pleaſure by the court of *Vienna*, who were at that very time appriſed by *Wallſtein*, that the *Swediſh* camp was inacceſſible, the king's forces formidable, his conduct admirable, and no probability of forcing him. However, *Chriſtian*'s mediation ended in nothing. The court of *Vienna* was not yet ſufficiently humbled, to grant ſuch terms as the great ſoul of *Guſtavus* could receive. His *Daniſh* majeſty it was thought, ſhewed a ſort of bias to the court of *Vienna*, that gave umbrage to the *Swediſh* monarch; but it was the death of the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, that firſt produced any thing like an open rupture between the two crowns. *Frederick*, ſon to the king of *Denmark*, and coadjutor of the late archbiſhop, intended to ſeize this opportunity of gaining poſſeſſion of *Stade*, *Buckſtade*, and other places held by the *Swedes*. It was not the buſineſs of *Sweden* to embroil herſelf at that time with a neighbouring power; ſtill, however, the regency held out a good countenance, and kept their ground until the defeat of the elector of *Saxony*, the duke of *Lunenburg*, and the imperial army ruined the project of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, and obliged *Frederic* to drop his deſign.

Chriſtian offers his mediation to reſtore peace to Germany.

ANOTHER ſcheme ſtill more difficult of execution was formed by *Chriſtian*, which was the more immediate occaſion of a rupture with *Sweden*. He had conjointly with *Spain* and the duke of *Holſtein*, planned a ſcheme for ruining the *Dutch* commerce, and at the ſame time conquering *Sweden*; a ſcheme ſo vaſt and romantic, that it is aſtoniſhing it ſhould ever have entered the brain of a prince ſo ſolid and judicious as *Chriſtian*. He was to begin with *Sweden*, which, once ſubdued, it would be no difficult matter to deſtroy the *Dutch* traffic in the *Baltick*. One *Brokman*, a *German*, who had reſided long in *Spain*, had likewiſe given in a project for ruining the trade of the United Provinces to the *Levant*, by opening an immediate intercourſe with *Perſia*, by means of the rivers falling into the *Baltick*, and avoiding the circuit of the *Sound*, by cutting a canal through that neck of land belonging to *Holſtein*, which ſeparates the *Baltick* from the ocean. The duke of *Holſtein* was full of the notion, and actually ſent an ambaſſy to the court of *Perſia*. The czar was applied to for liberty to paſs through his country, and ten tons of gold offered him, as an inducement; the canal was actually ſet about; the *Germans* laughed at the extravagance of the notion, and the chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, in *Sweden*, ſaid no more than that the duke, who was a prudent prince, muſt certainly have ſome deſigns extremely myſterious.

A. D. 1637.

A vaſt and chimerical project formed by Chriſtian.

CHRISTIAN, under various pretences, aſſembled an army in order to perform his part of the contract. He likewiſe got a fleet ready to put to ſea on the firſt notice, but took the utmoſt care not to excite ſuſpicions in the neighbouring powers. *Spain* embarked a great number of troops, who were to paſs the *Sound*, and join the *Danes* before *Stockholm*; but unhappily the whole ſcheme was fruſtrated by the defeat of his Catholic majeſty's fleet in the *Britiſh* channel, by *Tromp* the *Dutch* admiral [a].

Chriſtian's project defeated.

IN this manner things remained until the year 1641, when deputies from *Vienna*, *Madrid*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, met at *Oſnabrug* to eſtabliſh a general peace, which was all at once broke off, by the ſudden irruption of the *Swediſh* forces into *Denmark*. General *Torſtenſon* had paſſed from *Lower Saxony* to *Holſtein*, where he took *Kiel*, *Ranſburg*, and the fortreſs of *Rantzaw*, three places of great importance. Several other towns ſhared the ſame fate; and he even obliged the duke to join him, and deliver into his hands his young ſon, to be ſent as an hoſtage to the queen, his miſtreſs. All the world was aſtoniſhed at this procedure, which ſome thought raſh, and all believed highly unjuſt, as the deſigns of *Chriſtian* were not then univerſally known.

Irruption of the Swediſh forces into Denmark, and their rapid conqueſts.

THE grand marechal of *Jutland* oppoſed the *Swediſh* arms by remonſtrances; but finding them ineffectual, he began to make levies, and to ſecure the frontier by forts, which he threw up in a hurry. Theſe were but weak barriers againſt *Torſtenſon*, who demoliſhed the forts, entered *Jutland*, levied heavy contributions, and made himſelf maſter of the whole country, except *Gluckſtadt* and *Krempe*. In this manner were hoſtilities committed, and a bloody war carried on, without either ſide attempting to vindicate their conduct by open declarations. At laſt however the court of *Sweden* thought proper to publiſh a manifeſto, and gave as a reaſon for her conduct, the clandeſtine treaty concluded ſome years before between *Spain*, *Denmark*, and the houſe of *Holſtein*; the duties laid on their ſhipping in the *Sound*, contrary to the antient treaties between the kingdoms; with a variety of other reaſons, which princes never are at a loſs for, to juſtify any act of violence.

A. D. 1644.

THE *Daniſh* hiſtorians alledge that, far from effacing, this manifeſto rather increaſed the public opinion of her *Swediſh* majeſty's injuſtice, eſpecially when her ſophiſms were compared with the ſolid and fair arguments of his *Daniſh* majeſty. Even the *Swediſh* hiſtorians give up this laſt irruption as un-

[a] CHYTRAI Chron. ibid. PUFFEND. ubi ſupra.

juſtifiable,

juſtifiable, which we muſt own appears to us extraordinary, as there were not wanting reaſons ſufficient to vindicate it. It was plain from the whole of *Chriſtian*'s conduct before and after the death of the great *Guſtavus*, that he entertained prejudices againſt the court of *Sweden*, offered his mediation to terminate the differences in *Germany*, but ſhewed a partiality for the houſe of *Auſtria*, made preparations to invade *Sweden* during the confuſion conſequent on the death of *Adolphus*, and the firſt years of the minority of *Chriſtina*; with a great many other provocations, which, though at ſome little diſtance of time, were demonſtrative proofs of his inclinations, and in our opinion a full juſtification of the proceeding of *Oxenſtiern* and the *Swediſh* general *Torſtenſon*. It is certain, that *Chriſtian* beheld with a jealous eye the footing the *Swedes* got in *Pomerania*, which proved of the utmoſt ſervice in extending their commerce; and it was no leſs certain, that he offered his mediation with a view of obliging them to relinquiſh all they poſſeſſed in *Germany*, for a ſum of money. Upon the whole, inſtead of reproaching with acrimony this proceeding of the *Swediſh* miniſtry, as all former hiſtorians have done, we cannot help eſteeming it a maſterly ſtroke of juſt repriſal, planned with aſtoniſhing ſecrecy, and executed with admirable rapidity.

ON the other hand, we cannot but do juſtice to the vigilance, activity, and addreſs of *Chriſtian*, in putting a ſtop to the farther progreſs of the enemy. Already in poſſeſſion of *Jutland* and *Holſtein*, count *Horn* was preparing to invade *Fionia* and *Zealand*; but was prevented by the condition into which the king put all his fortreſſes. The viceroy of *Sweden* had orders to march with ſix thouſand men into *Weſtrogoth*; but he was prevented from making this diverſion, which would probably have obliged *Horn* to evacuate *Schonen*, into which province he lately made an irruption. His majeſty ſent detachments to harraſs the *Swediſh* army in *Jutland*, equipped a fleet, which took ſome of the richeſt *Swediſh* merchantmen, complained by ambaſſadors ſent to the ſtates of the United Provinces, of the violence committed by *Sweden*, and demanded ſuccours, but could obtain none.

To complete the meaſure of his grief, his natural ſon count *Valdemar*, for whom he entertained a very particular affection, was arreſted in *Ruſſia*, whither he had been ſent to eſpouſe the czar's daughter. No reaſon was given for this violent meaſure, beſides his refuſal to conform to the religion eſtabliſhed in that country: but however affected *Chriſtian* might be with the ruin of his dominions, and impriſonment of his ſon, he was not diſconcerted. On the contrary

Count Valdemar *arreſted in* Ruſſia.

contrary, he ſummoned up all his reſolution on this occaſion, and determined to combat ill fortune by perſeverance, diligence, and courage. In ſpite of his grey hairs, he determined to command in perſon an expedition he meditated againſt *Sweden*, which he knew would oblige the *Swedes* to evacuate his dominions for the defence of their own. Setting ſail he arrived before *Gottenburg*, with a view to beſiege it by ſea, while a body of forces he had ordered to meet him inveſted it by land.

Count Horn *relieves and raiſes the ſiege of* Gottenburg.

HORN no ſooner had intelligence of this expedition, than he marched with the utmoſt diligence for the protection of *Gottenburg*, fruſtrated the king's deſign of reducing the city, but did not defeat the reſt of his project, that of drawing a part of the *Swediſh* army out of his dominions. The count's army would indeed have been inſufficient to ſave *Gottenburg*, had not a fleet of thirty *Dutch* ſhips appeared off the harbour to aſſiſt him. This ſquadron the *Swedes* obtained from private perſons in *Holland*, the ſtates refuſing to declare againſt *Denmark*, though it is probable they connived at theſe ſuccours. *Chriſtian* was by this means baffled in his attempt on *Gottenburg*; but he had the good fortune to fruſtrate the enemy's deſigns on *Fionia*. Leaving the greater part of his fleet before *Gottenburg*, he ſet ſail for *Copenhagen*, in order to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the emperor, with which he doubted not he ſhould be able to drive the enemy out of *Jutland*. Immediately he ſent an envoy to *Vienna*, and engaged to come to no agreement with *Sweden*, provided his imperial majeſty would ſend him the promiſed ſuccours. He added, that he could not avoid entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of his imperial majeſty's ſincerity, as theſe ſuccours had been ſo long witheld. The ambaſſy had all the effect deſired, the emperor ordered the count *Galas* to haſten his march, and took effectual meaſures for aſſiſting *Denmark*.

France *offers her mediation.*

IT was now that the court of *France* ſent the ſieur *de la Thuillerie* to *Copenhagen*, with inſtructions to reconcile the two northern crowns, if poſſible. The ſtates-general likewiſe offered their mediation. Both ambaſſadors had an audience; but the king deferred giving an anſwer, until he had firſt engaged the *Swediſh* fleet. *Nicholas Fleming*, the enemy's admiral, was ſailed for *Chriſtianpreſs* to conſult with *Torſtenſon* on their future operations. Thither the king followed him with a ſquadron of forty-four ſhips of war, and came in ſight at the time when *Fleming* was buſy in landing the troops. It was certainly an omiſſion that he did not attack him in this ſituation, while the fleet was in confuſion; but *Chriſtian* reſolved to take no advantage, ſuffered him quietly to reimbark

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the forces, and did not give the signal to engage before *Fleming* had formed the line, and stood out to sea in order of battle. His majesty in the *Trinity* bore up along side the *Swedish* admiral, and begun the fight, by a continual fire. The other divisions followed, and a general engagement commenced. Nothing could equal the king's eagerness and presence of mind; he gave orders with coolness in the midst of danger, and exposed his person, without regard to the consequence of his life. A musket bullet wounded him in the right eye, and the ball of a cannon drew blood from his left ear, yet did he remain unconcerned upon deck, and could not be prevailed on to draw out of the line until his ship was disabled by the loss of her topmast and bowsprit. This accident and his wound gradually cooled the impetuosity of his officers, and furnished the *Swedish* admiral with an opportunity of retiring under cover of the night to *Christianpress*, after an engagement that lasted for four hours.

The king gains an advantage over the Swedish *fleet.*

CHRISTIAN repaired his ships in the best manner possible, stood next day before the harbour, and endeavoured to draw the *Swedish* admiral to a second engagement; but perceiving he was determined to keep close, he landed four hundred men, who took possession of an eminence that commanded the harbour, erected batteries, and from thence played furiously on the enemy's shipping. *Fleming* was wounded in the knee by a cannon ball, and died two days after, which was the principal loss the *Swedes* sustained, as they had not above three hundred men killed in the preceding action, hot as it was. *Gustavus Wrangel* succeeded to his command, and gaining some advantage over the *Danes* on shore, he was encouraged by the ardour which this renewed in the seamen, to offer battle to the king's fleet. This however the *Danish* admiral declined, as his majesty was returned to *Copenhagen*, and had carried with him a considerable part of the squadron. It was this circumstance that made both nations claim the victory, and so incensed *Christian*, that he ordered admiral *Ghed* to be tried by a court-martial, condemned, and beheaded.

His majesty was no sooner arrived at *Copenhagen*, than he made fresh remonstrances to the court of *Vienna*. The emperor had given instructions to general *Galas* to begin his march, seemed eager to assist *Denmark*, yet some obstructions had always interposed. At last however the imperial forces arrived on the frontiers of *Holstein* and *Slefwick*; but before they entered upon their operations, all parties began to listen to the propositions of the *French* ambassador, and the preliminaries of the peace of *Munster* were negotiating. With respect

reſpect to the particular quarrel between the two northern crowns, the ſieur *Thuillerie* managed the negotiation with ſo much addreſs, that both conſented to ſend commiſſaries to *Boſembroo*, to terminate their differences. Both ſides however raiſed their pretenſions high, and he in vain ſolicited a ſuſpenſion of arms, during the ſitting of the congreſs. Happy would it have been for *Denmark* had he ſucceeded; for ſoon after the two fleets met off the iſland *Femeren*, and engaged with the utmoſt acrimony. After a bloody and obſtinate action, the *Daniſh* admiral, vice-admiral, and twelve ſhips of war were taken, ſunk, and deſtroyed, and four thouſand men killed. In the chace ſeveral more were run aſhore or taken, and of the whole *Daniſh* fleet, only two ſhips got ſafe into port. The victory was not gained without loſs on the ſide of the *Swedes*; it however raiſed their courage, and furniſhed *Thuillerie* with freſh arguments to urge the king to peace. It was remarkable however that all *Chriſtian*'s propoſals and replies tended rather to eſtabliſh the general peace of *Europe*, as a mediator, than to terminate his own particular differences with *Sweden*. In the courſe of the war he had contracted an irreconcileable enmity to that kingdom, which was increaſed by his loſſes, that ſerved only to ſour his temper and whet his courage. *Chriſtian* was at this time the oldeſt monarch in *Europe*, yet his councils were governed by that impetuous ardor which uſually accompanies youth. It required all the maſterly eloquence and ingenious addreſs of the ſieur *Thuillerie*, to prevail on him to act according to the dictates of prudence and neceſſity, rather than inclination, which would only have made him prolong the war, to the extinction of both monarchies. At laſt however he gave way to the remonſtrances of the *French* miniſter. He ſaw his own dominions the theatre of war, and the horrid ſcene of bloodſhed, rapine, and diſorder; he ſaw the tardineſs of the imperial court, and that little ſtreſs was to be laid on their promiſes; he ſaw all the commercial part of *Europe* ready to combine againſt him, if he kept up the high cuſtoms of the *Sound*, and yet this was one great means of being able to carry on the war. Theſe conſiderations at length overcame his reſentment, and he gave orders to his miniſters at *Broſembroo* to put the laſt hand to the treaty of peace in agitation.

Danes defeated at ſea with prodigious loſs.

A. D. 1645. *Peace concluded.*

By this treaty *Sweden* reſtored all the cities, towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, and lands, conquered during the war, in *Jutland*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, *Bleking*, *Borkholm*, *Holſtein*, *Stormar*, *Dithmarſh*, *Fionia*, and other parts of the *Daniſh* dominions. *Chriſtian*, on his ſide, reſtored to the queen the provinces of *Jemptland* and Harndalen; the iſle of *Gothland*, with the city and

and citadel of *Wisby*, which had for so many ages been a bone of contention between the two kingdoms; the islands, and dependent branches of the *Baltick*, of *Oesel* and *Arnsburg*; together with some other places of less consideration. It was farther stipulated, that *Sweden* should possess the province of *Halland*, with all its cities, castles, and lands, for the space of thirty years, as a full security of the right of navigation and commerce in the *Sound* and *Great Belt*, and of the complete performance of the present treaty.

SUCH were the hard terms to which the necessity of the times obliged *Christian* to accede. Just before the treaty was signed, a *Dutch* squadron of forty-eight sail had appeared in the *Sound*, with intention to join the *Swedes*; and this it was that obliged his majesty to consent to the last article of the treaty.

THUILLERIE was not contented with establishing peace between the northern crowns: he formed an alliance between the courts of *Versailles* and *Copenhagen*, by which the latter was prohibited from affording assistance, directly or indirectly, to the emperor. He next endeavoured to prevail on *Christina*, queen of *Sweden*, to relinquish her claim to *Bremen*, and restore *Frederick*, the king of *Denmark*'s brother, to that archbishopric; but her majesty was not in a humour to make any concessions to a prince who, she knew, bore a mortal aversion to *Sweden*. In the midst of this negotiation, and before the public tranquillity was established upon a solid basis, *Christian* was taken ill of a distemper, which alarmed the court, acquired great strength in a few days, and carried him off on the twenty-eighth of *February*, 1648, at the age of seventy-one, and in the sixtieth year of his reign (A). A. D. 1647. A. D. 1648.

Christian's death and character.

CHRISTIAN was possessed of admirable qualities of mind and body; but had a vindictive obstinacy of temper, which made him pursue his animosities beyond the dictates of prudence. To his last day he retained all the fire and vehemence of youth, commanded his fleets and armies in person, after he had wore the crown near sixty years; threw himself in the midst of dangers, at an age when the faculties of the mind

(A) Most modern writers, and in particular *Puffendorff*, and the author of the Present State of *Europe*, place this prince's death in the year 1649, which is certainly a mistake, as he died during the residence of the *French* ambassador in *Denmark*, and just at the time he was transacting the affair of *Bremen* (1).

(1) *Vid. Mem. de Chanut, p.* 104. *Vittorio Siri, tom.* v. *part.* 2. *Prælim. de Pax de Munster, tom.* i. *p.* 228. *Le Bret, tom.* v. *p.* 475.

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and body are usually enervated; was to the last jealous and tenacious of the dignity of his crown, and the happiness of his people; though too strict a regard for the former proved all his life the destruction of the latter. On the whole, however, he was a monarch of an able head, strong arm, extensive capacity, and great magnanimity; qualities unhappily tinctured with violent passions, which frequently obscured every ray of understanding, and locked up the exertion of that solid reason with which nature had endowed him [a] (B).

[a] Vid. PUFFEND. Hist. passim. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 206, & seq. lib. citat. in not.

(B) We must not close this prince's character without observing, that he was greatly addicted to venery, and actually divorced his queen to gratify an ambitious mistress: at least the affair was debated in the senate.

SECT. XVI.

Containing the Affairs of Denmark *to the Accession of* Christian V.

FREDERICK III.

Frederick. III.

DURING the late reign the nobility had greatly extended their privileges, and were now for raising *Valdemar* to the throne, in prejudice to his brother *Frederick*, the only legitimate child of the late king *Christian*. Almost all the king's daughters by his concubines were married to Danish noblemen, who, from this alliance, found means to break through the boundaries of the constitution, to exalt themselves on the ruin of the commons, and gratify their own lust of power at the expence of the royal prerogative. Their intention in bestowing the crown on *Valdemar*, was no other than because they expected to make their own terms with him; and, indeed, before they acknowledged *Frederick*, they reduced his prerogative within such narrow limits, and the rights of the people into so small a compass, that the one enjoyed no more than the shadow of sovereignty, and the other only the mere skeleton of departed liberty. The nobility alone enjoyed all posts of honour and profit; while the commons were excluded even from military preferments above the rank of captain. Those haughty lords now refused to pay the usual contributions towards the support of government

The Danish *nobility extend their privileges.*

rew the whole weight of taxes on the ſhoulders of their and inferiors.

E late wars in *Germany* had deſtroyed the forces of *rk*; that with *Sweden* the marine of the kingdom; y ſeemed diſpoſed to aſſume a republican form of go- ent; the treaſury was exhauſted, private fortunes ruin- e nobility inſolent; the people humble, but diſcon- ; all graſped at ſomething, and introduced the utmoſt ion.

H was the ſtate of *Denmark* when *Frederick* aſcended one. He began his reign with concluding a treaty of e and redemption with the ſtates-general of the United ces. By the firſt, the parties were bound to aſſiſt each vith four thouſand men, in caſe either was attacked; the latter, the *Dutch* agreed to pay one hundred and ouſand florins yearly for the free paſſage of the *Sound*, o hundred thouſand rixdollars in advance at the con- of the treaty. Both the miniſters and merchants of *rk* complained of this treaty, which was to remain in The miniſtry demonſtrated, that the revenue loſt five d thouſand livres yearly by this redemption-treaty; and erchants dreaded that this loſs would fall upon them, court would find it neceſſary to compenſate the defi- by other duties. Even the *Dutch* merchants were not l, with reſpect to the benefit that would ariſe from it; the ſtates and his *Daniſh* majeſty come to a ſolemn ra- on towards the cloſe of the year 1649, notwithſtanding nonſtrances of the court of *Sweden*, and ſeveral com- l cities. *State of the kingdom.*

the diſordered ſtate of the kingdom may be added tual ſuſpicions entertained by the courts of *Copenhagen ckholm* of deſigns upon each other; though, in fact, ſe jealouſies were without foundation, it being contrary true intereſt of either to come to a rupture. The had equipped a ſmall ſquadron upon ſome ſecret deſign, ng *Frederick* had received ambaſſies from *Vienna* and *d*. Both were alarmed: a thouſand conjectures were l, and all of them remote from the truth. A coldneſs ſe aroſe between the king and the grand marechal *Ule-* whoſe influence in the kingdom was too great for a ſub- A report that this miniſter had poiſoned the late king, l to be countenanced by *Frederick*; and *Ulefeld* omitted ig that could render himſelf more popular, in order to him from the king's reſentment, and erect a barrier t the royal wrath, which he perceived gathering into a that might overwhelm him. Yet, after all, this miniſ- *The grand marechal,* Ulefeld *diſgraced.*

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ter was forced to eſcape in diſguiſe from *Copenhagen*, and take ſhelter under the wing of queen *Chriſtina*, who protected him, notwithſtanding the countenance of friendſhip ſhe aſſumed towards *Frederick*, until ſome years after he was acknowledged the plenipotentiary of *Sweden* in the reign of *Charles* X.

A. D. 1651. Daniſh *company eſtabliſhed in the* Eaſt Indies.

THIS year the elector of *Brandenburg* ſent an envoy to *Copenhagen*, to negotiate a ſociety of commerce and navigation to the *Eaſt Indies*, and particularly the iſland of *Ceylon*, between the ſubjects of *Denmark* and the electorate. It was propoſed that a joint ſtock ſhould be raiſed, two thirds by the king, and the remainder by the elector; and that four large ſhips ſhould ſail in the ſpring with an ambaſſador on board, who ſhould remain governor of the ſettlements they might eſtabliſh. *Sweden* beheld with jealouſy theſe negotiations: the remonſtrances of the *Daniſh* envoy on the affair of *Ulefeld* increaſed the uneaſineſs of that court: *Frederick*'s endeavours to break the late treaty ſhe had made with *England*, added freſh fuel to the ſparks of diſtruſt; and his treaty with *Holland* almoſt put the laſt hand to the breach between the two kingdoms (A).

A. D. 1652.

WE mentioned a treaty of alliance and redemption ſtruck up between *Denmark* and *Holland* the firſt year of *Frederick*'s reign, in which it was ſtipulated, that the contracting powers ſhould aſſiſt each other with four thouſand men, in caſe of an attack. It was now the buſineſs of *Holland*, who was on the eve of a war with *England*, to ſhew that the latter were the aggreſſors. This *Keiſer*, the *Dutch* envoy, did not neglect: he, beſides, uſed all his addreſs in demonſtrating the particular intereſt *Denmark* had in preventing the ruin of the *Dutch* marine, and *England* from growing too formidable by ſea; and he concluded with ſhewing the neceſſity of his *Daniſh* majeſty's equipping twenty ſhips of war, for the ſecurity of his coaſts and commerce.

WHATEVER inclination *Frederick* might have to unite himſelf cloſely to the ſtates general, yet he entertained ſcruples with reſpect to *Keiſer*'s propoſals, becauſe he apprehended that

(A) It was immediately before the treaty with *Holland*, that the king was informed, from the Sieur *Chanute*, the *French* reſident at *Stockholm*, of a conſpiracy formed to dethrone him (1). *Ulefeld* was the prime contriver of this plot, which was truly chimerical and romantic, on account of the inſtruments appointed to conduct it. As it was attended with no conſequences, we do not think it worthy of being twice related in a general hiſtory. We have mentioned it in *Sweden*.

(1) *Memoires de Chanute, p.* 109, *& ſeq.*

Sweden

Sweden might join with *England*, and thus a new war be lighted up in the north. He knew that *Chriſtina* was conſtantly ſolicited by *Ulfeld* to declare war upon his maſter, and that he had even offered to ſupport part of the expence that would attend a rupture. In a word, he dreaded the effects of that powerful, diſcontented, violent fugitive, who breathed nothing but vengeance, and had got poſſeſſion of the queen's ear. Another motive concurred to render him more undetermined on this point. He was deſirous of profiting by the emergency into which the *United Provinces* found themſelves plunged, and to diſpenſe with the payment of the ſubſidy due to them, after the declaration of war, according to the former treaty.

He ſeizes a large fleet of Engliſh *merchantmen.*

By this delay, he gained a ſtill greater advantage, though accidental, and repugnant to the laws of hoſpitality and of nations. An *Engliſh* fleet of twenty-two merchantmen, laden with all kinds of materials for ſhip-building, were perſuaded, by *Frederic*'s inſinuations, to put into *Copenhagen*, in order to avoid the *Dutch* fleet in the *Sound*. They were no ſooner entered the harbour, than the crews were ſeized, and ſhips and effects confiſcated by the king's order: ſo violent and unwarrantable a proceeding left *Denmark* no alternative. The king had incurred the reſentment of the *Engliſh* parliament, who made ſpirited remonſtrances on this head by their envoy *Bradſhaw*, as he was neceſſarily obliged to throw himſelf into the ſcale of *Holland* againſt *Cromwell* and the parliament. Still, however, he diſſembled, and ſeemed to liſten favourably to *Bradſhaw*, in order to excite the jealouſy of the *Dutch* envoy, and obtain the better terms. At length, however, the alliance ſo much wiſhed for by *Holland* was finally concluded in the month of *February* 1653, by which the king obliged himſelf to equip a ſquadron of twenty ſail, and the *Dutch* engaged to pay him a ſubſidy of one hundred and forty thouſand rix dollars. Thus, by ſetting twenty ſhips to ſea, he not only avoided payment of a yearly ſubſidy, but received a conſiderable annual ſum from his ally.

Another treaty with the Dutch.

HOLLAND drew one very peculiar advantage from this armament, as it prevented the *Engliſh* from importing naval ſtores from the north; and this, indeed, was the only ſervice the *United Provinces* drew from the alliance of *Denmark*. Upon the whole, it muſt be owned, that *Frederic* managed this negotiation like a true politician, deduced ſeveral important advantages from it with reſpect to the *Aſiatic*

trade, and obtained ſeveral ſums of money from the ſtates, upon very frivolous grounds [a].

A. D. 1654. About the year 1654 it was that his majeſty and the ſtates of *Holland* changed their ſentiments with reſpect to the redemption-treaty. *Frederic* had charged his envoy at the *Hague*, to offer the abolition of the ſubſidy; and the merchants of *Amſterdam*, who by this time became ſenſible of the conveniency of a free traffic, refuſed it. On more mature reflexion, however, they conſented. They perceived, that in time of war the commerce with the northern powers was ſo conſiderable, that it would be more to their advantage to pay the duties of the *Sound*, than the yearly ſubſidy. No ſooner had they aſſented to *Frederic*'s propoſal, than he retracted, and inſiſted upon adhering to the treaty of redemption; but the ſtates-general repreſented, that, relying on his royal word given in the perſon of his ambaſſador, they had neglected to exact the uſual tax from the traders, and conſequently the load of the ſubſidy muſt fall upon them. This remonſtrance had the effect, and the treaty of redemption was anulled.

The object of Frederic's *politics.* In the mean time *Frederic* laboured to engage the queen of *Sweden* to declare againſt the *Engliſh* parliament; but her majeſty not only reſiſted all his ſolicitations, but exerted her utmoſt ability to make the king renounce his alliance with *Holland*. Neither took effect, and the endeavours of both were interrupted, by the renewal of their diſputes about the grand mareſchal *Ulfeld*. Her majeſty ſolicited his pardon; and *Frederic* not only denied her requeſt, but inſiſted upon his being ſurrendered, or at leaſt his retracting a bitter libel he had publiſhed againſt him, and aſking pardon in a public manner: to neither of which *Chriſtina* would, for a long time, conſent. At length, the king drew up a charge againſt *Ulfeld*, containing a variety of articles, and among others the embezzlement of a ſum of money, which he had ordered to be remitted to *Charles* II. of *England*, at that time a fugitive in *Holland*. The queen, for a long time, refuſed to give credit to this charge; but on *Charles*'s letter to the king of *Denmark*, affirming, that neither himſelf, nor any of his court, had received ſuch a remittance, ſhe ſeemed convinced of *Ulfeld*'s treachery, and promiſed to abandon him to his fate, and withdraw the protection, of which he was unworthy. Nothing, however, came of this affair; *Ulfeld* had gained the aſcendant over the queen; he either perſuaded her, that he really was innocent, or ſhe choſe to believe

Diſputes with Sweden *concerning* Ulfeld.

[a] Mem. de Chan. p. 126. [b] Mem. de Terlon. paſſim.

believe him ſo. Certain it is, that, inſtead of withdrawing her protection, ſhe groſsly affronted the *Daniſh* ambaſſador, who ſupported with great ſpirit the dignity of his royal maſter, and his own public character [c].

SOON after this event it was, that the ſtates of *Denmark* aſſembled, and publickly acknowledged *Chriſtian*, the eldeſt ſon of *Frederic*, his immediate ſucceſſor in the throne, and performed homage to him in that quality. About this time, likewiſe, *Frederic* was obſerved to behold with a jealous eye, the rapid conqueſts of the young monarch of *Sweden* in *Poland*. His jealouſy was greatly augmented by an embaſſy from the *United Provinces*, repreſenting the danger it would be to the *Daniſh* commerce, if *Charles* X. ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the coaſts of the *Baltic*, as infallibly he muſt, ſhould he reduce *Livonia*, *Pomerania*, and *Pruſſia*. In conſequence of the remonſtrances of the ſtates-general, a freſh alliance was concluded, a fleet of forty ſail of *Dutch* men of war ſent to the *Baltic*, under the command of admiral *Opdam*, and a reſolution taken to fruſtrate the king of *Sweden*'s deſign of laying ſiege to *Dantzic*, before which city *Opdam* appeared with his fleet. A. D. 1655. *Politics of Sweden and Denmark.*

CHARLES knew of what importance it was to avoid a rupture with *Denmark*, while he was deeply engaged in a war with other powers; he ſought, therefore, to cultivate the friendſhip of his *Daniſh* majeſty, and ſent an ambaſſador to *Copenhagen* with that view, and to prevent the junction of the *Daniſh* and *Dutch* fleets. But *Frederic* could not be brought to renounce his engagements to *Holland*, though he poſitively denied his entertaining any deſigns againſt *Sweden*. In a word, the embaſſy ended in nothing; as it was evident, that *Frederic* only watched the opportunity of attacking his *Swediſh* majeſty, when he was weakened by the war on his hands, in order to recover *Halland*, and other places ceded by the laſt treaty.

THE arrival of the *Dutch* fleet in the *Baltic* gave great offence to *Charles*; his ambaſſador remonſtrated on that head, but to little purpoſe: and now a rupture between the two crowns was apparently at no great diſtance, notwithſtanding *Frederic* ſent an ambaſſador to the *Swediſh* king, at that time in *Pruſſia*. The intention of this embaſſy was indeed no more, than to keep up certain appearances with *Charles*, until the ſucceſs of his arms was known; and the ſame reaſon prevented the *Daniſh* monarch from joining his fleet immediately with the *Dutch* ſquadron. *A Dutch fleet arrives in the Baltic* A. D. 1656.

[c] Hiſt. de Reine Chriſtine, tom. i. p. 197.

UPON intelligence of ſome conſiderable loſſes which the *Swediſh* army ſuſtained, *Frederic* was going to declare openly againſt *Sweden*, had he not been embarraſſed by the ſudden departure of the *Dutch* fleet from *Dantzic*, and ſtill more diſconcerted by advices, that a treaty was concluded at *Elbing*, between the king of *Sweden* and the ſtates-general, without the knowledge of M. *Van Buiningen*, envoy from the latter at *Copenhagen*. *Buiningen* exclaimed againſt this proceeding; he ſent remonſtrances to the ſtates-general, couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, exhorting them to keep firm to their engagements with *Denmark*, but in vain, for *Opdam* received poſitive orders to return to *Holland*[a].

Policy of Holland.

A. D. 1657. *FREDERIC* now heſitated whether he ſhould venture to declare war, or wait the effects of *Buiningen's* remonſtrances to the penſioner *De Wit*. That honeſt miniſter ſtill continued to exert his endeavours to maintain the alliance between *Holland* and the king; but he gave a different turn to his repreſentations. He now affirmed, that it was the intereſt of the ſtates-general to animate *Frederic* againſt the king of *Sweden*, not only to ſtop the progreſs of the latter, but to engroſs the whole trade of the *Baltic*, while theſe two powers were at war. *Buiningen*, who was penſioner of *Amſterdam*, underſtood the true intereſt of his country, and was ſtrenuouſly the friend of commerce. His influence, likewiſe, among the merchants was ſo great, that moſt of them falling in with his opinion, fitted out private ſhips of war againſt the *Swedes*, and excuſed themſelves, by ſaying they would do the very ſame for hire againſt *Denmark*.

Frederic *declares war againſt* Sweden.

FREDERIC, now aſſured that he would be countenanced by *Holland*, in ſpite of the treaties the republic had ſo lately concluded with the king of *Sweden*, did not ballance long about declaring war; but was obliged to go back to the year 1644 for motives to juſtify his conduct. This reſolution was indeed oppoſed by all grave perſons; but M. *de Gerſdorf*, a *Saxon* gentleman of ancient family, who had acquired great credit at court, from the ſuperiority of his genius, and his many important ſervices, at length determined the king. He was further confirmed by the information of the *Dutch* ambaſſador; and all the endeavours of the *French* miniſter could not now prevent a rupture. M. *Durelle*, the *Swediſh* miniſter, remonſtrated againſt this unprovoked deſign; but his arguments having no effect, he was recalled, and had ſcarce left *Copenhagen*, before three *Swediſh* prizes were brought into that harbour.

[a] Mem. de TERLON, ibid.

Now

Now the army took the field under general *Bilde*, and traverſing *Holſtein*, croſſed the *Elbe*, and covered the dioceſe of *Bremen*, to which *Frederic* formed pretenſions. The whole dioceſe was laid under contribution; ſome towns were taken, and the ſiege of *Stadt* formed. The king with his fleet, joined by the *Dutch* private ſhips of war, ſet ſail at the ſame time to *Dantzic*; but hearing that *Charles Guſtavus* was in *Pomerania*, he retired to *Copenhagen*. *Wrangel*, the *Swediſh* admiral, defeated a body of *Danes* in *Bremen*, and obliged them to repaſs to *Holſtein*, with the loſs of three thouſand men. Moſt of the officers in the *Daniſh* army were natives of *Holſtein*, and conſequently deſirous of protecting their native country. With that intention this retreat was made againſt the advice of general *Bilde*.

His army enters Bremen.

The Danes *driven out of* Bremen

THIS firſt diſgrace which his arms ſuffered, convinced *Frederic*, that he muſt link himſelf ſtrongly with *Holland*, if he would either conquer or reſiſt his enemy. In conſequence, a new treaty of alliance was ſigned, whereby the parties agreed to aſſiſt each other with ſix thouſand men, or in default of men and ſhips, with an equivalent ſum of money. This meaſure ſoon became neceſſary, for *Guſtavus* was at the head of a numerous army, at the very time that all the world believed his forces were entirely broken in *Poland*. Immediately he appeared in *Holſtein*, and took four regiments of *Danes* priſoners of war, after a brave reſiſtance. *Itzehoe* was laid in aſhes, and the *Swediſh* king was preparing to march his army into *Jutland*; but to this there was an obſtruction which he feared was unſurmountable. It was the fortreſs of *Frederics-Odde*, defended by ſix ſtrong baſtions, and a numerous garriſon. This he attacked; but after ſpending ſome days before the place, he ſet out for *Wiſmar*, and left *Wrangel* to block up *Frederics-Odde* with his troops. *Wrangel*, tired with a tedious blockade, determined to give the aſſault before he had battered in breach. The attack was made an hour before day, in four different quarters, while petards were applied to the gate, in order to make way for the cavalry. His diſpoſition was excellent, and it was crowned with ſucceſs. While the garriſon was wrapt in ſleep, the *Swedes* ſcaled the walls, and became, in a few hours, maſters of a place, that might have withſtood the efforts of their whole army for a greater number of months.

A new treaty between Denmark *and* Holland.

Frederics-Odde *taken by the* Swedes.

HAD *Frederic*'s prerogative been leſs reſtrained, and the army more in his power, intrepid and generous as he was, he would undoubtedly have ſtopped the progreſs of the *Swedes*, and ſaved *Frederics-Odde*. Neither *Bilde*, nor the other officers, wanted courage or ability, but their experi-

ence was not great, and their influence in the army very inconſiderable. On the frontiers, indeed, the *Swedes* ſuſtained a repulſe, and were entirely defeated at *Knaro* in *Holland*. At the ſame time, the *Swediſh* fleet, conſiſting of twenty-ſix men of war, and as many merchantmen converted into armed ſhips, met with the *Daniſh* ſquadron, and offered battle. The *Daniſh* admiral, depending on the aſſiſtance of *Witte Witſon*, the *Dutch* admiral, did not decline the engagement. A furious battle was fought, in which the *Danes* behaved with extraordinary courage. Unſupported by their good allies, they maintained the action againſt an enemy double in number. The admiral's ſhip, pierced with five hundred cannon ſhot, was ſo ſhattered, as neceſſarily to draw out of the line; notwithſtanding which the reſt of the ſquadron continued the fight, and obliged the *Swedes* to put into the port of *Wiſmar*. Both ſides, indeed, claimed the victory, and neither, perhaps, with ſufficient reaſon, as it was in fact a drawn battle, though the circumſtance laſt mentioned ſeems to declare the advantage on the ſide of the *Danes*. Even *Loccenius*, the *Swediſh* hiſtorian, owns, that no great benefit reſulted to the *Swedes* from this action, and he blames certain captains of ſhips, who were ſuppoſed not to have done their duty [f].

Battle between the fleets of Denmark *and* Sweden, *in which the former are deſerted by their allies.*

WHATEVER ſucceſs *Frederic's* arms had elſewhere, ſtill the loſs of *Fredericks-Odde* was a ſevere blow, which he determined to revenge. M. *Roſwing* was diſpatched to the *Hague*, to prevent the ratification of the treaty of *Eibing*, and to borrow a million. The commiſſion was delicate; for, on the one hand, the *Dutch* apprehended that the progreſs of *Charles* would render him maſter of the *Baltic*, to the great prejudice of their commerce; and on the other, they dreaded the imputation of levity and perfidy, if they refuſed to ratify the treaty. In the mean time, they ventured to lend his *Daniſh* majeſty 600,000 livres; but refuſed to meddle in the affair of the treaty, till they had deliberated more maturely on a point that affected the reputation of the *United Provinces*.

IT was the intereſt of a great many powers to oppoſe the aggrandizement of *Charles Guſtavus*. He foreſaw this, and reſolved by celerity and addreſs to baffle the deſigns formed to ſupport *Denmark*. He projected the invaſion of *Fionia* in the winter, before *Frederic* could draw together a ſufficient force to oppoſe him; and his ſcheme was greatly forwarded by a hard froſt, that rendered tranſports unneceſſary. He

[f] LOCCEN. Hiſt. Swed. ſub hoc Ann.

ſet

ſet out from *Kiel* on the third of *February*; marched his army over the *Little Belt* on the ice, where he was oppoſed by a ſtrong body of *Danes*, whom he defeated, after a ſharp engagement, and the loſs of three regiments, who were drowned by the breaking of the ice; took *Odenſee* the capital of the iſland, reduced *Newborg*, made an attack on four *Daniſh* men of war locked up by the ice, but was repulſed and baffled by the intrepidity of the admiral, and at length formed the perilous and intrepid deſign of paſſing over the ice to *Zeland*; a ſcheme ſo novel, ſo excellently planned and boldly executed, as raiſed the admiration of all men, and will ever be recorded as one of the moſt daring attempts ever made in ſuch circumſtances. We ſhall have occaſion to dwell upon particulars in the hiſtory of *Sweden*; ſufficient it is for our preſent occaſion, that he firſt arrived in *Laland*, and next in *Zeland*, after eſcaping a thouſand imminent dangers, and exhibiting as many proofs of an invincible courage, an enterprizing genius, a ready execution, and every quality of a great king and commander.

Charles Auguſtus *invades* Denmark, *and paſſes over the ice to* Zeland.

WHEN *Charles Guſtavus* arrived in *Zeland*, he was met at *Warnenburg* by *Meadows*, *Cromwell*'s envoy, and by *Gerſdorf*, *Shel*, and *Mons Hoeuck*, with propoſals of peace. He appointed the fugitive *Ulfeld* to treat with them; and it was eaſy to ſee, from this circumſtance, what terms he expected. Honour required, that *Frederic* ſhould refuſe admitting *Ulfeld* unto the congreſs; but his unhappy circumſtances obliged him to paſs over punctilios, and acknowledge for the plenipotentiary of *Sweden*, a rebel, who was at this very time intriguing to dethrone his natural ſovereign, and ſeducing the nobility of *Copenhagen* from their allegiance, by large promiſes from *Charles Guſtavus*.

A. D. 1658. *Propoſals of peace.*

WHILE preliminaries reſpecting this congreſs were adjuſting, the *Swediſh* monarch was marching towards *Copenhagen*, and arrived within four leagues of that capital, where he halted, to refreſh his troops, and deliberate whether he ſhould attempt it by aſſault. The city was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, but the king's preſence, and exhortations, kept them from deſponding. General *Krempen* was at the head of a ſmall body of gentlemen, peaſants, and ſailors. To theſe he joined about 2000 horſe and 800 regular infantry, making in the whole a corps of 4000 men, with which he offered to ſet fire to the ſuburbs, attack the king of *Sweden* at *Keuck*, and reduce that place to aſhes. *Frederic* approved of the ſcheme, and would have commanded the expedition in perſon, had not the ſenate reſolutely oppoſed his intention; alledging, that the loſs of one battle,

Guſtavus *reſolves to lay ſiege to* Copenhagen.

and the ſmalleſt accident which ſhould happen to his majeſty's perſon, would endanger the whole kingdom. The king's ardour and courage ſeemed to riſe with his misfortunes, and required all the endeavours of the ſenate to moderate them. Certain it is, that vigorous meaſures, and hazardous ſtrokes, were neceſſary in the preſent emergency; and that the king wanted neither conduct to plan, nor courage to execute, any project for the good of his kingdom. He is therefore unjuſtly blamed for not accepting *Krempen*'s propoſal, which was rejected merely by the ſenate, and highly applauded by the king.

Frederic's preparations to reſiſt him.

In the mean while the negotiations went on but ſlowly. *Sweden* inſiſted upon conditions, which ought only to be granted, after *Copenhagen*, and all the fortreſſes of the kingdom, were in the hands of *Guſtavus*; and theſe hard terms were aggravated, by the haughty conduct and ſatirical expreſſions of *Ulfeld*. In a word, the *Daniſh* miniſters refuſed to accept the conditions propoſed, thinking it better to periſh after a vigorous reſiſtance, than to ſtoop to a ſhameful and ignominious ſubmiſſion. They were beſides in hopes, that the rigour of the ſeaſon, the fatigue and famine they muſt undergo, would ſoon ruin the *Swediſh* army, could they have the reſolution to reſiſt them but for a ſhort time.

The defenceleſs ſtate of Copenhagen, *and courage of* Frederic.

Thus all hopes of accommodation vaniſhed, and *Frederic* had only to rely on his own courage and conduct, and on the fidelity and valour of his ſubjects. The walls of the city were ruinous; it was deſtitute of proviſion, ammunition, and every neceſſary of defence; it was crouded with peaſants, who anſwered no purpoſe beſides conſuming the little ſtores that were there. The nobility were diſcontented; they exclaimed againſt the adminiſtration, inſtead of defending their country, and thought they ſufficiently ſhewed their patriotiſm by crying out, that the kingdom was ſold. Yet amidſt all theſe diſorders, *Frederic* preſerved a firmneſs that was aſtoniſhing. A victorious enemy without his walls, famine, diſcord, and every ſpecies of confuſion within, he remained intrepid, undaunted, and full of courage. His queen likewiſe gave proofs of reſolution and conſtancy far beyond her ſex. However, on the approach of the *Swediſh* army within ſight of the city, and their taking poſſeſſion of certain poſts, which in a manner blocked up the garriſon, the nobility became ſo clamorous, that *Frederic* was compelled to ſend M. *Gerſdorf* to *Torſtrup*, where the mediators ſtill remained, in order to conclude a peace upon any terms.

Peace concluded.

GERSDORF was aſtoniſhed to find on his arrival, that the *Swedes* had relinquiſhed ſome of the moſt rigid conditions, and

and the more, when he was made acquainted, that this complaiſance was owing to the mediation of *Ulfeld*. He doubted not, but this nobleman's love for his country returned in full tide, upon obſerving the low ebb to which it was reduced. At laſt, after much altercation, peace was actually ſigned between the two kings, on the 28th day of *February*; *Frederic* conſenting to cede *Halland*, *Schonen*, *Bleking*, the iſland of *Borkholm*, the citadel and fief of *Bahus*, the ſeigniory and fief of *Drontheim*, with all its towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, and dependences.

M. *Van Buiningen* fired at this treaty; he reproached *Meadows*, the *Engliſh* envoy, with double dealing; and he complained of M. *Gerſdorf*, becauſe, inſtead of maintaining the treaty between *Holland* and *Denmark*, he had, on the contrary, opened an inlet to all foreigners into the *Baltic*, by conſenting that all treaties, contrary to the intereſt of either king, ſhould be annulled. *Gerſdorf* vindicated himſelf by the plea of neceſſity, which would not admit of leiſure to conſult the allies of *Denmark*; and indeed matters were then at ſuch a criſis, that *Frederic*'s conduct can need no excuſe, with reſpect to the *Dutch*, if we conſider the behaviour of their admiral in the laſt ſea-engagement. *Van Buiningen* perceiving all his endeavours to break the peace baffled, thought of an expedient, which he hoped would at leaſt retard, if not wholly prevent its execution. He adviſed *Frederic* not to put the king of *Sweden* in poſſeſſion of *Schonen*, till that monarch had firſt evacuated *Zeland*. *Frederic* approved of the ſcheme; but it was traverſed by the ſuſpicion of the *Swediſh* king, who immediately ſent a part of his army to inveſt *Copenhagen*.

THE war would have again been renewed, and the *Dutch* ambaſſador's end fully anſwered, had not the mediators interpoſed, and given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of *Frederic*'s intention to perform his contract. Upon this *Charles Guſtavus* wholly changed his ſentiments, and from the extreme of diſtruſt, paſſed ſuddenly to the other extreme of too much confidence in his enemy. King *Frederic* had prepared an entertainment for the foreign miniſters, at his royal ſeat of *Frederickſburgh*, whither *Guſtavus*, attended by a ſmall retinue, went, uninvited and unexpected (A). Such inter-

(A) Some writers alledge, that *Frederic* had given him his word, and even hoſtages for his ſecurity (1); but of this we find no mention in the moſt authentic memoirs.

(1) *Des Roches, tom.* vi. *p.* 84.

An interview between the two kings.

views are ever of a delicate nature, and more particularly when the conqueror puts himſelf in the power of the conquered. Had *Frederic* arreſted him, and obliged him to reſtore all the provinces ceded to *Sweden*, policy would have approved the perfidy, as a neceſſary meaſure, and poſterity would regard it as one of thoſe maſterly ſtrokes of the cabinet, about which few princes would entertain any ſcruples. But the great ſoul of *Frederic* reſiſted the temptation, and deſpiſed the treachery. He diſdained any advantages deduced from a breach of honour and hoſpitality. It is true, indeed, he had formerly given way to a ſmaller temptation, when he ſeized the *Engliſh* fleet of merchantmen at *Copenhagen*; but there are not wanting arguments to palliate his conduct on that occaſion. Interviews of this nature ſeldom occur; and when they do, it never happens but one of the parties is a loſer. What, however, was ſingular in this, was, that all the advantage happened to be on the ſide of *Guſtavus*, who received new hints by this viſit, which laid the foundation of a ſecond war with *Denmark*. Be this as it will, the princes lived for two days together in the utmoſt harmony, and parted with all the appearances of a ſolid eſteem and friendſhip. It was on this occaſion that the queen artfully dropt ſome inſinuations to the prejudice of *Ulfeld*, that made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of *Guſtavus*, and enervated his friendſhip for that favourite.

A. D. 1658.

PEACE was thus concluded, but the *Swediſh* monarch's ambition to injure *Denmark* rather increaſed. He had ſeen the weakneſs of that kingdom; amidſt all the extremes of that hearty welcome and friendſhip with which *Frederic* received his viſit at *Frederickſburgh*, he obſerved ſentiments of chagrin, and a deſire of revenge. Certain we are, that the attempt of annexing another crown to that of *Sweden*, was perfectly agreeable to the lofty notions of *Guſtavus*'s capacious mind. It was not difficult to find pretexts for breaking the peace. The treaty of *Roſchild* was replete with errors, and a new congreſs was appointed at *Copenhagen* to correct them. He began his deſign by raiſing difficulties about the duchy of *Holſtein*, by complaining that *Frederic* was dilatory in the execution of his contract; although, in fact, he had reaſon to haſten it, as upon that depended the evacuation of *Zeland* by the *Swediſh* forces: he inſinuated his ſuſpicions, that the king of *Denmark* was intriguing againſt him in *Holland*. In a word, he entered *Holſtein* with intention to prepare the neceſſary ſteps to the expedition he meditated; and he made ſuch a variety of marches and countermarches, as puzzled the wit of the moſt penetrating politicians.

Cauſe of renewing the war.

THE chevalier *Terlon*, envoy from the king of *France*, was the firſt who diſcovered the deſign of *Guſtavus*, and acquainted M. *de Gerſdorf* with his ſuſpicion. *Frederic* was aſtoniſhed at the intelligence, and could ſcarce be convinced of the truth of it. Great armaments were preparing in *Sweden*, and juſt as the troops were embarked, it was given out that the expedition was intended againſt *Pruſſia*. To render his ſucceſs more ſecure, and cut off all ſuccours by land from *Denmark*, *Guſtavus* found it neceſſary to gain poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of *Rendſburgh*; but as almoſt all his army was deſtined for the ſiege of *Copenhagen*, he could contrive no other method, than by prevailing on the duke of *Holſtein*, to uſe his influence with the inhabitants and governor, to put it into his hands. *Charles* knew that the garriſon was ſtrong, and the governor brave and honeſt; beſieging it therefore with part of his army would be in vain. The duke of *Holſtein* ſent a deputation to the governor and inhabitants, and among them was the governor's father. They uſed all poſſible arguments; but found the inhabitants, to a man, remained firm in their attachment to *Denmark*. The governor's anſwer in particular was, that he would maintain his truſt, while one ſtone of the town ſtood upon another; then fixing his eyes upon his father, who was ſpeaker of the deputation, he ſaid, "I can ſcarcely perſuade myſelf, that you, my dear father, are capable of making me propoſals, which I ſhould not have patience to hear from any other. Permit me to tell you, that were you not my parent, I ſhould puniſh, as it deſerves, the inſolence of making an attempt upon my honour." *The brave conduct of the governor of* Rendſburg. The father, ſtruck with his ſon's generoſity, endeavoured to cover his ſhame by the following anſwer: "My ſon, hitherto I ſpoke as the faithful ſubject of the duke my maſter; but as your father, I declare, that were you weak enough to ſurrender the truſt committed to you at my inſtance, I ſhould be the firſt to treat you as a rebel, to renounce and declare you an alien of my blood."

FOILED as *Guſtavus* was in this attempt, he landed his forces on the 17th of *Auguſt* at *Korſoor*. Immediately he ſent Count *Toot* with a detachment to block up the avenues to *Copenhagen*, and prevent the garriſon's receiving ſuccours from the other parts of the iſland. *Toot* executed his commiſſion with ſucceſs, and the king followed him cloſely, ordering his fleet to block up the city by ſea. Copenhagen *beſieged.*

FREDERIC no ſooner found himſelf inveſted by ſea and land, than he ſent an ambaſſy to the king of *Sweden*, complaining in the bittereſt terms of ſo notorious an infraction

of

of a recent treaty, almoſt entirely executed on his part, and offering to give any ſatisfaction and ſecurity with reſpect to the articles not yet performed; but the ambaſſy was very indifferently received. It is even aſſerted, that *Charles* would have violated the right of nations, had not *Terlon*, the *French* envoy on board his fleet, reſtrained his impetuoſity. His intention was probably no more than to have arreſted them, in revenge for the affront *Frederic* had put on the *Swediſh* ambaſſador, in ordering him to be confined, and his papers ſeized; more indeed is inſinuated. *Terlon* even prevailed ſo far, that he gave them audience, but nothing reſulted from this conference beſides bitter recriminations.

The Daniſh nobility reſolve to ſtand by the king; they promiſe great matters to the burghers.

WRANGEL had now blocked up the harbour of *Copenhagen*, and taken ſome ſhips. On board of one of theſe was the duke of *Lunenburgh*, who was making a viſit to his ſiſter the queen of *Denmark*, believing that the two crowns were in perfect peace. He was civilly treated by *Guſtavus*, and ſent back, eſcorted by a man of war, to *Germany*. On the 10th of *September* the *Swediſh* cavalry and infantry advanced, and took poſt on the riſing-grounds round *Copenhagen*, while the king ſtill continued at *Ringſtadt*.

By this time *Frederic*'s ambaſſy was returned. He ordered them to report the ſucceſs of their commiſſion in full council, and then reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. He could muſter no more than 1200 regulars, and a great number of nobility, who ſeeing themſelves reduced to the ſame neceſſity as the reſt of the kingdom, determined, as their laſt reſource, to ſtand and fall by their king. They now careſſed thoſe they had ſo lately deſpiſed and oppreſſed; they promiſed the burghers of *Copenhagen* a voice in all public deliberations, and liberty to buy lands and lordſhips, to enjoy them with the ſame privileges as the gentlemen, and to pay no taxes unleſs what the nobility ſhared in their proportion of the burthen. Several other immunities were promiſed, with a view to encourage them; and it effectually drew forth the courage and zeal of thoſe brave burghers, who dreaded nothing ſo much as the change of their ſovereign, and being loaded with the taxes they ſaw impoſed on the inhabitants of *Schonen*, and the provinces ſurrendered to *Sweden*. Animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, who rejected the opinion of his council, that he ought to retire to *Holland*, they determined rather to die in the breach than fly or ſurrender. It is even ſaid, that the king requeſted of *Guſtavus*, to be made acquainted when he intended to give the aſſault, that he might find him in perſon in the breach. The queen, whoſe noble ſoul ſympathiſed with the generous

rous reſolutions of her king and huſband, determined to die with him, rather than fall into the hands of a prince, who had ſo perfidiouſly broke the moſt ſolemn treaties (A).

GUSTAVUS believed the reduction of *Copenhagen* an eaſy matter, and relied ſo firmly on the conqueſt of *Denmark*, that he already diſpoſed of the government of the kingdom to *Wrangel*, after razing the capital, in order to bridle the ambition of that general. In imagination, he had anticipated a thouſand alterations in the government, and propoſed removing the capital of his dominions to *Schonen*, where he intended to fix the royal reſidence. But the conqueſt of *Denmark* formed but a ſmall part of his vaſt project. He propoſed renewing the empire of *Alaric*; all the northern, and many of the ſouthern and weſtern kingdoms, were ſwallowed up in idea, in this comprehenſive ſyſtem.

Vigilance of Frederic.

WHILE *Guſtavus* was rioting in imagination with theſe viſionary proſpects, *Frederic* was reaping ſolid advantages from his delay. It was indeed a great overſight in the *Swediſh* monarch, not to puſh the attack while the dread of his arms had ſpread conſternation among the beſieged. They had now reaſoned themſelves into a cool, determined reſolution to conquer or die, and beheld with compoſure thoſe enemies whom but lately they thought of with horror. His majeſty had harangued the burghers, and made ſuch an impreſſion on their minds, that all, to a man, deſired to be led on, and declared they would live and die with their ſovereign; a declaration ſufficiently fulfilled by their loyal and generous conduct.

ALL the time that *Guſtavus* lay inactive, *Frederic* made ſeveral diſpoſitions that contributed to the vigorous defence of the city. Among others, he ordered the ſuburbs to be burnt; and the back of the citadel, and towards the harbour, to be fortified by a kind of broad veſſels called *praems*. He ordered the ramparts to be ſtrengthened with palliſadoes and terraces; and ſaw all his directions executed. He divided the defence of the city between the ſoldiers and the burghers, allotting to each their reſpective provinces; and he mounted all the ramparts with cannon.

(A) M. *Terlon* relates, that *Frederic* challenged the *Swediſh* monarch to ſingle combat; to which *Guſtavus* made no other reply, than that he always fought at the head of his troops, where, if *Frederic* was fond of fighting, he would find him in the thickeſt of the fire, and wherever glory was to be won. But the celebrated *Puffendorf*, who was preſent at the ſiege, queſtions the truth of this anecdote. *Des Roches Hiſt. tom.* vi. *p.* 109.

GUSTAVUS,

Trenches opened before Copenhagen.

GUSTAVUS, on his approach, was aſtoniſhed to find ſuch alterations in the appearance of the place. When the trenches were opened, and the *Swedes* began to erect three grand batteries, *Frederic* diſturbed the workmen, by a continual fire from a *praeme* of forty pieces of heavy cannon. He had erected other *praemes* in the iſle of *Amack*, which played inceſſantly on the enemy's trenches, and made it extremely dangerous to enter them. Among many others, the count *de la Gardie* was ſlain by a bullet from this battery.

Vigorous ſallies made by the beſieged.

On the 13th of *Auguſt* the beſieged made their firſt ſally, drove the *Swedes* from their poſts, and killed great numbers. For ſeveral enſuing days both ſides made a variety of briſk attacks and ſallies. The beſiegers attacked and took two *Daniſh* frigates which had entered the harbour; they played ſo vigorouſly the cannon on their ramparts, that they diſmounted ſeveral of the enemy's batteries; a number of other advantages were gained; but the circumſtance which retarded the ſiege, and probably ſaved *Copenhagen*, was unexpected, and truly providential. This was the reſolution taken in the *Swediſh* camp, to lay ſiege to the ſtrong fortreſs of *Cronenburgh* at the ſame time, to prevent the retreat of the army from being cut off, or rather to gain poſſeſſion of all the treaſure of *Denmark*, which it was ſuppoſed was lodged in that citadel, as a place of the greateſt ſecurity. It is even ſuppoſed that the *Swediſh* miniſtry threw this obſtacle in the way, leſt, if *Guſtavus* became maſter of *Copenhagen*, he would remove the court thither, and render *Sweden* little more than a province, as it had been during the union of *Calmar*.

Cronenburgh taken by the Swedes.

Be this as it will, *Wrangel* was ſent with a part of the fleet and army to beſiege *Cronenburgh*, and the ſiege of *Copenhagen* immediately languiſhed. It was three weeks before he made himſelf maſter of that fortreſs, during which time *Guſtavus* (B) was too weak to venture upon giving the

(B) *Wrangel* puſhed the attack on *Cronenburgh* with the utmoſt vigour. He threw a multitude of bombs into the fortreſs, that put the garriſon into the utmoſt confuſion. He uſed a variety of ſtratagems to make them ſurrender. Among others, he ordered a general diſcharge of the cannon and muſketry, as if he had juſt received the news that *Copenhagen* had ſurrendered. Next, he publiſhed by a trumpet, that *Denmark* had ſubmitted to *Guſtavus*. The garriſon began to mutiny, and all the endeavours of the brave governor and officers could not keep them from ſurrendering on the 26th of *September*.

aſſault

aſſault to the capital. He had now but 9000 men, and doubted not but the beſieged, able to bear arms, exceeded that number. As ſoon, however, as he was joined by the troops from *Cronenburgh*, he ordered a briſk attack to be made, towards the weſt gate, between the pond of St. *George* and the ſea, which covered the beſiegers on the right and left; but the *Danes* behaved with ſuch intrepidity that the attempt was baffled, and great ſlaughter made among the *Swedes*. Famine, however, began to weaken the beſieged; but this likewiſe was remedied by *Frederic*'s vigilance, who found means to get a convoy ſafe into the harbour, while a part of the *Swediſh* fleet was cruiſing for the *Dutch* ſquadron.

The king of Sweden narrowly eſcapes being made priſoner.

BUT the moſt vigorous action of the whole happened in the iſle of *Amack*, both kings commanding in perſon. The *Swedes* had made a ſudden deſcent on it, plundered, and got poſſeſſion of the iſland, and *Frederic* reſolved to drive them out. *Guſtavus* owed his ſucceſs, in a great meaſure, to a *Daniſh* officer, called *Wanderver*, whom he obliged to be his guide in his attack on *Amack*. This officer, having afterwards made his eſcape in the night, arrived in *Copenhagen*, gave the king an exact account of the *Swediſh* forces in *Amack*, their diſpoſition, intentions, and of the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet at *Elſenore*, where they only waited for a favourable wind to proceed to *Copenhagen*, and relieve the city. Laſtly, he ſaid that *Guſtavus* intended quitting the iſland, but would firſt ſet the whole on fire. Finally, he adviſed his majeſty to attack the *Swedes* in their poſts on the iſland, offered to be his conductor, and gave ſtrong aſſurances of the poſſibility of taking the king and that part of the *Swediſh* army priſoners.

FREDERIC immediately called a council, to deliberate whether it was adviſable to follow *Wanderver*'s propoſal, and if they might ſufficiently confide in his intelligence. At length the ſally was reſolved on, and *Frederic* determined to command it in perſon. He immediately drew out his horſe and foot, and having given the proper directions, marched directly towards the enemy. Supported by general *Gueldenlow* and major-general *Alfeldt*, he attacked the diviſion commanded by *Guſtavus*, and was received with equal vigour and intrepidity. A furious fire was made by both ſides, and prodigious ſlaughter; but the *Danes*, animated by the preſence and example of their monarch, and knowing that honour, property, and life, were all at ſtake, deſpiſed death, puſhed on with ſuch firmneſs as diſconcerted the *Swedes*, broke their lines, put them in confuſion,

ſion, and forced *Guſtavus*, in ſpite of all his endeavours, to throw himſelf into his boats, and regain the fleet.

THIS retreat was not effected without great loſs and confuſion. His majeſty muſt have certainly been taken priſoner, had not the brave officer who attended his perſon, and commanded the guard, thrown himſelf and his men in the midſt of the *Danes*, fought till all his people were killed, and then ſurrendered as ſoon as he found the king had eſcaped.

THE advantage which reſulted from this ſally was very conſiderable, and the whole glory of it was due to the king, who had executed *Wanderver*'s plan with ſo much intrepidity and conduct. It however afforded a remarkable inſtance of the little confidence which generals ought to repoſe in priſoners and deſerters; for *Wanderver* had only ſerved the king of *Sweden* with a view to ſeduce him into ſome capital blunder, which might prove uſeful to his country.

The Dutch fleet enter the Sound, *to relieve* Copenhagen.

NEXT day major *Bonkwall* arrived with the joyful news, that the *Dutch* fleet were entering the *Sound* in their way to *Copenhagen*. The ſtates had, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the *Swediſh* reſident, given orders to admiral *Waſſenaer Opdam*, not only to protect the *Dutch* trade in the *Baltic*, but to lead the forces ſtipulated by the treaty with the king of *Denmark*, to fight the *Swediſh* fleet if they offered to oppoſe him, and to aſſiſt *Denmark* by every method he could contrive. This it was that brought on the famous battle between the two fleets in the *Sound*, in which both diſplayed great ſkill, intrepidity, and undaunted reſolution, though it terminated to the diſadvantage of the *Swedes*. Victory indeed is to this day diſputed; but certain it is, that the *Swediſh* fleet firſt drew off under the cannon of *Lanſkroon*; that *Opdam* landed a ſtrong reinforcement of men, ammunition, and proviſion, to which *Copenhagen* owed its ſafety, and formed a plan for burning the *Swediſh* ſquadron, that could not be poſſible, had he not been victorious in the former engagement. But we ſhall defer particulars, until we can give a minute detail in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, to which it more properly belongs, on account of the ſhare *Guſtavus* had in warding the laſt blow meditated by the *Dutch* admiral (C).

A battle between the Swediſh *and* Dutch *fleets.*

(C) On his return to *Holland* *Opdam* was accuſed of negligence, in not purſuing his advantage, and burning the *Swediſh* ſquadron; yet it is probable, that neither he nor the *Dutch* envoy thought it adviſable to carry matters ſo far, and to ruin the *Swediſh* marine; as they ſtill propoſed terminating matters in the way of negotiation.

BEFORE

BEFORE the battle *Guſtavus* had greatly relaxed in the operations of the ſiege, having withdrawn his cannon from ſeveral batteries and advanced poſts. Still, however, he kept the beſieged cloſely blocked up by land. But after the battle he fortified his camp at *Croſoon*, retired to a greater diſtance, drew lines to prevent ſurpriſes from the city, took poſſeſſion of the eminences round *Copenhagen*, and converted the ſiege into a blockade, which continued until a peace was ſigned. In effect, he now thought leſs of taking *Copenhagen*, than of fruſtrating the attempts of the allies of *Denmark*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* had already entered *Holſtein*, and was preparing to paſs over to *Zeland*. Firſt, he went to *Aſen*, where he laid ſiege to *Sanderburgh*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the iſland, and took it. Here he likewiſe made priſoners the *Swediſh* general *Klauſt*, and a corps of ſix hundred horſe and ſome infantry. He was, however, prevented from purſuing his ſucceſs by the ſeverity of the weather. *Frederic's allies march to his relief.*

AT *Borkolm*, the inhabitants roſe in arms, attacked, and cut in pieces the *Swediſh* garriſon. *Frederic* was ſo pleaſed with their loyalty that he conferred ſome new privileges on the people, and obſtinately refuſed to cede this iſland when a peace was negotiating. The militia of *Norway*, under general *Wirhwien*, had made themſelves maſters of *Dronheim* and all that bailliage, after a ſiege of eleven weeks. Several other advantages were gained by *Denmark*; but yet the capital was not delivered from the attacks of *Guſtavus*. His *Swediſh* majeſty perceiving himſelf rid of a powerful enemy, by a treaty concluded with the czar of *Muſcovy* in the beginning of the year 1659, and the allies of *Denmark* uniting againſt him, determined upon making one general effort to gain *Copenhagen*, before the froſt ſhould enable the elector of *Brandenburgh* to paſs over on the ice. Before he entered upon this deſign of ſtorming the city, he made ſeveral feints, and gave a variety of falſe alarms, in order to put *Frederic* off his guard, and weary out the garriſon with continual watching. He likewiſe engaged *Meadow*, *Cromwell's* envoy, to go to *Copenhagen*, and by exaggerating the ſtrength of the *Swediſh* army, and the great preparations making to ſtorm the city, to intimidate *Frederic*: but *Ulfeld*, who ſtrove to recover the favour of his king, ſent intelligence of all that was done in the *Swediſh* camp, and of the intention of *Meadows*. Certain propoſals of peace were made by the *Engliſh* envoy, and rejected, as diſhonourable, by *Frederic*, who demanded fiercely of *Meadows*, "What ſort of prince "that muſt be, who could tranſmit to poſterity his own "diſ-

Several advantages gained over Sweden.

A. D. 1659.

The king of Sweden *reſolves upon ſtorming* Copenhagen.

" diſhonour under his hand?" " The devil himſelf, " added he, ſhall never force me to that."

In effect, *Frederic* reſolved to ſtand the aſſault, and *Guſtavus* prepared every thing for ſtorming the city on the 6th of *January*. Between ſix and ſeven in the evening, the *Swedes* made a feint for a general attack; but the beſieged, appriſed of their intention by a ſignal from ſome ſecret friends, kept to their guard without being much alarmed. For that month *Guſtavus* made ſeveral other manœuvres of the ſame nature; but the inhabitants of *Copenhagen* having every thing in readineſs to ſtand a general aſſault, paid but little regard to all theſe menaces.

Diſpoſition of the aſſaults.

At laſt the king finding much time loſt, without making any progreſs in the ſiege, he reſolved upon ſtorming the city on the 10th of *February*. He ordered the ſoldiers to put ſhirts over their cloaths, which he imagined would conceal their march, as there was ſnow on the ground, by rendering them of the ſame colour, or rather appearance. By this ſtratagem, they came ſo near the beſieged, as to touch them with their arms before they were perceived, and then began three attacks, all of them equally unſucceſsful and intrepid. *Steinboek*, general of the artillery, commanded the attack on the ſide of the citadel; and the colonels *Dalwig* and *Ferfer*, having forced the firſt entrenchment, cut down the palliſadoes, leaped into the ditch, and applied their ladders to the walls. Several of the ſoldiers mounted, notwithſtanding a furious fire was made from the beſieged; but almoſt all the officers being ſlain or wounded, the men loſt courage, and all the endeavours of *Steinbock* could not prevail on them to continue the attack.

The ſecond attack was conducted with no leſs vigour, at *Chriſtian's haven*, near the iſle of *Amack*. Here the beſieged had broke the ice, and placed barges filled with cannon and mortars, from which they played as from batteries. The *Swedes* made themſelves maſters of ſome of theſe, and puſhed the attack ſo briſkly, that it was apprehended they would ſucceed on this ſide; when, happily for the garriſon, colonel *Smidt* was ſlain, and immediately the ardour of the beſiegers abated.

The Swedes repulſed.

BANNIER commanded the third attack; his valour was conſpicuous, and more diſtinguiſhed than that of any other officer; yet ſuch was the obſtinate intrepidity of the beſieged, that he was taken priſoner, and his corps totally defeated. Day now began to appear, all the attacks failed, and there was no proſpect of forcing the city; *Guſtavus* therefore returned to his camp, extremely chagrined with his

his diſappointment. His loſs was great and irretrievable, as ſome of his beſt officers were killed and taken priſoners.

As to king *Frederic*, he was the whole night on horſeback, animating his troops by his preſence and example, diſtributing his orders, and performing every duty of a great king, and vigilant, able commander. Danger ſeemed to have given nerves to his body, and additional vigour to his mind. He was preſent every where, and gave ſuch proofs of undaunted proweſs, as redoubled the courage and loyalty of his ſubjects, and equally attracted their love and admiration. *Frederic's intrepid and vigilant conduct.*

THIS repulſe, however mortifying, did not oblige *Guſtavus* to relinquiſh his deſign of conquering *Denmark*. He ſent count *Waldec* to reduce the iſland *Langland*, where that general loſt an arm, and was foiled in the attempt. It was however ſubdued ſoon after by *Wrangel* and count *Horn*. At *Laaland* the *Swedes* met with the ſame ſucceſs [b].

IN the mean time a fleet, under lord *Montague*, arrived in the *Sound*, to watch the motions of the *Dutch* ſquadron, which he did ſo cloſely, that he prevented *Opdam* from giving any aſſiſtance to *Frederic* or his allies. The elector of *Brandenburgh* beſieged *Frederics-Odde*, reduced the garriſon to great ſtraits, and at laſt got poſſeſſion of the fortreſs, from whence he propoſed paſſing into *Fionia*, had he not been prevented by contrary winds. This deſign was afterwards reſumed, and the iſland attacked in three different places at the ſame time; but repulſed by the vigorous meaſures taken by *Pen*, the *Engliſh* commodore, who burnt all the boats belonging to the allies, and made 400 imperialiſts and 600 *Brandenburghers* priſoners. *An* Engliſh *fleet arrives in the* Baltic.

COPENHAGEN was ſtill blocked up, but not ſo cloſely as greatly to incommode the inhabitants. A treaty was ſtruck up between *England* and *France*, by which they mutually engaged in labouring to eſtabliſh the peace of the *North*. *Holland* was ſolicited to accede to this treaty; and it was at length agreed among the three powers, that they ſhould declare againſt either of the parties who ſhould reject equitable terms. It was no eaſy matter, however, to fix the ſtandard of juſtice where prejudices reigned ſtrongly, and intereſt on one ſide or other took deep root. A cautionary clauſe was therefore inſerted, ſpecifying, that ſhould the mediators chance to differ among themſelves, all acts performed in favour of either of their allies ſhould be France *and* England *offer their mediation.*

[b] Vid. Mem. du Cheval. de Terlon, p. 114, et ſeq.

A. D. 1659. deemed acts of hoſtility to each other. *France* and *England* annulled the third article of the treaty of *Roſchild*, whereby the free navigation of the *Baltic* was refuſed to foreign powers, and particularly foreign men of war prohibited from paſſing the *Sound*.

In conſequence of the cautionary clauſe in the treaty between *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, lord *Montague* permitted admiral *Opdam* to enter the harbour of *Copenhagen*, whereby the ſiege was raiſed, and that capital freed from all danger; but he denied *Ruyter*, the other *Dutch* admiral, the liberty of joining him. This, however, he did ſoon after, and wanted to land 4000 men on account of a dangerous diſtemper and ſcarcity of proviſion that reigned in the fleet; but *Frederic* would not permit them to land. Times were now changed, and his capital no longer ſtood in need of that aſſiſtance which they afforded him out of neceſſity, and ſolely from a regard to their own intereſt. In a word, he greatly reſented the artful conduct of the ſtates general, and during the negotiation broke out into ſevere invectives againſt *Holland*. Whether it was that the king's bold freedom made ſome impreſſion on the minds of the *Hollanders*, or that they found their own intereſt ſtrongly connected with his, their conduct ſeemed to take a different turn; and, inſtead of reſenting his acrimony, they more ſtrongly eſpouſed his cauſe.

Negotiations for a peace.

The mediators ſeemed now to incline to the ſide of *Frederic*, by inſiſting upon terms for his intereſt, of which the victorious monarch of *Sweden* loudly complained. He exclaimed in particular againſt *England*, calling the republic ingrateful to him, and blind to their own intereſt, for refuſing to ſhare with him in the ſpoils of ruined *Denmark*. At laſt the *Engliſh* fleet, on which *Guſtavus* founded his chief hopes, departed, allowing the *Dutch* the free liberty of acting in favour of *Denmark*. This my lord *Montague* did, the more to oblige the parties to peace; for both relying on the aſſiſtance of their allies, were the more difficult with reſpect to terms.

OPDAM commanded in chief, and *Ruyter* a ſeparate ſquadron under him. The latter, reſolving to profit by the departure of the *Engliſh* admiral, ſought means to attack the *Swediſh* fleet at *Landſkroon*. He made ſeveral attempts to burn four ſhips moored in the harbour, but failed in each. He then endeavoured to bombard *Elſinore* and *Helſingburgh*, but was prevented by contrary winds, on which he returned to *Copenhagen*, ſaying, that the elements conſpired to compenſate to *Guſtavus* the loſs of his *Engliſh* allies. By order of the Dutch ambaſſadors, he undertook ſeveral other enterpriſes,

terpriſes, all of which proved abortive, although they were contrived with prudence, and executed with the neceſſary caution and courage. At laſt a deſcent on *Fionia* was determined, which, if ſucceſsful, would greatly incommode *Guſtavus*, and co-operate greatly in terminating the negotiation of peace, now grown tedious. *Ruyter* ſet ſail with the *Dutch* forces on board, after concerting meaſures for joining the imperialiſts and *Danes*. All arrived off the iſland on the 8th of *November*, effected a landing, and puſhed their operations with ſuch vigour, that the towns of *Odenſee* and *Cartemonde* ſurrendered, and the whole iſland was in a fair way of being reduced, before *Guſtavus*, at that time in the iſle of *Falſtre*, was appriſed of the motions of the fleet. The king of *Sweden* now determined to redeem by celerity and courage, what he had loſt by the inactivity of his generals. He ſent immediate orders to the prince of *Saltzbach* to fight the enemy, and diſpatched general *Steenboek* to reinforce him. *Steenboek* arrived juſt in time to witneſs, and bear a part in the defeat and ruin of the *Swedes*. Both armies engaged, and the imperialiſts, who led the attack in the center, were repulſed with prodigious loſs. The *Daniſh* cavalry on the right were not more ſucceſsful; victory ſeemed ready to declare every where for the *Swedes*, when general *Schack* gave orders to the *Hollanders* to advance, which they did with ſo much firmneſs and intrepidity, that firſt the right wing of the *Swedes* was put in confuſion and driven off the field; and next the left wing, which had entrenched itſelf in certain narrow defiles, was attacked. Supported by the *Daniſh* cavalry, which had rallied and returned to the charge, the *Dutch* carried all before them, retook the artillery and baggage that had fallen into the enemies hands, drove the *Swedes* into *Newburgh*, and entirely defeated them with prodigious ſlaughter. As for the two *Swediſh* generals, they made their eſcape through woods almoſt impervious, reached the ſhore of the other ſide of the iſland, and by great rewards engaged a fiſherman to carry them to *Zeland*, whither they went with the diſmal tidings of their misfortune.

The Swedes defeated, and forced to evacuate Fionia.

Upon this the city of *Newburgh* was beſieged and taken, after a vigorous reſiſtance. It will be but juſtice to the *Dutch* to acknowledge, that the victory was chiefly obtained by the conduct of *Ruyter*, and the intrepidity of general *Schack*, who commanded the forces of *Holland*; yet their moderation was ſo great, and military diſcipline ſo exactly obſerved, that while the imperialiſts and *Poles*, and even the *Danes*, were pillaging and deſtroying the town of

Newburgh, no *Dutchman* ever ſtirred from his poſt, except to reſtrain the barbarous avarice of the other allies.

The loſs on the ſide of the Swedes.

IN *Newburgh* were found 100 pieces of cannon, together with a great quantity of ammunition. Eleven regiments of cavalry, the beſt troops of *Sweden*, were made priſoners, and incorporated in the confederate army; and of 7000 *Swedes*, who began the engagement, there eſcaped only the two generals, *Saltzbach* and *Steenboek*, with a ſlender retinue of domeſtics; all the reſt being taken or killed in the field, in the purſuit, or in *Newburgh*. The priſoners amounted to 4000; and on the ſide of the allies the loſs was computed at about 500 ſlain, among which were ſeveral officers of diſtinction. After all, this victory was rather glorious to the confederate arms than important to *Denmark*; the policy of *Holland* depriving *Frederic* of all the advantages which naturally reſulted from it. It was not the intereſt of that republic to oppreſs *Sweden*, or deſtroy the ballance of power between the northern crowns. For this reaſon *Ruyter* had orders not to purſue his conqueſts into *Zeland*, nor turn the fortune of war too much in favour of *Denmark*. *Frederic* was preſſing with him to advance towards *Copenhagen*, and drive the *Swedes* out of the iſland; but he poſitively declared, that the approaching winter rendered it neceſſary to withdraw the fleet out of the northern ſeas, to prevent its being locked up by the froſt, and expoſed to the attempts of the enemy, who would not fail to attack him upon the ice.

The views of Holland.

ALL this while the negotiation went on; and now the *Daniſh* commiſſioners made the reſtitution of *Drontheim* a neceſſary condition of peace. This was what *Guſtavus* had no mind to grant, as it would in a manner declare him the aggreſſor, and conſequently ſubject him to other oppreſſive conditions. He therefore laboured for the means of continuing the war, and retrieving the honour of his arms; for which purpoſe he aſſembled the ſtates of *Sweden*. Hence it was that the *Dutch* once more found it neceſſary to alter their politicks, and declare openly in favour of *Denmark*. *Ruyter*, of conſequence, ſailed to *Copenhagen*, and to his vigilance and excellent conduct the *Danes* owed the ſafety of that capital, on a third attack of the *Swedes*, who were repulſed with loſs, by the ſtrong out-guards, admirably poſted by *Ruyter*. In a word, every thing tended to the renewal of the war, when, happily for *Denmark*, the magnanimous *Charles Guſtavus* died.

A. D. 1660.

Guſtavus dies.

THE mediators thought to profit by this event. They urged king *Frederic* openly to declare his pacific intentions, and

and were aſtoniſhed to hear that generous prince loud in the praiſes of his greateſt enemy, and even lamenting the death of *Guſtavus* with tears in his eyes. He ſeemed indeed averſe to taking the advantage which policy required, of the loſs of that monarch; and at laſt told the mediators, that he would let *Sweden* make the firſt declaration of her deſigns. The *Swediſh* commiſſaries were indeed ſo forward in terminating a war, which muſt be attended with great inconveniencies during a new reign, that peace would ſoon have been concluded, had not the *French* and *Engliſh* ambaſſadors too ſtrenuouſly eſpouſed the intereſt of the young king of *Sweden*. It would be unneceſſarily tedious to recite the progreſs of this negotiation, in which each of the powers endeavoured to gain ſome particular advantage, at the expence of the others. Sufficient it is, that, after being retarded by a variety of circumſtances, a peace was at length concluded; the ambaſſadors of the different nations waited on the king and queen, to felicitate them on this joyful event, which was proclaimed by a general diſcharge of the ſmall arms and artillery in the *Swediſh* camp, and of the cannon on the ramparts of *Copenhagen*. *Peace concluded.*

By this peace the ſtrong fortreſs of *Cronenburgh*, all the *Daniſh* iſlands in the *Baltic*, and the bailliage of *Drontheim*, were reſtored to *Frederic*; while the iſland of *Rugen*, the provinces of *Bleking*, *Halland*, and *Schonen*, were adjudged to *Sweden*. Several other particulars, of leſs conſideration, were inſerted in this treaty.

Notwithstanding the treaty of peace was now ſigned and ratified, by the parties concerned, its effects were almoſt deſtroyed by the pretenſions of the duke of *Holſtein*, who ſent commiſſaries to *Copenhagen*, with the following propoſitions, in conſequence of the treaty of *Roſchild*. 1. That the king ſhould cede his claim to the duke's dominions, as fiefs of his crown; and no more look upon his highneſs as a vaſſal of *Denmark*. 2. That his majeſty ſhould cede the bailliage of *Swabſtide*, and other territories ſpecified. 3. That he ſhould ſurrender the fortreſs of *Rendburgh* to his highneſs. 4. That he ſhould aboliſh the adminiſtration of the regency, in the duchies of *Holſtein* and *Sleſwick*. 5. That his majeſty ſhould reimburſe the duke in the expences of the war, and give ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of the above articles. Theſe, with a number of other propoſitions, were rejected, as inſolent and exorbitant, by the court of *Denmark*; but the king of *Sweden*, who was deſirous of binding the duke in his intereſt, refuſed to withdraw his forces, before his highneſs received full ſatiſ- *The demands of the duke of* Holſtein. A. D. 1650.

faction. Orders were even ſent to the *Swediſh* generals to recommence hoſtilities, in caſe *Frederic* perſiſted in his refuſal. Thus the *Danes* found themſelves conſtrained to yield to the duke's remonſtrances, or engage a freſh in a war, that had wholly drained the treaſury, and exhauſted the kingdom. The ſovereignty, therefore, which the duke demanded, was granted; but without prejudice to the ancient union, between the crown of *Denmark* and the duchies, to the rights of the crown over the bailliage of *Swabſtide*, to the revenues of the chapter of *Sleſwic*, or to ſeveral other rights and claims of leſs conſideration (A).

Frederic applies himſelf to domeſtic concerns.

IMMEDIATELY after this peace it was that king *Frederic* applied himſelf diligently to repair the diſorders introduced into his dominions by the late ruinous war, and to form the plan which brought about that great revolution in the conſtitution of the *Daniſh* government, which from a kind of ariſtocracy, reduced it to the moſt abſolute monarchy in *Europe*. There are various conjectures with reſpect to the ſhare his majeſty bore in this great event. Some writers wholly aſcribe it to the inſolence of the nobility, and the united reſentment of the people, ariſing from unavoidable circumſtances. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that his majeſty fomented their diviſions by the moſt artful policy, in order to eſtabliſh the royal prerogative on the ruins of public liberty. We have already given a diſtinct view of this revolution from the beſt authority; it is ſufficient, therefore, that we obſerve the æra in which it happened, and that if ever prince merited ſo much confidence from his ſubjects, *Frederic* certainly had a claim to all the rights now put into his hands, as his courage, policy, and perſeverance, had certainly reſcued *Denmark* from the jaws of perdition, at a time when it was in the moſt imminent danger of becoming a province to *Sweden*, and a ſacrifice to the contending intereſts of thoſe powers, who, under the names of allies and mediators, ſtudied nothing beſides their own emolument, at the expence both of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

The crown rendered hereditary.

1661. WE have ſeen that the fortreſs of *Cronenburgh*, and the iſlands of the *Baltic*, were reſtored by the late treaty; but it was with difficulty the *Swedes* were perſuaded to evacuate

(A) It may be proper to obſerve, that *Sweden*, on the concluſion of the peace, conſented to cede the 400,000 crowns, which the king of *Denmark* had engaged to pay for the *Swediſh* ſettlements on the coaſt of *Guinea*. The reader will find a diſtinct account of this tranſaction in vol. xvii. of our hiſtory.

them.

them. However, the ſpirited remonſtrances of *Terlon*, the *French* ambaſſador, if we may credit himſelf, had the effect, and obtained the full execution of the treaty on both ſides. Now there only remained to trouble *Denmark*, a coldneſs between the court and the duke of *Holſtein*, occaſioned by a late treaty of alliance he concluded with *Sweden*. *Frederic* beheld with jealouſy ſo ſtrict an union between the courts of *Stockholm* and *Holſtein*: he repeated the neceſſity he was under of ceding the undoubted rights of his crown to that prince; but he was forced to ſtifle his indignation, on account of the unſettled ſtate of his dominions, ariſing from the late revolution and war. On the contrary, the duke, encouraged by his alliance, and by the weak condition of *Denmark*, propoſed by the conjuncture, to eſtabliſh and advance his own intereſt and independency. As he found great difficulty in maintaining the body of ſtanding forces wanted to complete his deſigns, he propoſed to the king of *Denmark*, to divide the revenues of the duchies, which uſually had been lodged in a common treaſury. He deſired, that each might be allowed to take money upon his own receipt; although the intention of the common-treaſury was, to prevent either party's levying troops, without the conſent and approbation of the other. *Frederic* penetrated the duke's intention, but not being in a condition to break with *Sweden*, he yielded at length to the importunity of that prince; but on condition, that the money ſhould not be applied to the prejudice of *Denmark*, and that all taxes levied on the duchies, ſhould continue to be brought, as uſual, into the common treaſury; a circumſtance which the politic duke found means to turn to his own advantage.

ENGLAND and *Holland* being on the eve of a rupture, the *Dutch* ſent ambaſſadors to *Copenhagen*, to engage *Frederic*'s intereſt, where they doubted not of ſucceſs; as the ſervices they had done that prince were ſo freſh in his mind, and the partiality which *England* had ſhewn to *Sweden* ſo evident and recent. But the king found it convenient to liſten to the propoſals of his *Britannic* majeſty, and ſign the triple alliance between the courts of *London*, *Stockholm*, and *Copenhagen*. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, that neither king ſhould harbour ſuch perſons as were declared rebels in their own country; by which article, his *Britannic* majeſty had a view to the murderers of his father, and his *Daniſh* majeſty to the famous count *Ulfeld* (A). A. D. 1663. *Triple alliance between* England, Denmark, *and* Sweden.

BESIDES

(A) We have ſeen this nobleman, after being forced to fly his own country, riſe to the higheſt pitch of power in *Sweden*, excite

Diſputes between the king and the Dutch *about their ſettlements in* Guinea.

BESIDES this treaty with *England*, there were other more powerful obſtacles to the alliance which the ſtates-general of the *United Provinces* ſought with *Denmark*. Theſe were, the behaviour of the *Dutch* factors in *Guinea*, and that deſpotiſm in trade this republic every where aſſumed. The particulars of this quarrel *Boſman* relates minutely, but partially, in his account of the coaſt of *Guinea*; and the reader will find it fully explained in our 17th volume. We ſhall

A. D. 1666.

cite *Charles Guſtavus* to the conqueſt of *Denmark*, and afterwards incur his diſpleaſure by the ſecret correſpondence he carried on at *Copenhagen*, when that city was beſieged. He was afterwards arreſted by the court of *Sweden*, but releaſed at the interceſſion of *Terlon*, the *French* ambaſſador; ſoon after which he threw himſelf into the power of his natural king, whom he had ſo grievouſly offended, by promoting the late war, without the precaution of obtaining his pardon. At *Copenhagen* he was arreſted and ſent priſoner to *Bornholm*; but afterwards enlarged, and ſuffered, on his parole, to go to the *Spa*, and reſide for his health, in the *Netherlands*. From thence he wrote to count *Swerin*, or as others think from *Amſterdam*, acquainting that miniſter with a ſecret of the utmoſt importance, which he could intruſt to no one beſides the elector of *Brandenburg* himſelf. The elector immediately ſent general *Spon* to *Ulfeld*. They met at *Bruges*, and the count informed him, that the *Daniſh* nobility, incenſed againſt *Frederic*, had determined to elect another king, and that the clergy joined in the conſpiracy. That himſelf had quitted *Denmark* to avoid their importunity, and to labour with more ſecurity abroad in effecting this revolution; that he would be perfectly well received in *France* and *Sweden*, if he carried ſuch propoſitions to either of theſe courts; but that, as his deſign was to give *Denmark* a *German* king, he firſt applied himſelf to the elector, and could aſſure him of ſucceſs, if he embraced the propoſal.

General *Spon* immediately acquainted his maſter with *Ulfeld*'s ſecret, at which the elector was ſtruck with horror. He deteſted the perfidy of *Ulfeld*, and admired the fertility of his genius in expedients to diſturb the repoſe of his country. He gave immediate notice to *Frederic* of *Ulfeld*'s deſigns. *Ulfeld*'s wife was arreſted in *England*, and ſent priſoner to *Copenhagen*; and himſelf, finding that his projects were blaſted, retreated to *Baſil*, with his three ſons. Here he lived as tutor to three *Dutch* young gentlemen, and was at length diſcovered by a quarrel which one of his ſons had with a captain of *Zurich*. On this, thinking himſelf unſafe, he went up the *Rhine*, in an open boat, and died of a ſevere cold he contracted in his paſſage; thus ridding his king and country of the moſt artful, dangerous and projecting enemy they ever encountered. *Vid. Terlon, ibid.*

here

here only relate, that the *Dutch* ſurmounted all difficulties, and at laſt concluded a quadruple alliance with *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Brunſwic*; from which the *Dutch* reaped this advantage, that their *Eaſt India* fleet found a ſafe retreat in the harbour of *Bergen* in *Norway*, and baffled, by this means, all the attempts of the earl of *Sandwich*, admiral of the *Engliſh* fleets in thoſe ſeas.

Now it was that *Frederic*, diſburthened of all foreign wars by his alliances, and eaſed of domeſtic troubles by the late revolution, in conſequence of which his prerogative was ſo extravagantly extended, and the crown made hereditary in his family, gave his whole attention to the affairs of commerce, promoting induſtry, gaining the affection of his ſubjects, and watching over the education of the hereditary prince his ſon. Attended by the famous count *Parſbergh*, he ſent the young prince upon his travels; firſt to *Holland*, from thence to *England*, afterwards to *France*, returning by the way of *Italy* and *Germany* to his own dominions. In paſſing through *Germany*, the young prince conceived ſuch a paſſion for the princeſs *Charlotta Emelia*, daughter to the landgrave of *Heſſe*, that when he came to *Denmark*, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours with his father for permiſſion to addreſs that lady. Propoſals were accordingly made, accepted, and the nuptials conſummated in the royal palace of *Omalienburgh*, on the 16th of *May* 1667.

HOLLAND had no ſooner concluded peace with *England*, than the city of *Amſterdam* and the ſtates general entered into diſputes with *Frederic*, about certain ſums of money lent him during the late war with *Sweden*, and the duties exacted from *Dutch* ſhipping in the ports of *Norway*. Theſe little contentions tended only to cool the friendſhip between the two powers, without any hazard of their occaſioning a rupture. In much the ſame ſtate were the courts of *Denmark* and *Holſtein*; they wrangled and diſputed about their claims: but ſo far were they from deciding their differences by arms, that they ſilenced them for a time by a family-alliance, the duke having eſpouſed the princeſs *Frederica Emilia*, princeſs of *Denmark*: notwithſtanding which the duke did not break his engagements with *Sweden*, nor renounce any of his claims. On the contrary, they were renewed in the year 1670, and the king was preparing to enforce his arguments with arms, when he was carried off by a chronical diſorder, firſt contracted by the fatigue he underwent during the ſiege of his capital.

For

Frederic's *death and character.*

FOR ſome years he was afflicted with a cough, which at laſt affected his lungs, and was the cauſe of his death, and of real ſorrow to his people. It is ſufficient praiſe of this great monarch, that abſolute power, made hereditary in his family in his reign, ſo far from alienating the affections of the nobility, jealous to an exceſs, for ſo many ages, of their liberty and independency, had rather more ſtrongly engaged their attachment, by deſtroying the ſeeds of diſcontent and faction, which had ever flouriſhed in *Denmark*, and ſprung up as in their native ſoil and climate. Known to merit a crown by his valour, intrepidity, conſtancy and prudence, the people voluntarily preſented their rights to him, and never repined under their greateſt misfortunes at the ſacrifice they had made. When *Denmark* was reduced to the laſt extremity, his ſubjects only recollected, that his virtues and magnanimity had once ſaved the kingdom, and lamented that the power of the nobility ſhould limit talents ſo formed for the public good. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of abſolute government, he reſtrained his paſſion for glory, and applied himſelf to reſtore frugality among his people, to reeſtabliſh his finances, to encourage merit, induſtry, and commerce, to reward thoſe who had ſerved him with fidelity, to redreſs grievances, protect the oppreſſed, relieve the indigent, and approve himſelf the father of his ſubjects, and the friend of mankind (B).

SECT. XVII.

The hiſtory deduced to the acceſſion of Frederic V. *with a ſketch of whoſe reign it concludes.*

Chriſtian V.

CHRISTIAN, the oldeſt ſon of *Frederic* III. had been declared ſucceſſor to his father, at a general diet of the ſtates, the year preceding that great event which made the crown hereditary in the family. He mounted the throne at

(B) *Frederic* III. left a numerous poſterity. His eldeſt ſon *Chriſtian*, born 1646, ſucceeded to his throne. His daughter *Anna Sophia* married the elector of *Saxony* in 1666, and died in 1717. *Frederica Emelia* was married to the duke of *Holſtein Gothorp* in 1667, and died 1704. A third daughter married the elector *Palatine* in 1671, dying in 1706. His ſecond ſon *George* eſpouſed *Anne* queen of *Great Britain*, and died in 1708; and his youngeſt daughter *Ulrica Elenora* was married to *Charles* XI. of *Sweden*, dying in 1693.

a time,

a time, and with circumſtances that foreboded him a reign not more pacific than the laſt. Notwithſtanding all the endeavours of *Frederic*, his ſon found the kingdom filled with troubles and confuſion, the affairs of the ſtate in bad order, the whole ſpecie of the kingdom drained by a tedious war and heavy ſubſidies; and laſtly, a variety of altercations abroad with different ſtates, particularly *Sweden*, *Holland*, and the dukes of *Holſtein*, *Gottorp*, and *Ploen*.

The ſtate of Denmark *on* Chriſtian's *acceſſion.*

FROM the time that *Sweden* had broke the knot of union, which kept her in a kind of dependency on *Denmark*, ſhe had by large ſtrides elevated herſelf above her neighbours, and became formidable, through the courage and vigour of her monarchs, to all *Europe*. She had made conqueſts on all ſides, but the chief were the provinces wreſted from *Denmark* and *Norway*. From the latter ſhe had taken the provinces of *Jempterland* and *Herendahlen*, and from the ~~latter~~ a tract of land which ſecured her frontier, by making the *Sound* the boundary of her dominions on the ſide of *Denmark*. Theſe, and a multitude of other reaſons, conſpired to point out the neceſſity of *Chriſtian*'s putting himſelf in condition to reſtrain the ambition, and make head againſt this aſpiring and powerful monarchy. With this view he directed that the fortifications of all the cities ſhould be repaired, and each put in a ſtate of defence; that new fortreſſes ſhould be built in all places expoſed to the inſults of thoſe turbulent neighbours; that military diſcipline might be eſtabliſhed among his troops, the command of which he gave to the moſt experienced officers, whoſe attachment to his perſon, and fidelity to the public, were approved; and laſtly, he minutely examined the ſtate of the revenue, and laboured to ſet it upon the beſt footing, without oppreſſing the people.

A view of the ſtate of Sweden.

THE duke of *Gottorp*'s cloſe alliance with *Sweden*, gave *Chriſtian* umbrage, and his endeavours to break off the treaty between theſe powers, introduced diſputes between him and the duke, which they both conſented to terminate amicably, at an interview appointed at *Rendsburgh*. Thither the duke went, and was received by a general diſcharge of the artillery mounted on the ramparts. His majeſty having immediately after his arrival received advice, that the *Swedes* were defeated by the elector of *Brandenburgh*, acquainted his highneſs, that he propoſed marching with all his forces againſt the enemies of the empire; and expected that his highneſs would not, in conſequence of his alliance with *Sweden*, do any thing to moleſt his dominions during his abſence. The heſitating a reply, and deſiring time to conſider

Differences between Chriſtian *and the duke of* Gottorp.

A. D. 1674.

NEXT he marched towards *Stralſund*; and having met the elector of *Brandenburgh* in the neighbourhood of that city, it was concerted that his majeſty's next operations ſhould be againſt *Wiſmar*. The winter was now far advanced, the city of *Wiſmar* ſtrong, and eaſily ſupplied with all neceſſaries from *Lubec*. Such difficulties, however, could not damp the ſpirit of *Chriſtian*. He levelled his artillery againſt two batteries at the mouth of the harbour, built to ſecure a paſſage to the town; and at the ſame time made his approaches before the town from three different quarters. The trenches were opened with extreme diligence on all hands; five batteries played inceſſantly upon the beſieged, with thirty-ſix pieces of cannon and five mortars. Bombs and ignited bullets were poured into the town as thick as hail, the houſes reduced to aſhes, and garriſon and inhabitants to the moſt deplorable ſituation. A ſhip of 46 guns, ſtationed before fort *Baleine*, was taken, and the garriſon of the fort ſo intimidated by the intrepidity of the *Danes*, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion. Still, however, *Wiſmar* held out for ſome days; and though the garriſon was alarmed by the enemy's ſucceſs, and greatly harraſſed with fatigue and continual watching, yet ſtill their courage was undaunted. Every thing was attempted in their own defence. After giving a falſe alarm on the left of the king's camp, a ſtrong body of ſoldiers and burghers ſallied out on the right, fought deſperately, but were repulſed with loſs.

To prevent ſuch ſallies for the future, his majeſty ordered caltrops to be placed round the camp. He ſent three burghers, priſoners, back to the city, with orders to acquaint the inhabitants, that he would inſtantly hang up all the burghers who ſhould be taken in the ſallies; and he alſo drove back into the city ſeveral women who had been ſent out, to ſave proviſion, many of whom periſhed with hunger. Beſides the vigorous reſiſtance of the beſieged, he had to encounter with natural inconveniencies of ſituation, which greatly retarded his approaches. *Wiſmar* was ſurrounded with marſhes, which his majeſty found it neceſſary to drain, both for the health and conveniency of the ſoldiers, and to render his approaches practicable. This he attempted with engines erected with great expence and labour; but the toil was endleſs, the continual rains, and neighbouring ſprings and rivulets filling them as faſt as they were emptied. Finding this expedient fruitleſs, he contrived to dam up the waters, and keep his camp dry by dykes and ditches driven round. However, the ſnow and cold weather becoming unſufferable, the ſoldiers

ers began to murmur; and even the officers, fatigued with hard duty, uttered complaints of the king's raſhneſs in undertaking ſo laborious a ſiege, when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced. At the ſame time *Wrangel* diſpatched count *Konigſmark* with a ſtrong detachment to force a paſſage into the town, in which he was diſappointed by the king's vigilance. In ſpite of all difficulties, *Chriſtian* determined to ſtorm the town in breach, and to paſs over the marſhes upon light wooden bridges, contrived for the purpoſe. The twenty-firſt of *December* was fixed for the attack. Early in the morning the troops began to file over, three a-breaſt; and though they were miſerably galled by the grape-ſhot and muſketry of the beſieged, yet, animated by the preſence and example of their monarch, they marched on, ſetting danger at defiance. The attack on fort *Sparburt* was led by the duke of *Holſtein-Ploen*, where he was repulſed. General *Roſencrantz* was more ſucceſsful in the attack on the new works on the ſide of *Mecklenburg-gate*, which he carried with little oppoſition. Two hours after the governor demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation, which his majeſty accepted. For ten weeks he had defended himſelf with great reſolution and conduct: the garriſon had ſuſtained numberleſs hardſhips from cold, fatigue, and hunger; they had for ſeveral days been reſtricted to a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, hardly ſufficient to keep them from periſhing; yet nothing but the clamours of the burghers could oblige them to ſurrender.

THE ſame day on which the king made himſelf maſter of *Wiſmar*, general *Arenſdorff* appeared before *Rebnitz*, with a detachment of *Danes* and *Brandenburgers*. The *Swediſh* garriſon, not exceeding four hundred men, finding their endeavour to defend the place would be vain, ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons; and the priſoners were equally divided between the troops of the king and elector. Several other enterprizes were projected; and among others an attempt on the iſland of *Rugen*, to which *Griffenfeldt*, who had ſecretly oppoſed the *Swediſh* war, put a ſtop, pretending that he had certain intelligence of an intended deſcent on *Zealand*, as ſoon as the froſt came on; the expedition to be headed by the young king of *Sweden*. His majeſty gave credit to the report of his miniſter, relinquiſhed the deſign, returned to *Copenhagen*, and found he was deceived. In the mean time he had ordered his fleet, commanded by admiral *Adelaer*, to cover his capital, as he was too weak, though joined by the *Dutch*, to act offenſively (A).

Rebnitz *ſurrenders to the allies.*

Several other advantages gained over the Swedes.

FOR-

(A) Here it was that this famous officer *died, to the* great regret of his majeſty, and all well-wiſhers to *Denmark*, before he

A. D. 1676. FORTUNE was not more favourable this campaign to the *Swedes* than it had been the former. The allied forces continued during the winter to block up *Carloſtadt*, and reduced the garriſon to ſuch extremities, that the fortreſs was ſurrendered early in the ſummer. His *Daniſh* majeſty demanded *Carloſtadt*; and the other allies took the alarm, as he formed the ſame pretenſions to *Stade*, which would have made him maſter both of the *Weſer* and the *Elbe*; but this laſt city was ſtill in the hands of the *Swedes*. However, the contention roſe high: the biſhop of *Munſter*, the duke of *Lunenburg*, and the elector, all oppoſed his demand; and though the conqueſt was yet remote and precarious, yet it is certain their diſputes about the imaginary ſpoil was of the greateſt prejudice to the operations of the campaign.

Carloſtadt *taken by the king.*

IT gave great uneaſineſs to the ſtates of *Holland* to ſee their allies neglect real conqueſts for diſputes about cities which poſſibly might never come into their power. They propoſed an expedient; and matters went ſo far, that a treaty was drawn up, and approved by the ambaſſadors of the ſeveral princes; but it came to nothing, as their maſters refuſed to ratify it.

IN the mean time the *Swedes* loſt no opportunity of annoying the enemy. The garriſon of *Stade* had formed, during the winter, a ſcheme of ſurpriſing *Altena*; but the deſign was defeated by the vigilant meaſures of the *Daniſh* garriſon. Several other attempts they made were equally unſucceſsful; and one may ſay, that fortune rather forſook the arms of *Sweden* than either courage, conduct, or perſeverance.

Chriſtian's *diſpute with the city of* Lubeck.

THIS year it was that his majeſty wrote to the regency of *Lubeck*, exhorting them to carry on no correſpondence with *Sweden*; and threatening to keep no terms with that republic, if ſhe refuſed to break off her connections with the enemies of his kingdom. Soon after he relaxed in this demand, and inſiſted only, that the *Lubeckers* ſhould carry no contraband goods into *Sweden*, or ſuch as were ſpecified in the treaty of commerce between *Denmark* and *Lubeck*. Having finiſhed this affair to his ſatisfaction, he gave orders for augmenting his troops; and to raiſe funds for puſhing the war on vigorouſly, he impoſed a poll-tax on all his ſubjects, collecting it in a certain proportion, according to their ſuppoſed abilities. A nobleman paid two rixdollars; an officer, or placeman of diſtinction, one rixdollar; a doctor two marks; a merchant,

he had an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf againſt the *Swedes*. He had formerly commanded the *Venetian* fleet, and gained ſeventeen battles over the *Turks* (1).

(1) *Vid. Mauroceni, lib. 2.*

ſhop-keeper, or burgher, half a crown; a mechanic one ſol; and ſo in proportion to the loweſt rank of the people. This tax was payable at two yearly inſtalments, and was ſuppoſed would produce ſeven hundred thouſand rixdollars. To puſh his levies with the more ſucceſs, he alſo ordained, that no tradeſman ſhould keep above one journeyman and a boy; regulations equally injurious to commerce, and oppreſſive of the ſpirit of induſtry in general; but neceſſary to forward the great projects and ambition of *Chriſtian*.

ALL the world was ſurpriſed at the directions which his majeſty gave for diſmantling *Tonningen*, and blowing up the fortifications, after they had coſt the government immenſe ſums in building and repairing. It was conjectured, that his majeſty had given theſe orders on receiving advice, that an *Engliſh* ambaſſador was on his way to ſollicit the reſtitution of this place to the duke of *Holſtein*; but this was no more than conjecture, without any poſitive authority. *Tonningen demoliſhed.*

IF the public beheld with ſurprize the demolition of *Tonningen*, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the downfall of the chancellor *Griffenfeldt*, the king's chief miniſter and favourite, whom he had raiſed from an obſcure rank to the higheſt honours and preferments of the kingdom. Some of his letters having been intercepted, the king gave orders to general *Arenſdorff*, and three other lords, about three o'clock in the morning, to inveſt the houſe of the burgomaſter *Falker*, who was privy to all the miniſter's ſecrets. The general executed his orders ſo ſecretly, that he ſeized on *Falker*'s perſon and papers without the leaſt noiſe, or being perceived by any one, and committed him priſoner, with all his domeſtics. *Griffenfeldt*, who had no ſuſpicion of what happened, went as uſual to court at ſeven in the morning. He was met in the antichamber by general *Arenſdorff*, who inquired where he was going at ſo early an hour; to which *Griffenfeldt* anſwered, he was going to the king. "You had better ſtep to the libra-"ry, replies the general, as his majeſty is not to be diſturbed, "and follow me without noiſe." The miniſter had an immediate foreboding of his fall; and cried out, as he went after the general, "If theſe are the king's orders, 'tis proper I "obey. Heavens, whence comes this diſgrace!" *The chancellor Griffenfeldt diſgraced.*

WHEN *Griffenfeldt* was committed, his majeſty gave directions that all the chancellor's debtors and creditors ſhould carry their accounts to the treaſurer. Soon after baron *Kielman* and his three ſons were likewiſe arreſted; and ſo fearful was the duke of *Holſtein* of his own perſon, that he eſcaped by night to *Hamburgh*, and rode with ſuch diſpatch, that he killed two horſes by the way. All theſe ſudden impriſonments occaſioned great ſpeculation. For ſome time the people con-

cluded that ſome dangerous conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, or his majeſty's perſon, had been diſcovered. Men ſpoke differently of this proceeding; but the *Danes* inſiſted, that although *Kielman* and his children were the ſubjects and miniſters of the duke of *Holſtein*, it was juſtifiable in his majeſty to ſecure their perſons, as they were always bitter enemies of *Denmark*, and had by their pernicious counſels introduced great confuſion in their maſter's affairs, and occaſioned all the quarrels between him and the king. They were beſides taxed with having entered *Denmark* in a hoſtile manner during the laſt war, and committed cruel ravages in different parts of his majeſty's dominions. Beſides, old *Keilman* was convicted of having publiſhed bitter libels againſt the king, both at *London* and *Frankfort*.

GRIFFENFELDT was examined, for the firſt time, on the twenty-fifth of *April*, but he obſtinately refuſed to anſwer to the charge, and was diſmiſſed from the court as refractory, with a caution from the fiſcal, that, if he perſiſted in his ſilence, he ſhould be condemned as a voluntary mute, whoſe guilt rendered it dangerous for him to anſwer to the queſtions propoſed. The crime for which he was tried was corruption and venality in diſtributing juſtice, and the ſale of offices; for his majeſty did not care to lay open the ſecrets of ſtate, by proving him guilty of treaſon. Inſtances of both were ſo clearly and circumſtantially proved, that he was condemned to loſe his head; though that ſentence was not executed, his majeſty having reprieved him on the ſcaffold, but condemned him to perpetual impriſonment. His arms were, however, firſt broke; and the executioner was juſt ready to ſever the head from the body when his reprieve was proclaimed, and he was conducted to priſon, with books, like a ſchool-boy, under his arm.

NOT long after *Falker* was brought to his trial, and condemned by the ſame judges to loſe two fingers of his right hand, to be expoſed for a quarter of an hour on a gibbet, and then to be conducted out of the town by the hangman, and for ever baniſhed the kingdom.

CHRISTIAN being thus delivered of a faithleſs miniſter, who traverſed all his deſigns, by holding a ſecret correſpondence with the enemies of his country, and had undoubtedly betrayed the fleets and army, appointed generals to the command of each, in whom he might confide. Immediately the army was ordered to march to *Stade*, which city had for ſome time been blocked up by the troops of *Lunenburg*. The biſhop of *Munſter*, in imitation of his majeſty, marched his forces likewiſe to *Stade*; but with a view rather to relieve than diſtreſs the garriſon; for, changing his ſentiments of a ſudden, he

Stade *beſieged.*

he was now deſirous of maintaining the *Swedes* in *Bremen*, and of declaring war afreſh againſt *Holland*, with which he had concluded peace only from neceſſity.

When the allies made their appearance before *Stade*, the garriſon conſiſted of three thouſand men, and the burghers were reſolved to take arms; but a dyſentery prevailed among both, and ſwept off great numbers. Beſides, the town had laid in no ſtore of proviſions, and the men were reſtricted to a certain allowance on the firſt approaches of the enemy. However, as it was open to the river, and the *Munſter* forces were negligent in their duty, the garriſon found means to draw in ſome ſupplies, before the beſiegers had enough puſhed their works to prevent them.

To cut off this advantage, the allies reſolved to attack fort *Swing*, which commanded the communication of the town with the water; and began ſo furious a cannonading, that it was laid in ruins in a very ſhort time, and all the artillery diſmounted. The *Swediſh* commandant hung out a white flag; but the allies refuſing him the honours of war, he reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity, and now hoſtilities recommenced with redoubled fury. At laſt, finding the place no longer tenable, he determined upon a ſally, and cutting his way through the beſiegers to the town. The effort was brave, but unſucceſsful; for he was taken priſoner, with all his men.

Fort *Gaſtorp*, another ſtrong out-poſt, ſurrendered a ſhort time after the reduction of *Swing*. Three men of war appeared off *Stade*, with intention to throw in proviſions and ſtores of all kinds; but the diligence of general *Arenſdorff* rendered their attempts vain, though his vigilance could not prevent their landing ſome men at *Brunſbuttle* and *Bracktorff*, and ſetting fire to a number of villages, after pillaging the inhabitants. After this attempt, the *Swediſh* admiral, perceiving he could not relieve *Stade*, ſet ſail for *Gottenburg*, and narrowly eſcaped commodore *Baſtiaenz*, who lay with a ſquadron to intercept him.

Immediately on the departure of the *Swediſh* fleet, the beſiegers advanced their works; but having certain advice that the town was in great want of proviſions, they altered their intention of ſtorming it to a kind of blockade, as famine would ſoon oblige the garriſon to ſurrender, without any loſs to the confederates. At laſt, on the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, the governor ſigned a capitulation, the town was put into the hands of the allies, there to become a bone of contention, until their differences were terminated by a new diviſion of their conqueſts. Stade *taken by the allies.*

The operations of the Daniſh fleet.

WHILE the confederate army lay before *Stade*, *Van Tromp* arrived at *Copenhagen* with the ſhips of *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam*, and was received by the king with all poſſible reſpect, being honoured with the order of the Elephant. His majeſty deliberated with him about the neceſſary operations; and the reſult was, that ſeveral *Daniſh* ſhips, which had been laid up, ſhould be equipped with all poſſible expedition; the *Daniſh* admiral *Juel*, cruizing in the *Baltick*, reinforced with eight ſtout men of war, and *Van Tromp* to follow, as ſoon as the reſt of the fleet could be got ready. *Juel* had ſcarce received this reinforcement when he fell in with two *Swediſh* men of war, one of which he burnt, having taken the other. He then ſteered for the iſland of *Gothland*, landed his men, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance made by count *Oxenſtiern* the governor, whom, after a vigorous and ſharp engagement, he drove into *Wiſby*. After making himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, except the capital, he laid ſiege by ſea and land to *Wiſby*, and was not long before he obliged the governor to capitulate, the inhabitants of the iſland in general expreſſing the moſt ardent deſire to return under the dominion of *Denmark*. Then exacting an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants in general, eccleſiaſtics as well as laics, he left a garriſon of five hundred men in *Wiſby*, and put to ſea, where he was again reinforced with ſix *Daniſh* and *Dutch* men of war.

ON the firſt of *June* he deſcried the *Swediſh* fleet, conſiſting of forty-four ſail, beſides tenders and ſmall veſſels. On the fourth he came up with the *Swediſh* admiral, and begun the engagement at ſix in the morning, between the coaſt of *Schonen* and the iſle of *Bornholm*. The *Swedes* were ſuperior in force; but they contented themſelves with cannonading, without coming to a cloſe engagement, or attempting to board. In this *Juel* had the advantage: he diſabled five of the enemy's ſhips; but was prevented by a calm from purſuing and making prize of them. Next day the fight was renewed at the ſame hour; the *Swediſh* admiral, having the wind a-ſtern, bearing up as if he intended coming to a very cloſe engagement; but this he declined a ſecond time. After a cannonading of four hours, and making ſome attempts to deſtroy each other by fire-ſhips, both admirals retired, as if by voluntary conſent, without any conſiderable advantage gained on either ſide. The *Swedes*, indeed, loſt one galliot of ten guns and thirty men, had five ſhips diſabled, and were even, if we may credit the *Daniſh* accounts, forced to retreat each day.

THE news of this battle was ſcarce arrived at *Copenhagen*, when *Van Tromp* put to ſea with a ſquadron of four *Daniſh* and three Dutch men of war to reinforce *Juel*. The fleets

ed on the ſeventh of June, and next day every thing was

prepared for a third engagement; but it was the eleventh before the battle began, contrary winds preventing the confederate fleet from coming up with the enemy. In the very beginning of the fight the *Swediſh* admiral's ſhip, mounting one hundred and four guns (A), was blown up. The reſt of the fleet, diſcouraged with ſo unfortunate an accident, would have retreated; but they were attacked on every ſide by the *Dutch* and *Daniſh* admirals. Neceſſity obliged them to ſtand in their own defence, and they fought for a long time with great reſolution; but were at laſt forced to give way, and leave an undoubted victory to the ſuperior ſkill and good fortune of *Juel* and *Van Tromp*, after loſing ten of their largeſt ſhips, one frigate of ſixteen guns, and ſeveral other ſmaller veſſels. In the letter which the *Dutch* admiral wrote to the ſtates, he claims to himſelf the chief glory of this victory; but with little reaſon, if we can rely on the *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* accounts, who agree, that *Juel* and all his officers performed all that could be expected from the moſt experienced and reſolute commanders. *A complete victory obtained over the* Swediſh *fleet.*

AFTER this battle it was that *Stade* ſurrendered to the allies; though, to avoid breaking the narrative, we related it previous to this tranſaction. Indeed the *Swediſh* arms were not more ſucceſsful by land than by ſea. The elector of *Brandenburg* obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of the citadel of *Wolgaſt*, and afterwards took *Penemunde*. Several other diſgraces followed, and *Sweden* was falling as low in military eſtimation as ſhe had been raiſed high in the preceding reign, and ever ſince *Guſtavus Adolphus* aſcended that throne.

CHRISTIAN was intent on drawing ſome advantage from the victory gained by his fleet. He ordered *Tromp* to make a deſcent on *Schonen* on the one ſide, while he entered the province at the head of an army on the other. *Tromp* immediately obeyed his orders; and appearing with a ſquadron before *Uſtadt*, ſummoned the governor to ſurrender. *Verſeen*, who commanded, ſent back an anſwer by the trumpet, that as he had the honour of being intruſted by his king with the fortreſs, he would defend it to the laſt extremity. *Tromp* immediately ordered in a certain number of frigates to keep a continual fire, and cover the debarkation. Then he landed three thouſand men on both ſides of the town, and repulſed, after an obſtinate engagement, a brisk ſally made from the Chriſtian *makes a deſcent on* Schonen.

(A) Some writers call this the fineſt ſhip ever built in the North, affirming that ſhe mounted one hundred and thirty-four pieces of braſs cannon, and was manned with eleven hundred ſtout ſeamen (1).

(1) *Des Roches, tom.* vi. *p.* 301.

town to impede the landing. The admiral reſolved to give the aſſault the ſame night; but thought it proper firſt to ſummon the governor. A trumpet accordingly was ſent, and the admiral was aſtoniſhed to find that the governor and garriſon had evacuated the place, without the leaſt noiſe, or motion that could intimate their intention. *Tromp* left a ſtrong garriſon here, and plentifully ſupplied it with every neceſſary for a vigorous defence, in caſe the enemy ſhould attempt to retake a place of ſo much conſequence.

In the mean time the king embarked with about nine thouſand foot, and near as many horſe, accompanied by his brother, and ſet ſail with a fleet of fifty ſhips, of which twelve were men of war. Next day, being the ninth of *July*, he arrived on the coaſt of *Schonen*, and landed, without reſiſtance, between *Helſinburg* and *Landſcroon*. When the artillery was unſhipped, his majeſty detached ſome regiments to inveſt *Helſinburg*, which the governor immediately abandoned, retiring with his ſlender garriſon into the citadel. Here he defended himſelf gallantly for four days, killing general *Roſencrantz* in the attack; but ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and the garriſon being ſorely galled with the fire of the beſiegers, he ſurrendered juſt as the *Danes* were preparing to ſtorm the citadel.

CHARLES XI. of *Sweden*, taking the reins of government into his own hands, made ſome motions as if he intended to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Daniſh* arms in that country. He put himſelf at the head of his army, and begun his march to *Schonen*; but, finding the *Danes* were greatly ſuperior, he turned off to *Chriſtianſtadt*, and relinquiſhed the deſign. The king of *Denmark* would not neglect purſuing the advantages which ſucceſs and ſuperiority of numbers afforded: leaving a garriſon in *Helſinburg*, he marched to lay ſiege to *Landſcroon*. His firſt approaches were greatly retarded by ſeveral vigorous ſallies from the town: at length, however, both the city and citadel were forced to ſurrender, after ſuſtaining a ſiege and bombardment of three weeks, and being reduced to the laſt extremity. *Landſcroon* capitulated on the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, and the garriſon were allowed the honours of war, on account of the brave defence they made, and his majeſty's reſpect for the valour of the governor.

Chriſtian *takes* Helſinburg *and* Landſcroon.

On the ſurrender of *Landſcroon*, his majeſty detached major-general *Duncamp* with a ſtrong corps to block up *Helmſtadt*, while he marched in perſon with the reſt of the army to *Chriſtianſtadt*, and encamped within cannon-ſhot of the walls, on the very ſpot where the king of *Sweden* had pitched his camp a few days before. *Chriſtianſtadt* is in a manner inacceſſible, on account of deep marſhes that every way ſurround the town.

The

The ſtrength of the place lulled the garriſon into a ſecurity, that ſoon became fatal to them; for the *Danes* ſurpriſed and took it, without erecting a ſingle battery, or firing a cannon. Such were the rapid ſucceſſes of his *Daniſh* majeſty's arms. Chriſtianſtadt *taken by the* Danes.

In the mean time the *Swediſh* army was reinforced by a ſtrong body of *Finlanders*, and other levies; upon which *Charles* began to concert meaſures for oppoſing *Chriſtian*'s progreſs. He began with an attempt to ſurpriſe general *Duncamp*; for which purpoſe he detached general *Aſchenberg* with eight thouſand men. The motions of this officer were not ſo ſecret, but that *Chriſtian* got notice of them. He ſent notice to *Duncamp* of the enemy's intention, with orders to retreat, if he found himſelf too weak to give them battle. *Duncamp* would have declined fighting; but the manœuvres of the enemy rendered that impracticable. He put on the beſt countenance he was able, and with a body of three thouſand men ſuſtained all the efforts of the *Swediſh* general for an hour and a half; but was at length forced to give way to numbers, and leave his enemy an undiſputed victory, dearly purchaſed. *General* Duncamp *defeated by the* Swedes.

To ballance this loſs, *Van Tromp* made himſelf maſter of *Chriſtianople*, which indeed was a place of no ſtrength, the *Swedes* having diſmantled it the year before. General *Gudenlew* took *Winnersburg* in *Norway*, and laid under contribution the whole country of *Daelſland* and *Weſt Gothland*. He drew a conſiderable booty from *Winnerſee*, defeated a body of five thouſand peaſants and five hundred ſoldiers, and laid ſiege to *Gottenburg*; but was forced to relinquiſh this enterprize, on admiral *Royſter*'s return to *Copenhagen*. *Royſter* was to have blocked up the city by ſea; but the appearance of ſome *Engliſh* ſhips before the harbour of *Copenhagen* obliged him to return for the protection of the capital, as the intention of the *Engliſh* was not known. But the *Daniſh* admiral's retreat was attended with other bad conſequences, beſides *Gudenlew*'s diſappointment. The *Swedes* ſeized the opportunity of his abſence, and made themſelves maſters of thirty veſſels laden with proviſion for the *Daniſh* army. *Chriſtian* was incenſed at this loſs; and immediately ordered *Royſter* to be arreſted and ſuperſeded, captain *Wibe* taking upon him the command of the fleet. This officer endeavoured to regain the time loſt by ſome vigorous meaſures. He blocked up *Gottenburg*, and formed a ſcheme for burning the *Swediſh* men of war in the harbour of *Helſingburg*, which was fruſtrated by an accident, and his own ſquadron endangered. *The* Swedes *take thirty veſſels laden with proviſion.*

General *Duncamp*'s defeat chagrined the king, and he determined to purſue the *Swedes* with the utmoſt diligence. Accordingly he marched towards *Helmſtad*; but found himſelf greatly

greatly retarded by the *Swedes*, who broke all the bridges behind them. When he came before the city, the governor was ſummoned to ſurrender; but he refuſing to comply, the place was immediately inveſted, and all poſſible endeavours uſed to bring the *Swediſh* army, encamped in a very advantageous poſt at ſome little diſtance, to a battle. *Chriſtian* perceived they were determined not to riſque an engagement, and that it would be hazardous to force them; he therefore changed his meaſures, and detached young *Arenſdorff* with a corps of horſe and dragoons to the frontiers of *Sweden*, either to fight the enemy, if occaſion offered, or to deſtroy and ruin all the forage and proviſion, ſo as to prevent the *Swedes* from wintering in *Schonen*.

Poſition of both armies.

ARENSDORFF begun his march, and found on his arrival at *Falkenburg* that the *Swediſh* army had retreated to *Wardberg*, by which means the expedition was fruſtrated. He therefore rejoined the army, which was put into winter-quarters in the month of *October*, and preparations were made for taking the field early in the ſpring. Some of the troops were cantoned in ſuch a manner as to block up *Malmoe*; and the fleet returning to *Copenhagen*, was diſarmed for the ſeaſon.

Two ſmall ſquadrons were however left to cruiſe in the *Baltick*, under the conduct of the admirals *Bielke* and *Royſter*, who was reſtored to his command. The latter coming to *Carelſhaven*, found the fort beſieged by the garriſon of *Chriſtianſtadt*, and a body of peaſants. His officers requeſted him to land ſome troops and cannon to aſſiſt the beſiegers, which he granted. Batteries were erected, the works carried on with more ſkill and alacrity than before, and at length this important place was forced to ſurrender. Here the *Danes* found upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, large quantities of ſtores and ammunition, together with two new ſhips ready to put to ſea, the one pierced for forty, and the other for twenty-four guns.

Carelſhaven *ſurrendered to the* Danes.

MALMOE being a place of the utmoſt conſequence to *Sweden*, the young monarch determined to relieve it; but his own inexperience, and the ill conduct of his miniſters and generals made him commit numberleſs errors in the execution of his deſign. Of theſe the politic *Chriſtian* did not fail to make his advantage. He no ſooner heard of the march of the *Swediſh* army, which amounted to eighteen thouſand men, than he marched with all expedition to *Landſcroon*, drew all his troops out of garriſon, and encamped in a ſituation near *Landſcroon*, that likewiſe covered the blockade of *Malmoe*. The ardour of the *Swediſh* monarch excited him to proſecute his deſign at all hazards; he marched on and encamped on oppoſite ſide of the river Raa, which ſeparated the two armies.

Malmoe *blocked up.*

The king of Sweden *reſolves to relieve it.*

armies. Several light ſkirmiſhes happened, which decided nothing; but the *Swediſh* monarch perceiving, that *Chriſtian* had thrown ſo many obſtacles in his way, as made the relief of *Malmoe* impracticable, decamped, and marching to *Helſinburg* laid ſiege to that place. Colonel *Muller*, who commanded, evacuated the town as untenable, and retired to the citadel, which he refuſed to ſurrender upon a threatening ſummons. The *Swediſh* monarch began to batter in breach, and then gave the aſſault; but was received with ſo much courage, that the *Swedes* retreated with conſiderable loſs. Their batteries were diſmounted by the furious fire of the beſieged, and matters went on ſo unſucceſsfully, that after pillaging the town, his majeſty drew off the army, and pitched his camp oppoſite to the *Daniſh* army, on the banks of the *Loder*.

The Swedes beſiege Helſinburg, and are repulſed.

THE armies again began to cannonade each other, while, in the mean time, a conference was held acroſs the river, between the colonels *Suſtedt* and *Aſchebberg*; the former a *Daniſh*, and the latter a *Swediſh* officer. The latter demanding why the king of *Denmark* would not give battle, the other replied, that his majeſty ſought nothing more eagerly, provided the *Swedes* would encamp in an open plain. Upon this *Aſchebberg* took his leave, ſaying, he would acquaint his maſter. For ſome days nothing however paſſed, except certain manœuvres, by which both ſides endeavoured to gain ſome advantage in point of ſituation. At laſt both kings determined to come to a battle, and to command their armies in perſon. The *Danes* were drawn up with ten ſquadrons compoſing the right wing, ſupported by a corps de reſerve of eight ſquadrons. A regiment of dragoons, and three ſquadrons of horſe, covered the flank. In the center were nine ſquadrons, ſupported by nearly an equal body of reſerve; and the left wing was compoſed of an equal number of ſquadrons, ſupported in the ſame manner, and covered by a regiment of dragoons and three ſquadrons of horſe. Upon advice that the enemy were in motion, *Chriſtian* advanced his left wing, and general *Stanberg*, hurried on by his courage and ambition to ſignalize himſelf, attacked the right wing of the enemy, without obſerving the motion of the center and right wing. He was received ſo warmly, that moſt of his colonels and field-officers were killed on the ſpot, and himſelf ſo much wounded, that he was obliged to quit the field.

The battle of Lunden.

IN the mean time the right wing had more ſucceſs; the enemy's left was hard puſhed and broken, when the young *Swediſh* monarch appearing with a reinforcement from the right, that had defeated *Stanberg*, renewed the engagement with freſh vigour. In this manner did the battle continue until night ſeparated the combatants, the Daniſh infantry having

having puſhed the *Swedes* beyond *Lunden*, and the cavalry of both ſides obſtinately diſputing the field. Both claimed the victory; but in our opinion the *Danes*, with moſt reaſon, as they remained maſters of the field until ſunſet, puſhed the enemy's infantry, took their artillery, and about ſixty pair of colours and ſtandards. However, the very ſame was aſſerted by the *Swedes*; and it is a diſputed point to this very day which party urged the ſtronger arguments; although the ingenious author of the Preſent State of *Europe*, ſpeaks of the battle of *Lunden* as if the *Danes* had received a total and deciſive defeat. Indeed, with reſpect to conſequences, this inſinuation may have ſome foundation; for the *Swedes* relieved *Malmo*, and *Chriſtian* ſoon after returned to *Copenhagen*; but that he was worſted in the field appears from no authentic teſtimony. How much depended on his majeſty's conduct and valour, appears from the circumſtances of the engagement. Both ſides agree, that he was preſent wherever danger and glory called; that his force was but half that of the enemy; that wherever he commanded, the enemy gave way; and that he acquitted himſelf in all reſpects like a ſkilful and valiant commander.

Both ſides claim the victory.

LEAVING his army for the protection of his conqueſts in *Schonen*, the king returned to *Copenhagen* to make freſh levies, and repair the loſs he ſuſtained in the bloody battle of *Lunden*. Twelve new regiments were ordered to be raiſed with all expedition; and he negotiated a ſubſidiary treaty with the courts of *Hanover* and *Heſſe*. He likewiſe made propoſitions to cede his pretenſions to *Bremen* to the duke of *Lunenburg* and biſhop of *Munſter*, provided they would furniſh a certain number of auxiliaries to act under the command of his generals.

IT is uſual with princes to talk of peace while they are waging the moſt cruel wars, rather to impreſs men with an opinion of their moderation, than to cede any of their pretenſions, however unjuſtifiable. It ſo happened at this time, all the contending powers ſent their ambaſſadors to deliberate on a peace at *Nimeguen*, while each reſolved to inſiſt upon the terms he might expect after a ſucceſsful war. His *Daniſh* majeſty's intentions were very apparent, from the number of obſtacles his miniſter raiſed againſt every propoſition, and the difficulties he ſtarted about paſsports, precedency, ceremonials, and the right of ambaſſadors. The ſmalleſt circumſtance is uſed for a pretence to break off treaties to which ſovereigns have no inclination. This at *Nimeguen* run many hazards of coming to nothing, from the cavilling diſpoſition of the parties. The ambaſſador of *Denmark* firſt diſputed with the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador about the right hand, and then with the [illegible] miniſter about the language in which they were to ex-

Negotiations at Nimeguen *for a peace.*

pre

preſs themſelves: in a word, every thing was made a handle for prolonging the war. *Chriſtian* panted after the recovery of the laſt provinces yielded to *Sweden*; his ſucceſs for the two laſt campaigns had given him a taſte for conqueſt, and whetted his ambition; and he was in hopes, that prolonging the war might reduce *Sweden* to the low eſtate he wiſhed, and proportionably augment the power and grandeur of the *Daniſh* monarchy. Here are the claims of the ſeveral negotiating powers.

The demands of the ſeveral powers.

DENMARK demanded, that *France* ſhould reimburſe her in the expences of the war; and that matters between her and *Sweden* ſhould be reſtored upon the ſame footing they ſtood at the peace of *Weſtphalia*: That the treaties of *Roſchild* and *Copenhagen* ſhould be aboliſhed, and all the provinces diſmembered from *Denmark* and *Norway*, reſtored: That *Sweden* ſhould cede all her conqueſts in *Germany*, and that *Wiſmar* and the iſle of *Rugen*, be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*. Finally, that for the greater ſecurity, his *Daniſh* majeſty ſhould garriſon with his troops all the frontier towns of *Sweden*. Terms ſuch as theſe, it was evident were calculated only to be rejected.

THE propoſitions of *France* with reſpect to *Denmark* were, that as his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had declared war againſt the crown, only becauſe in prejudice of the treaty of *Copenhagen*, which he had guarantied, his *Daniſh* majeſty had declared war on *Sweden*, things ſhould be reſtored on all ſides agreeable to the tenour of that treaty.

As for *Sweden*, her demands were of a ſimilar nature; for by inſiſting on the performance of the treaty of 1660, reſtitution was neceſſarily made of all the places taken from her during the preſent war. The propoſitions of the duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*, put into the hands of the mediators by his envoys, received no anſwer at all, paſſing wholly unnoticed, becauſe the *Daniſh* ambaſſador refuſed to acknowledge the miniſter of that prince, allied with *Sweden*, protected by *France*, and for thoſe reaſons diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the king of *Denmark*.

Preparations for proſecuting the war.

SUCH were the propoſitions made for eſtabliſhing peace in the North, while the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were making vigorous preparations for continuing the war. *Chriſtian* reflecting, that his chief advantage would ariſe from his ſuperiority at ſea, ſent admiral *Tromp*, after loading him with honours and titles, to ſolicit more powerful ſuccours from the ſtates-general of the United Provinces. On the other hand, his *Swediſh* majeſty having regained poſſeſſion of *Helſinburg*, after the battle of *Lunden*, was taking meaſures for driving the *Danes* out of *Bleking*. He ſent a detachment to attack Carl-

ſhaven,

A. D. 1677. *ſhaven*, which was repulſed; but afterwards laying ſiege in form to the place, it was ſurrendered after a brave defence. *Chriſtianſhaven* was the next object of his deſigns; to this he laid ſiege early in the ſpring, and *Chriſtian* marched with an army of twenty thouſand men to its relief. Although the *Swedes* were ſtrongly poſted, they not only refuſed battle, but decamped with precipitation, and were followed by that part of the army which had inveſted the city. To this a vigorous ſally of the beſieged, in which the enemy loſt a great number of men, eighteen pieces of cannon, &c. greatly contributed.

As ſoon as *Chriſtian* had reinforced the garriſon, and thrown in the neceſſary ſupplies, he marched in purſuit of the *Swediſh* army, but could not come up with it. However, he reſolved to undertake the ſiege of *Malmoe*, becauſe the poſſeſſion of this ſtrong hold would ſecure the conqueſt of *Schonen*. The army arrived before the town on the nineteenth of *June*, and after employing eleven days in making his approaches, raiſing batteries, throwing bombs, and attacking the covered way, his majeſty carried the counterſcarp by the firſt of *July*: then playing furiouſly on the citadel, from the ſecond to the fifth, he effected a lodgement on the parapet of the covered way, where a battery, to play on the eaſt gate, was raiſed. *Chriſtian*, naturally humane, would have delayed the ſiege a little longer, rather than ſacrifice ſo many lives in puſhing it with all the vigour that was poſſible; but certain intelligence which he received of the motions of the *Swediſh* army and fleet, rendered all poſſible diſpatch neceſſary. He therefore reſolved to finiſh the affair by a general aſſault, which was fixed for the evening of the ſixth of *July*. The troops of *Munſter* were ordered to make a falſe attack in one quarter, while three other attacks were puſhed with the utmoſt vigour. The *Danes* mounted the ramparts ſword in hand, carried the works before *la Greve* gate, took poſt at the baſtion called *Stockholm*, and between *Gottenburg* and *Malmoe* baſtions. They were preparing to burſt open the gate for the cavalry, when the draw-bridge giving way to the weight of numbers, broke down. Upon this the beſieged took courage, and the *Danes* were diſpirited, on ſeeing colonel *Biban*, with his corps, drowned. Thoſe who had entered the town were forced to retreat with precipitation; and this unfortunate aſſault ended with the loſs of two thouſand men to his *Daniſh* majeſty. Immediately the ſiege was raiſed, and from this time we may date the reverſe of fortune of the *Daniſh* arms by land.

The Danes *lay ſiege to* Malmoe.

Siege raiſed.

THE advantages which his majeſty gained by ſea compenſated in ſome meaſure the loſſes on ſhore. Admiral *Juel* having

having intelligence, that a *Swediſh* ſquadron of eighteen ſail lay at *Gottenburg*, to join the main fleet, reſolved to attack it before the junction could be effected, though his fleet conſiſted only of eleven ſhips of the line. On his approach the enemy cut their cables, and both fleets began a general cannonading for the ſpace of five hours, without any conſiderable damage to either, a calm preventing *Juel* from coming to a cloſe engagement. In the morning a favourable gale ſpringing up, the *Danes* bore down with all their ſail, and began the attack with ſuch fury, that ſix *Swediſh* ſhips were diſabled. *Juel* fearing leſt the *Swediſh* admiral might eſcape under favour of the ſmoke, left the purſuit of the ſix damaged ſhips to the reſt of his ſquadron, and with his own ſhip boarded the admiral. The engagement was warm and obſtinate, both ſhips being nearly of equal force, and both admirals determined to conquer. *Juel*'s fortune however prevailed, and the *Swede* ſtruck, after fighting deſperately for two hours. A complete victory followed; the *Admiral*, of ſixty guns, three hundred men; the *Angel Gabriel*, of fifty guns, two hundred men; the *Calmar*, *Wrangel*, and *Sirene*, each of forty-ſix guns, being taken, together with one fire-ſhip, and two tranſports. In all, about three thouſand *Swedes* were taken and killed, with the loſs only of two hundred and fifty men on the ſide of *Juel*.

The Danes *defeat the* Swediſh *fleet.*

FOUR days after the ſiege of *Malmoe* was raiſed, *Juel* performed another no leſs ſignal advantage to his maſter, which in ſome meaſure compenſated his loſs before that place. He was attacked by the *Swediſh* fleet near the iſle of *Mona*. The admirals *Horn*, *Clerk*, the beſt officers in the *Swediſh* marine, and *Warkſmuſter*, led the enemy's fleet, compoſed of forty ſail in three diviſions. Greatly ſuperior in force, they doubted not of retrieving the late diſgrace; but *Juel* ſupplied the want of numbers by conduct, vigilance, and courage. Gaining the wind of the enemy by dint of ſuperior ſkill, he broke their line, put the fleet in confuſion, and took the *Mars*, of ſeventy-two guns, *Julius Cæſar*, of ſixty, *Sea-Wolf*, of fifty-ſix, the *Lyon*, of fifty-two, *Dragon*, and *Saturn*, each of ſixty-four, ſinking the *Jupiter*, of ſixty guns. Never was the valour of *Juel* more tried than in this engagement, in which his ſhip, the *Chriſtian*, was attacked by ſix large ſhips of the enemy, and ſo much damaged, that the admiral was forced to ſend her out of the line, and continue the fight in the *Frederick*, that happily came up to his relief.

Swediſh *fleet defeated a ſecond time.*

JUST as the battle was ended, the *Dutch* ſquadron, ſo impatiently expected, came in ſight, but too late to claim any ſhare in the glory of the day. *Tromp*, however, intercepted three ſixty gun ſhips before they got into *Malmoe*, burnt one, and

and ſunk the other two in preſence of his *Daniſh* majeſty, who was a witneſs of this action from the ſhore.

A SCENE very different was acting where his majeſty commanded in perſon, though every action was ſchemed with prudence, and executed with valour. Weakened by the loſs of *Malmoe*, he was attacked between *Helſinburg* and *Landſcroon* by the king of *Sweden*, and an army near double in numbers. Both princes performed prodigies of valour: they ſeemed rivals in courage and glory. *Charles* expoſed himſelf to the thickeſt of the fire, and *Chriſtian*, with his own hand, ſlew ſeveral *Swediſh* officers, who ſucceſſively attempted to make him priſoner. Fatigue, joined to the exceſſive heat of the ſun, at laſt put an end to the battle, the *Swedes* keeping the field, and the *Danes* retreating to their camp at *Landſcroon* in good order. His majeſty's loſs indeed was great; but his good conduct prevented the *Swedes* from deducing any conſiderable advantage from their victory; for ſuch it muſt be allowed.

Battle betwixt the two armies.

COUNT *Guldenlew*, the king's governor of *Norway*, formed a ſcheme to reduce *Maelſband*, a ſmall fortified town in the diſtrict of *Bahus*, ſituated upon a rock. His meaſures were ſo well taken, that he not only made himſelf maſter of this place, but of *Carelſtyn*, a ſtrong place, ſurrounded by high walls, and encompaſſed by rugged mountains. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he detached two thouſand horſe and foot, under the command of the colonels *Haven* and *Schultzen*, to attempt regaining *Jempterland*, which had been wreſted from *Denmark* at the peace of *Copenhagen*. The march made with ſuch rapidity over rocks, inacceſſible mountains, and impervious woods, was altogether aſtoniſhing. *Schultzen* forced a poſt defended by four hundred men, and a battery, where the natural ſituation would, by any other officer, be deemed an inſuperable obſtruction.

AMIDST a variety of operations in *Norway*, we ſhall only take notice of one attended with more important conſequences than the reſt. The *Swediſh* army, ten thouſand ſtrong, hearing that the *Danes* were in motion to give them battle, did not decline the engagement. On the ſeventh of *September* both armies came within ſight of each other: they ſoon began a general fire with their artillery; and general *Lewenhelm*, who led the vanguard, begun the fight on the ſide of the *Danes*. He attacked ſword in hand, the heavy rains having rendered his fire-arms uſeleſs. At firſt he was warmly received; but the reſiſtance made by the *Swedes* was not of long duration. They ſoon were put in diſorder, their infantry totally defeated, and their cavalry obliged to ſeek ſafety in their flight. They loſt a great number of officers, four hundred ſoldiers, ſix hundred were made priſoners, all their artillery was taken, together

Swedes *defeated.*

gether with heaps of ſtandards, colours, and other military trophies.

To this were added ſeveral advantages gained by the *Daniſh* fleet and army, commanded by the king in perſon, and by *Van Tromp* the *Dutch* admiral; the former having taken the iſle of *Rugen*, and the latter, after making deſcents on the iſlands of *Oeland*, *Smaland*, *Uno*, and *Kuno*, burnt to aſhes the city *Weſterwyck*, pillaged ſeveral villages, and carried off richer booty than had been got in any preceding actions. *Stettin* was likewiſe taken by the elector of *Brandenburg*, aſſiſted with a ſtrong detachment of *Daniſh* infantry; and it was believed that the *Swedes* would be forced to evacuate all their conqueſts in the empire. But theſe conjectures were ill-founded. The *Danes* had a dangerous enemy to combat in the perſon of the experienced count *Konigſmark*. After this general, overpowered by numbers, had abandoned *Rugen*, he was reduced to great difficulties, from which nothing but courage and hazardous ſtrokes could reſcue him. Pent up in the neighbourhood of *Stralſund*, where his men daily periſhed with famine, he reſolved to riſque all for their relief, and to avoid the neceſſity of yielding at diſcretion. He formed a plan, which he communicated to the magiſtrates of *Stralſund*; they approved of it, becauſe they confided in his experience, and ſaw the extremity to which he was reduced. To ſhew their attachment to the crown of *Sweden*, they joined him with a body of burghers, and reſolved to run the ſame fortune with him. With a favourable gale *Konigſmark* embarked his infantry, and ſent ſome veſſels to *Gilles*, to draw the attention of the *Danes* on that ſide, and perſuade them that he meditated a deſcent on *Schapperode*, or *Wittaw*. But the *Danes*, who ſaw themſelves maſters of the iſland, with an army of nine thouſand men, believed they were ſo much ſuperior to the enemy, that they paid little regard to their motions. Inſtead of diſputing the landing with *Konigſmark*, they encamped on a large plain, at ſome diſtance from the ſhore. The *Swede* immediately marched up, began a cannonading, and played his artillery ſo judiciouſly, that the right wing of the *Danes* was put in diſorder. General *Rumor* being killed by a cannon-ball, diſputes aroſe among the *Daniſh* officers about the command: all ſubordination ceaſed, the army was in confuſion, and became an eaſy prey to the *Swedes*. Some regiments, however, upon the right, performed their duty. The colonels, without waiting for orders from the commander in chief, attacked the *Swediſh* left wing with irreſiſtible fury, and broke it, in ſpite of all the endeavours of *Konigſmark*, who was continually reinforcing it with freſh troops. But the reſt of the army not coming to their ſupport, the *Danes* were at laſt forced to retreat,

Other advantages gained by his majeſty's arms on ſea and land.

A. D. 1678.

The Swedes retake the iſle of Rugen.

Danes defeated. treat, and leave a clear victory to the enemy, who would have made prodigious slaughter, had they not been interrupted in the pursuit by marshes, which cut them off from the *Danish* camp. However, the consequences of this defeat were fatal; for no less than five thousand men fell into *Konigsmark's* hands in a few days after the battle; so well had he taken his measures, and such was the confusion and anarchy that reigned in the *Danish* army.

Christian makes several attempts to relieve Christianstadt. *CHRISTIAN* was chagrined at this loss, and employed all his endeavours in scheming revenge. It was greatly his interest to raise the siege of *Christianstadt*, which place the *Swedish* army had invested; and he left nothing unattempted to effect this design. His fleet under *Juel*, on which he had the chief reliance, put to sea; but was greatly damaged by a storm, that obliged the admiral to relinquish the expedition.

THE *Danish* general *Arensdorff* had better fortune; he took the town and citadel of *Helsinburg*, and had just signed the capitulation, and received the keys of the gates, when advice arrived, that the *Swedish* monarch was on his march to relieve the garrison. Several other diversions were made, to draw the king of *Sweden's* attention from the siege of *Christianstadt*, a place equally important to both monarchs; with respect to the security of *Schonen*. His majesty placed his greatest hopes in the success of the siege of *Bahus*, a place invested by general *Guldenlew*. This however failed; for as the general was on the point of storming the town, having made himself master of all the outworks, the *Swedes* arrived with a powerful army to its relief. All these diversions having failed in producing the desired effect, his majesty determined upon one last effort to relieve *Christianstadt*, which was now reduced to the last extremity, for want of provisions. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, composed of twelve thousand men. *Arensdorff*, and the duke de *Croy*, commanded the right wing. The generals *Wedel* and *Meerheym* the left, composed of the forces of *Munster*, and the king in person; the count de *St. Paul* commanding under him, led the main body. At the same time the fleet was ordered to draw up before the harbour of *Christianstadt*, and practise every endeavour to throw in supplies. Two faults committed by general *Arensdorff* frustrated the king's project. Contrary to his orders, he deferred until next day seizing upon an eminence which overlooked and commanded the enemy's camp, who taking advantage of this error, fortified the post. In every other part, the camp was so well fortified by the nature of the situation, as rendered it inaccessible; and sensible of this advantage, the Swedes prudently declined all his majesty's cartels and challenges to fight. In a word, they carried their

All his attempts frustrated.

point without running any hazard; *Chriſtianſtadt* was forced to ſurrender in ſight of the *Daniſh* army; and the king, who attributed the whole loſs to *Arenſdorff*, was ſo much incenſed, that he ordered that officer under arreſt.

His majeſty's arms were more ſucceſsful in another quarter. *Fuel* ſailed for the iſle of *Rugen*; and took his meaſures, conjointly with the elector of *Brandenburg*, ſo well, that the iſland was retaken, *Stralſund* and *Gripſwald* reduced, and ſeveral leſſer advantages gained. Soon after this it was, that *Chriſtian* had an interview with the elector, to concert their future operations. Nothing farther however was attempted for that ſeaſon; and the public attention was engroſſed by the negotiations reſumed at *Nimeguen*, and the unfortunate fate of the garriſons of *Stralſund* and *Gripſwald*, amounting to four thouſand men, all of whom were ſhipwrecked off the iſland of *Borkholm*. When theſe towns ſurrendered it was capitulated, that the garriſons ſhould be tranſported into *Sweden*, on board the ſhips of the allies. *Chriſtian* made ſome objections to this article, as count *Konigſmark* had broke ſome parts of his engagement with the *Daniſh* troops in *Rugen*. At laſt he granted it; and the fleet being caſt away, the *Swedes* attributed it, though upon a very ſlight foundation, to deſign. Nothing indeed could be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe, that either the king or elector had given orders to their admiral to ſhipwreck himſelf, or that he would have obeyed ſuch an order, had it been given.

It was now reported, that the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, had lent an ear to the propoſitions of the court of *France*, and agreed on a ſeparate peace. Immediately the plenipotentiaries of *Denmark* repreſented to their high mightineſſes their treaty with the king, their maſter, in the ſtrongeſt manner, urging the performance of terms mutually advantageous, with all the arguments of reaſon and rhetoric. But all was in vain; the ſtates had taken their reſolution, and nothing could divert them from from putting an end to a war, which had proved ſo ruinous to them, however ſucceſsful their fleets in the *Baltick* had been. All that the other allies could do was to enter a proteſt againſt their proceeding, which was done by the ambaſſadors of *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, and *Munſter*. The ſame meaſure was taken with reſpect to all the other parties engaged in this general war, who had now ſigned a ſeparate peace. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were left alone to withſtand all the power of *France* and *Sweden* by ſea and land; however, they determined not to relinquiſh their conqueſts, or cede an inch of what they believed their juſt right. This was the elector's determination, as well as the king's; but ſome motions made by the army under the

marechal *Crequi*, ſoon convinced the former, that his only method of warding the impending ſtorm, was to renounce his alliance with *Denmark*, and embrace the propoſitions made by *France* and *Sweden*. Thus *Chriſtian* remained ſingle of all the allies to fight his own quarrel. His fleet was always ſuperior; but the march of *Crequi*, after the elector had ſigned the peace, towards *Oldenburg* and *Delmeborſt*, convinced his *Daniſh* majeſty, that *France* would act with all her force in favour of *Sweden*; and that, to avoid the conſequences of a war carried on againſt two ſo formidable powers, each of which had been the terror of *Europe*, it was neceſſary to follow the example of the other allies. He therefore gave directions to his miniſter to ſign, which alone was wanting to re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of the Chriſtian powers, embroiled for ſuch a number of years. Accordingly peace was concluded between *France*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, on the ſecond of *September*, 1679; all the ſummer having paſſed without any conſiderable military operations on either ſide.

Peace concluded between Sweden *and* Denmark.

By this treaty *Charles* was put in poſſeſſion of all he claimed before the war; and *Chriſtian*, after prodigious exertions of courage and conduct, was forced, through the fault of his allies, to ſit down diſappointed in all thoſe views which had firſt made him declare againſt *Sweden*. The duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp* recovered his dominions and ſovereignty in conſequence of the peace; and the treaties of *Roſchild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Weſtphalia*, were declared in force between the courts of *Denmark* and *Holſtein*, the ſame as if they had been tranſcribed word for word in the preſent treaty. It was at *Fontainbleau* that the peace between the three crowns was ſigned; beſides which, a ſeparate treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was executed at *Lunden* between the ambaſſadors of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in preſence of the *French* miniſters. Finally, the more firmly to connect the two northern crowns, a treaty of marriage was propoſed between the princeſs *Ulrica Eleonora* of *Denmark* and the king of *Sweden*. The terms were accepted; but the ceremony deferred until the ſpring of the following year, on account of the multiplicity of buſineſs in which both kings were engaged, in reſtoring the tranquillity of their kingdoms, and redreſſing all the diſorders and grievances introduced by a long and bloody war.

While the treaty of peace was in agitation, king *Chriſtian* advanced the greater part of his army towards the river *Elbe*, under the pretext of diſputing the paſſage with *Crequi* the *French* general. This march gave uneaſineſs to the city of *Hamburgh*; the magiſtrates expreſſed their reſentment, particularly on general *Wedel*'s building a fort in their vicinage. At laſt, upon ſeeing the king's forces daily increaſe, they

took the alarm, and ſeemed convinced that theſe preparations had a farther deſign than was acknowledged. Firſt, they made remonſtrances, and then took effectual ſteps for the ſecurity of their city; precautions extremely ſeaſonable, as *Chriſtian* had certainly formed deſigns to ſurpriſe it. He had reconnoitred the ground in perſon, and formed a plan for beſieging the city, in caſe his attempts to ſurpriſe it failed. He publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring his rights to that city, which was anſwered by the *Hamburghers*; and then began to enforce his claim by arms. Batteries were raiſed, lines drawn, and approaches made in a regular manner, that convinced the inhabitants he was not to be reſiſted by arguments; they therefore applied to *France* for her mediation; and *Lewis* XIV. wrote a letter with his own hand to *Chriſtian*, exhorting him not to diſturb the repoſe ſo lately granted to *Europe*, by entering upon freſh diſputes; and the houſe of *Brunſwick*, having already ſent a body of troops in defence of the city, laboured ſo heartily in effecting an accommodation, that a ſort of proviſional treaty was concluded on the firſt day of *November*. Chriſti *lays ſieg* Hambı

By this the city of *Hamburg* agreed to pay his majeſty, at five ſtated inſtalments, the ſum of two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, on condition that he ſheathed the ſword, and laid aſide the reſentment he had conceived againſt this city; renounced his pretenſions to thoſe territories poſſeſſed conjointly between *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*; reſtored the ſhipping and merchandize he had taken, belonging to the city, together with ſeveral other articles, which it would be unneceſſary to enumerate. By the third article, the city of *Hamburg* engaged to ſend deputies to *Chriſtian*, to declare the ſentiments of the magiſtrates and burghers, with reſpect to his majeſty. *Peace w the* Ha burger

Thus peace was happily eſtabliſhed; and the *Daniſh* army began to file gradually out of the duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*'s territories. Tranquillity was now reſtored to *Europe*; ſeveral marriages were celebrated among the parties concerned in the war; and among others, that of the princeſs *Eleonora* of *Denmark* with his *Swediſh* majeſty. On the twenty-fifth of *February* ſhe was demanded by M. *Guldenſtern*, the *Swediſh* ambaſſador, arrived in *Copenhagen*; but her departure was deferred on account of a fever, with which ſhe was ſeized. At length her royal highneſs ſet out for *Sweden*, where the nuptials were celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence. A. D 1680.

CHRISTIAN next applied himſelf to the affairs of the empire, and finally terminating the differences between the houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, which met with numberleſs difficulties. He laboured ſo heartily in this buſineſs, that he Chriſtian's policy.

received the thanks of the diet at *Ratiſbon*; but not ſatisfied with general declarations, he entered into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the elector of *Brandenburg* and biſhop of *Munſter*, whereby the contracting parties engaged with all their power to preſerve the peace of the empire, and mutually to aſſiſt each other in caſe either was attacked. Although in fact this alliance was no more than defenſive, it gave umbrage to the United Provinces, who called it an offenſive treaty, calculated for ſome end not ſpecified in the treaty. They dreaded leſt his majeſty formed deſigns on their homeward-bound *Eaſt-India* fleet; and their fears were augmented by the attention which his *Daniſh* majeſty gave to his marine. There had been ſome differences between the two nations, on account of a *Daniſh* ſhip taken by the *Hollanders* on the coaſt of *Guiney*; but the event ſhewed that *Chriſtian* had no intention of coming to a rupture by making repriſals. *Chriſtian* uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſpel the clouds of ſuſpicion gathered in *Holland*; he wrote to the city of *Amſterdam*, proteſting that ſo far from giving any diſturbance to the commerce of the United Provinces, it ſhould be his ſtudy aſſiduouſly to cultivate the good intelligence between *Denmark* and *Holland*. As *France* was now included in the late treaty of alliance, he thought it neceſſary to declare, that the ſole object of this confederacy was no other than to preſerve that tranquility which *Europe* had begun to taſte.

A. D. 1682. In the month of *July*, *Chriſtian* and the elector of *Brandenburg* had an interview at *Itzoha*; but the buſineſs tranſacted at this conference is rather conjectured at than known. Common report would have it, that *Holſtein* was the ſubject of their converſation. Certain it is, that not long after his majeſty impoſed a tax of eighteen crowns upon each plough in the dutchy; and the duke, not in a condition to oppoſe this reſolution, was forced to conſent to ſee the inhabitants oppreſſed.

FROM *Itzoha* his majeſty returned with all expedition to *Copenhagen*, on advice that a ſtrong *Swediſh* fleet had put to ſea. Here he arreſted two *Lubeck* ſhips, under pretence that the regency owed him a ſum of money. The duke of *Lunenburg* firſt interpoſed, and afterwards the imperial miniſter complained loudly at his proceeding, both as guarantees of the late treaty at *Nimeguen*, and protectors of the hanſe-towns: however they obtained no redreſs, and the veſſels were at length releaſed, in conſequence of a deputation from the regency.

A DIFFERENCE likewiſe happened between the fleets of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. The former having put in by ſtreſs

of weather at *Elſineur*, refuſed to pay the uſual honours to the flag of *Denmark*. This the *Daniſh* admiral reſented, and begun firing upon the *Swedes*, which at laſt obliged them to lower their flag and ſtrike their colours. The *Swediſh* envoy complained of this violence at *Copenhagen*; he inſiſted upon the admiral's being broke, which *Chriſtian* peremptorily refuſed, though he found other means to terminate the affair amicably.

Differences between Denmark and the neighbouring powers.

NEXT year a diſpute of more conſequence aroſe between *Denmark* and the republic of *Holland*. The *Danes* complained that their ſettlement was driven out of *Bantam*, by the king's ſon, at the inſtigation of the *Dutch*; they demanded not only to be indemnified in the immenſe loſſes they ſuſtained, but that their company ſhould be reſtored to all the rights and privileges they before enjoyed. The diſpute was warmly carried on by both parties, and it was believed that the difference between the two companies would occaſion a rupture between both nations. However, the buſineſs was too important to be ſuddenly determined. Both agreed to wait for farther advices from the *Indies*; and thus the diſpute was delayed, but not decided.

IT was apprehended, from the preparations made by *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Bavaria*, and *Lunenburg*, that the tranquillity of *Germany* would be again interrupted. Each of the above princes were buſied in putting their armies on the beſt footing; and the forces of *Denmark* were actually in a flouriſhing condition, being lately augmented, in conſequence of a ſubſidy from the *French* court. *Chriſtian* reviewed his army at *Oldſloe*, which raiſed jealouſies in the regency of *Lubeck* and duke of *Lunenburg*. The former put the city in the beſt ſtate of defence, and the latter augmented his army to twenty thouſand men; but nothing was undertaken by either ſide.

The king lays ſiege to Hamburg.

THE firſt actual hoſtilities happened between his majeſty and the city of *Hamburg*. Private diſſentions had ariſen in that city, the people refuſing to pay the taxes impoſed by the ſenate. Matters were carried ſo high, that all government ceaſed, and the whole was one confuſed anarchy. A more favourable opportunity could not offer for *Chriſtian*'s renewing his demand on *Hamburg*. He immediately embraced the occaſion, and preſented himſelf with a powerful army before the gates, demanding that he might be acknowledged protector of the city againſt the emperor's uſurpation, and threatening in caſe of refuſal to treat the inhabitants as enemies. The ſenate not giving ear to theſe propoſitions, he enforced his menaces with actions. He attacked ſome of the outforts ſword in hand, hoping to reduce the city by bombardment, if he ſucceeded in ſecuring his approaches:

but he was repulſed with loſs. A ſecond attack was made with all imaginable fury; but the fort having a communication with the city, it was conſtantly ſupplied with freſh troops, ſo that the aſſailants were forced to deſiſt, with more loſs than in the former attempt.

A. D. 1685. IT was now found impoſſible to ſucceed by aſſault, his majeſty therefore reſolved to proceed regularly, and beſiege the fort in form, after cutting off the communication between it and the city. But while he was engaged in making his approaches to the fort, the *Lunenburg* infantry, and a body of *Brandenburg* cavalry, entered the city. Theſe were ſoon joined by a ſtrong corps of *Swediſh* matroſſes and gunners from the dutchy of *Bremen*, the whole garriſon forming an army of twelve thouſand men. However, the king did not relinquiſh his deſign; he continued drawing lines to cut off the communication, and erecting batteries to play on this ſtrong fort. Several little forts were built to cover his operations, which the *Hamburgers* perceiving, determined to drive the *Danes* from their works. A vigorous ſally was made, and about five hundred *Daniſh* infantry cut in pieces before the cavalry could come to their aſſiſtance: afterwards the ſcene changed, the *Hamburgers* were repulſed, driven back to the town, and ſcarce able to prevent the *Daniſh* cavalry from entering the gates with them. In the heat of purſuit, a *Daniſh* officer, having actually got within the walls, was diſcovered by the officer on guard, who preſented his fuſee; but the *Dane*, too quick for him, drew his piſtol, ſhot the *Hamburger* dead, turned his reins, and overſetting all who oppoſed him, made his way back to the camp.

Peace reſtored. IMMEDIATELY after this conflict, a negotiation was ſet on foot by the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Zell*, who came to *Harburg*, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, to puſh the mediation with the more vigour. The *Engliſh* envoy ſtrenuouſly promoted an accommodation, which was at length concluded, after his *Daniſh* majeſty had made fruitleſs attempts to lay the city in aſhes with his bombs. The principal article of this treaty was, that matters ſhould remain on the footing they then ſtood, until the year 1700, without detriment to the claim of his *Daniſh* majeſty.

ALL the world was aſtoniſhed to ſee the king lay ſiege with fifteen thouſand men to *Hamburg*, the works of which were ſo extenſive as to require ſixty thouſand men completely to inveſt them. It was believed therefore that he relied upon ſecret promiſes from ſome of the chief burghers, who afterwards deceived him.

ALTHOUGH the city of *Hamburg* was now ſecured by a peace, guarantied by princes able to protect her, yet ſhe did

not fail to keep heſelf in a poſture of defence. *Chriſtian's* ſtanding army, and cloſe alliance with *France* and *England*, gave the alarm not only to the ſenate of *Hamburg*, but to all the neighbouring princes. The North enjoyed peace; but all the princes made vigorous preparations, as if they intended coming to an immediate rupture. In effect, this was owing to the intrigue and policy of *France*, who finding it neceſſary to maintain a large army for the defence of her conqueſts, thought of nothing but to keep all the neighbouring kingdoms in a ſtate of ſuſpence. Her views were to exhauſt their funds for carrying on a war, in caſe they ſhould unite to retrench the power of the houſe of *Bourbon*.

His diſpute with the Dutch.

An ordonnance publiſhed this year by the king of *Denmark* furniſhed new matter of ſpeculation, and gave the alarm in particular to the *Dutch*. The treaty of commerce concluded in 1647 between *Denmark* and the United Provinces was now expired, and his majeſty raiſed the duties on *Dutch* ſhipping paſſing the *Sound*, and prohibited the exportation of black cattle out of *Jutland*, and other parts of his dominions. It was preſumed that his majeſty had farther deſigns, and theſe edicts publiſhed with a view merely to excite freſh troubles. For this reaſon the *Dutch* laid an embargo on all their ſhips deſtined for the *Baltick*, to prevent their being ſeized by the *Danes*, in caſe his majeſty ſhould think fit to come ſuddenly to a rupture, and before they had taken meaſures for regulating the affair of the cuſtoms of the *Sound*. In the mean time their ambaſſador at *Copenhagen* procured a ſuſpenſion for four years of any farther proceedings, and till matters ſhould be finally adjuſted by a ſolemn treaty.

A. D. 1687. *Negotiations reſpecting Holſtein.*

The affairs of the dutchy of *Holſtein* had been long in agitation. His *Daniſh* majeſty ſtill claimed the ſovereignty of that dutchy, and in a manner kept poſſeſſion of *Holſtein*, as appeared from the late heavy tax impoſed on the people. To put a final end to their differences, the duke at laſt conſented to a conference at *Altena*, to be conducted under the mediation of the emperor and elector of *Brandenburg*. *Chriſtian* could not give ſtronger proofs of the juſtice of his cauſe, than by ſubmitting to the mediation of princes viſibly, nay profeſſedly, biaſſed in favour of the duke. His highneſs relied upon his declining the conference upon ſuch terms; but finding that *Chriſtian* accepted the propoſal, he did all that lay in his power to confound the buſineſs of the negotiation, which he knew muſt terminate to his diſadvantage. All his endeavours however being fruſtrated by the vigilance and policy of *Chriſtian*, his highneſs was compelled, as the laſt reſource, to accede to the propoſed accommodation, in hopes

hopes that fortune might one day prove more favourable to his pretenſions.

A. D. 1688. THE two northern crowns continued their armaments, and the duke raiſed his hopes in proportion as he ſaw the *Swediſh* army increaſe. At laſt he publiſhed a memorial, in which he demanded, firſt, that the dutchy of *Sleſwick*, and the territory called *le Don de Dieu*, and its dependencies, ſhou'd be reſtored to the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood A. 1674. when they were ſequeſtered: ſecondly, that the treaties of *Roſchild*, *Copenhagen*, *Fontainbleau*, and *Lunden*, ſhou'd be the baſis of the negotiation, and that of *Rendſburg* totally annulled: thirdly, that the iſle of *Femeren*, the bailliages of *Trittaw*, *Trenſbuttle*, and *Steenburſt*, ſhould be given up without any equivalent or remaining claim: and, fourthly, that his highneſs ſhould enjoy all the prerogatives of ſovereignty, particularly thoſe of collecting and impoſing taxes, and of declaring war and peace. Several other particulars, which we need not mention, were ſpecified in this memorial.

HIS majeſty anſwered every article in a memorial which he publiſhed immediately after the appearance of the duke's. He begun with obſerving, that the treaties mentioned by the duke, could not poſſibly lay the foundation of the deſired negotiation, as the face of affairs was greatly altered ſince that time; and the duke having once refuſed their authority, he

A. D. 1689. had now no right to claim any benefit from them. Every article was minutely anſwered, and the differences at laſt ended by the treaty of *Altena*, concluded under the mediation of *England* and *Brandenburg*, the former influenced to intercede by the ſolicitations of prince *George* of *Denmark*, and the latter from a deſire to prevent *Sweden*'s marching an army into *Pomerania*. By this treaty a general amneſty was agreed upon, and a perpetual union and friendſhip begun between the courts of *Denmark* and *Holſtein*. His *Daniſh* majeſty reſtored the duke to all his dominions and ſovereignties, with the right of levying taxes, making alliances, declaring war, concluding peace, building or demoliſhing fortreſſes: in a word, all the prerogatives his highneſs enjoyed, from the treaty of *Weſtphalia* and of the North, to the year 1665, and likewiſe all that he could claim from the treaty of *Fontainbleau*. The king alſo conſented to the redemption of the iſle of *Femeren*, and the bailliages of *Steenburſt*, *Trenſbuttle*, and *Trittaw*, which had been mortgaged to the crown of *Denmark*.

Concluſion of the difference between Denmark *and* Holſtein.

ON the other hand his highneſs renounced all claims, pretenſions, and actions againſt his majeſty for the damages he had ſuſtained by the retention of his dominions, and the

king's

king's levying his revenues for years paſt. He likewiſe yielded up all claims in conſequence of the verdict obtained againſt the duke of *Holſten-Ploen* in the imperial chamber. As to the treaty of perpetual union, family connections, conventions, and private contracts, they were put on the ſame footing they ſtood before the year 1657, as was literally expreſſed in the treaties of *Weſtphalia*, *Fontainbleau*, &c. All other particulars were referred to an amicable deciſion; and in caſe that could not be done, to the courſe of law, without any attempts to be made on either ſide to ſucceed by force. In teſtimony of this agreement, two copies were made out, ſigned, ſealed, and delivered to both parties at *Altena*, on the twentieth of *June*, 1689. Such was the end of thoſe differences betwixt the king and duke of *Holſtein*, which was the immediate cauſe of the late war with *Sweden*, and had been for years the ſubject of jealouſy, contention, and perpetual wrangling (A).

ABOUT this time ſome altercation happened between the courts of *Verſailles* and *Copenhagen*, about ſome *Daniſh* ſhips which the *French* monarch had detained. *Chriſtian* did not care to embroil himſelf with that crown. He knew the advantages which his ſubjects deduced from the *French* commerce: however, this trifling circumſtance became the foundation of a treaty, which he ſoon after concluded with *Sweden*, by which it was agreed, that they ſhould mutually reſent the injuries done to either, and act in all reſpects like nations cloſely connected in intereſt, treaties, and natural alliances. Both, notwithſtanding, conſented to carry on trade in its utmoſt extent; a reſolution which gave umbrage to the enemies of that monarchy, and was the occaſion of the *Hollanders* attacking a fleet of *Daniſh* merchantmen bound for *France*. This was an affront which his majeſty ſoon revenged, by ordering all *Dutch* veſſels in his ports, and in the *Sound*, to be ſeized; a meaſure which ſoon reduced the republic to the neceſſity of uſing ſupplications, and demanding

A. D. 1690.

Treaty with France.

(A) An inſtance of generoſity in prince *George* of *Denmark*, afterwards married to *Anne* queen of *Great-Britain*, ought not to eſcape on this occaſion. His father had left him by will a portion of three hundred thouſand crowns, and his brother, unable to advance the ſum, aſſigned him the bailliages mentioned above, until his patrimony could be paid. Theſe bailliages being now reſtored to the duke of *Holſtein*, provided he could redeem them; and his highneſs having no money to pay off the mortgage, prince *George*, with unparalleled generoſity, made him the compliment of them, that every obſtruction to a treaty ſo ſalutary to *Denmark* might be removed (1).

(1) *Vid. Mem. de Den.* p. 242.

manding an accommodation. A negotiation for this purpoſe was ſet on foot, and a treaty finally concluded in the month of *July*, whereby *Denmark* was permitted freely to trade with *France* in all kinds of commodities, except ſuch as were prohibited by former treaties; *viz.* ſalt-petre, pitch, powder, lead, and a few others. In conſequence of this accommodation both ſides releaſed the ſhipping they had detained, and *Denmark* lived upon the ſame terms of amity as before with the republic.

A. D. 1691. HIS majeſty this year made a trip to *Holſtein*, to viſit the fortifications erecting with the duke's conſent at *Rendſburg*. Such progreſſes made by princes always furniſh matter of ſpeculation, and it is conjectured that other motives than thoſe they declare actuate them. This was the caſe in the preſent inſtance. The public would have it, that a plan was concerted between the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* for the reduction of the cities of *Hamburgh* and *Bremen*. The conjuncture was indeed favourable for ſuch a deſign; all the princes intereſted in the preſervation of theſe towns being otherwiſe engaged. However, all ſuſpicion was baniſhed by a letter which his *Daniſh* majeſty wrote to the diet at *Ratisbon*, diſclaiming an intention to moleſt either *Hamburg* or *Bremen*, or any wiſe diſturb the repoſe of the empire.

NOTHING farther of moment happened in *Denmark* during the reign of *Chriſtian*, except ſome little diſputes with the *Dutch*, the duke of *Holſtein*, and the cities of *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, all which were accommodated with little trouble, and without the neceſſity of applying to arms. It was now the policy of this great monarch to preſerve to his people the bleſſings of peace, which he effectually did until his death, which happened on the fourth of *September*, 1699, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign.

Death and character of Chriſtian.

THE breath had no ſooner quitted his body, than ſome of the by-ſtanders cried over the window, "The king is dead;" upon which count *Raventlaw* called over the window of the young queen, "Long live king *Frederick* IV." The count's voice was no ſooner heard than the heralds at arms ſolemnly proclaimed the prince king of *Denmark*, the gates of the city were ſhut for ſome days, all the troops put under arms, and an oath exacted from the ſenate, magiſtrates, and inhabitants, before they were opened.

CHRISTIAN V. died with the reputation of one of the greateſt monarchs in *Europe*, having given numberleſs proofs of his wiſdom in the cabinet; of his courage and conduct in the field; of his affability, tender affection for his people, and every virtue which could engage eſteem and love. His greateſt enemies charge him only with one foible, and that

was,

was, his repoſing too much confidence in the opinions of his miniſters and generals, and thinking too meanly of his own underſtanding; an amiable fault, that ever accompanies true merit. He ſpoke moſt of the modern languages, and had made a great progreſs in thoſe branches of the mathematics which regarded the military art and hiſtory. *Chriſtian* was never ſo much pleaſed as when he was preſented with ſome new geographical chart or plan of fortification. It would be unneceſſary to dwell upon his character; the *Danes* recite his virtues with the utmoſt ſatisfaction to this day.

FREDERICK IV.

HERE we propoſed ending the *Daniſh* hiſtory, as all the extraordinary particulars in the ſucceeding reign will be fully related in the *Swediſh* hiſtory: however, to render the work more complete, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort view of the principal actions of *Frederick* IV. who was immediately proclaimed, as we have ſeen, upon the death of his father. When he aſcended the throne, he found it convenient to act preciſely upon *Chriſtian*'s principles. He reſolved to keep the duke of *Holſtein* dependent on his crown, and with that view over-run the dutchy, and undertook the ſiege of *Tonningen*, that laid the foundation of a long war we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the next volume. His *Swediſh* majeſty laid ſiege to *Copenhagen*; and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as guarantees of the laſt peace, ſent fleets into the *Baltick*; vigorous meaſures which reduced *Frederick* to the neceſſity of ſigning the famous peace of *Travendahl* in *Auguſt* 1700. Frederick IV. A. D. 1700.

BY this treaty, the full right of ſovereignty was once more yielded to the duke of *Holſtein*, who was to uſe, without controul, all the annexed prerogatives; the right of making war, concluding peace, levying taxes, erecting or razing fortifications, *&c.* with this limitation, that he ſhould not build within two miles of any *Daniſh* fort. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that his *Daniſh* majeſty ſhould pay the duke two hundred and ſixty thouſand crowns; and that the chapter of *Lubeck* ſhould be at liberty to elect for their biſhop a prince of *Holſtein*. Diſputes however about this election happened the very next year. *A view of his conduct.*

IN 1708, after making the tour of *Italy*, *Frederick* attacked the *Swedes* in *Schonen*, by whom he was roughly handled: however, his good fortune by ſea compenſated in a great meaſure his loſſes on ſhore. Three years after, in conjunction with the *Poles*, he fell upon *Swediſh Pomerania*, took *Damgarten*, but failed in ſome other enterprizes. Next year he made himſelf maſter of the dutchy of *Bremen*, and city of *Stade*; but his army was ſoon after defeated by the Swedes, and

and the fine town of *Altena* burnt to the ground. In 1714 and the year following, he was ſucceſsful by ſea and land, drove the *Swedes* out of *Norway*, reduced *Wiſmar*, and gained ſeveral other advantages, which he did not purſue, becauſe he perceived they were leſs beneficial to himſelf than to his allies, who did not merit great ſervices from him. This it was that inclined *Frederick* to peace, which was concluded in 1720, under the mediation of *George* I. king of *Great-Britain*.

THIS treaty ſecured to his *Daniſh* majeſty all he could reaſonably deſire. In particular, it procured what was of great conſequence to him, the guarantee of *France* for the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Sleſwick*. From this time his majeſty paſſed his days in tranquillity, and only a ſingle accident, the burning of his capital, occured to diſturb his repoſe. *Frederick* was certainly a wiſe prince, ſtrongly inclined to promote the welfare of his ſubjects; brave and politic; but too enterpriſing, as ſome think, and ready to embrace the ideal ſchemes of projectors, upon which he ſquandered the public money, without deducing the expected advantages. He died in 1730, in the ſixtieth year of his age, deeply regretted by all his ſubjects, and highly eſteemed by the potentates of *Europe*.

His death.

CHRISTIAN VI.

Chriſtian VI.

IT was his ſon *Chriſtian* VI. who might juſtly be called the father and darling of his ſubjects. This prince, immediately on his acceſſion, made ſeveral alterations, all of which gave extreme ſatisfaction, as they were wiſely calculated for the eaſe of the people. In particular, he aboliſhed a farm, eſtabliſhed in the late reign, for the ſole vending brandy, wine, ſalt, and tobacco; a farm extremely beneficial to the prince, but oppreſſive to the ſubject. Thoſe perſons intereſted in it, offered to advance large ſums for its continuance; but *Chriſtian* anſwered, "It produced too much, ſince his ſubjects complained of the exactions it occaſioned;" a ſaying worthy of perpetual remembrance and admiration!

A ſhort view of his wiſe policy.

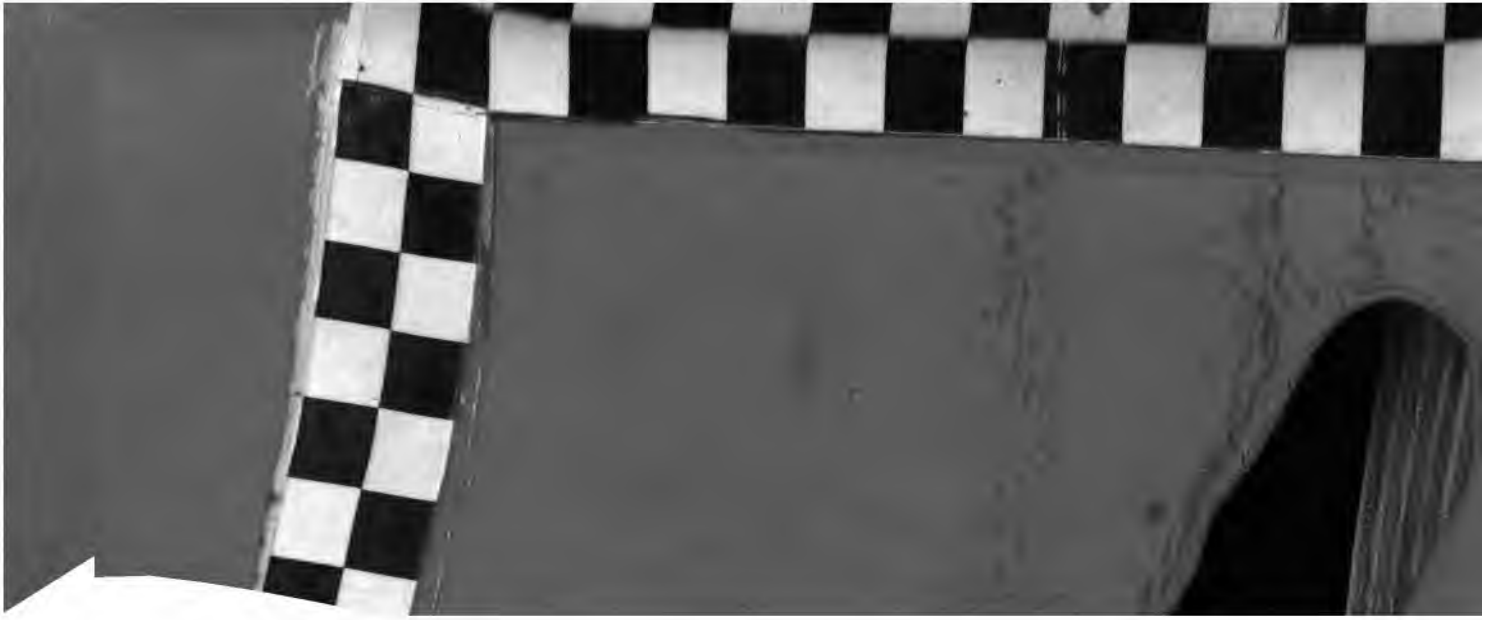
CHRISTIAN's whole adminiſtration was perfectly conſiſtent with thoſe ſpecimens of wiſdom and moderation he gave in the beginning of his reign. In 1736, he terminated the old diſputes with the city of *Hamburg*, which put a million of ſilver marks in his coffers, and produced ſeveral advantageous conceſſions to his ſubjects. He eſtabliſhed a council of trade, to examine all propoſals made for the extenſion of commerce, in order to give the neceſſary encouragement for executing ſuch as met with approbation. Every thing poſſible he did for promoting ſcience, arts, and manufactures, workmen being hired at high prices from all the different kingdoms

kingdoms in *Europe*. He erected a royal bank, that has been attended with numberleſs advantages to trade, on the account of the facility of raiſing and diſpoſing of money. He kept his fleet and army in a reſpectable condition, without any burthen to his ſubjects, having made ſubſidiary treaties with that view. His policy was pacific; but when it was neceſſary, *Chriſtian* did not fail to take vigorous meaſures. This was apparent in the quarrel with the electorate of *Hanover* about the territory of *Steinhurſt*, and with *Holland* about the *Iceland* fiſhery. In both inſtances his conduct was ſo firm, ſo ſteady, and ſo politic, that he carried his point, without applying to force. The reputation he acquired from his upright and wiſe adminiſtration it was that induced the *Swediſh* nation, about to elect a ſucceſſor to their late king, to caſt their eyes on the hereditary prince of *Denmark*. True it is, that *Chriſtian* did not ſucceed in this point; but his conduct in the courſe of the negotiation, was ſuch as diſtinguiſhed him a juſt monarch and an able politician. In a word, he ſquared his conduct through the courſe of the late general war in a manner truly exemplary, and worthy the imitation of all princes. For ſixteen years that he reigned, not one falſe meaſure can be attributed to him. Neither inſolent nor mean; refined, but not ambiguous, nor dark in his politics; juſt to his promiſes, true to his allies, the father of his ſubjects, the admiration of all *Europe*; he died in 1746, highly regretted and eſteemed. It may indeed be obſerved with truth, that no kingdom was ever happier in its princes than *Denmark*. In ſo long a ſeries of kings, it is aſtoniſhing to find ſo few unworthy of their exalted dignity. It is true, in elective monarchies this might be expected; but what merits attention is, that *Denmark* was governed by the beſt princes after the crown was made hereditary, as if they were ambitious of meriting the confidence repoſed in them.

FREDERICK V.

FREDERICK V. who ſucceeded to the crown of his father *Chriſtian* VI. wore it with equal glory. In 1743, he eſpouſed the princeſs *Louiſa*, daughter to king *George* II. of *Great-Britain*. He begun his government as his father had done, in making ſome judicious alterations and changes in his domeſtic œconomy. Since that time he has ſteadily purſued his father's maxims, maintained peace, improved and cheriſhed commerce, rewarded induſtry, and lived within the bounds of his revenue, by a rigid and well regulated œconomy. Nor can this be attributed to a narrowneſs of diſpoſition, ſince he has frequently remitted his juſt rights, for the eaſe of the ſubject, in thoſe provinces that have ſuffered by inevitable calamities; Frederick V. *copies af his fath*

ties; ſuch as dearth, and mortality among the cattle. After expending conſiderable ſums in promoting manufactures, and rewarding ingenious artiſts, he has paid off a large debt contracted by his anceſtors, kept his fleets and armies in a reſpectable poſture, maintained ſtrong garriſons, and done every thing requiſite to ſecure the tranquillity of his dominions, and render *Denmark* rich, flouriſhing, and formidable. It is incredible, indeed, how much the prudent and peaceable reigns of *Chriſtian* VI. and *Frederick* V. have contributed to improve the ſtate of *Denmark*. The ſhipping of the kingdom has been more than doubled; the revenues of the crown have encreaſed proportionably; new channels of trade, and new marts, have been eſtabliſhed; the court is ſplendid, without profuſion; the king rich, without oppreſſion; the miniſters diligent in their reſpective departments, and the ſovereign's conduct a model for all his ſervants, and indeed to all other potentates. Adored at home, and reſpected abroad, he gains the applauſe of all men, while he ſeeks only that of his own conſcience, and ſtudies the felicity of his people. We ſhall conclude the hiſtory of *Denmark* with an anecdote of this prince, too ſingular to be omitted. As ſoon as the creditors of the crown were informed that his majeſty was reſolved to pay off the debt, they endeavoured to divert his intention, by humbly repreſenting, that if he thought the intereſt too high, they were content to accept four inſtead of five *per cent.* which had hitherto been paid them. The king however replied, that having money in his coffers, where it could be of no public emolument, he choſe to diſcharge the obligation; but he added, that he would eſteem it a favour done to himſelf, if they would lend the money at low intereſt to his ſubjects, which might enable them to extend their commerce, and improve their manufactures[a].

[a] Vid. Des. Roches Hiſt. de Dan. Mem. de Dan. Preſent State of Europe. Relation de Dan. 1692. Annal. de Prov. Un. Hiſt. de Negotiat. de Paix de Nimeguen; cum multis aliis.

End *of the* Thirty-second Volume.